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Journal

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The Siege and Capture of Malacca from the Portuguese in 1640—1641.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY

BY

P. A. LEUPE.

Translated by

MAC HACOBIAN

from "Berigten van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht," 1859, pp. 128—429.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

I am indebted to the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for this opportunity of presenting to English-speaking readers this translation of Dutch documents relating to the "Capture of Malacca" in 1641. The task has been much more arduous than I at first anticipated, owing to the peculiar phraseology of old Dutch. I have tried to keep as closely as possible to the original text and if the English rendering displays any shortcomings I crave the indulgence of the exacting reader.

I am greatly indebted to Sir Richard Winstedt, K.B.E., C.M.G., for looking over the manuscript, making some corrections in idiom and offering valuable suggestions. My sincere thanks are due to Mr. J. Johnston, Librarian, Raffles Library, for much ready assistance and painstaking collaboration. I must also thank Mr. F. H. van HAELEN of the Netherlands Consulate-General in Singapore for his assistance in a couple of passages.

MAC HACOBIAN.

SINGAPORE,
17th December, 1934.

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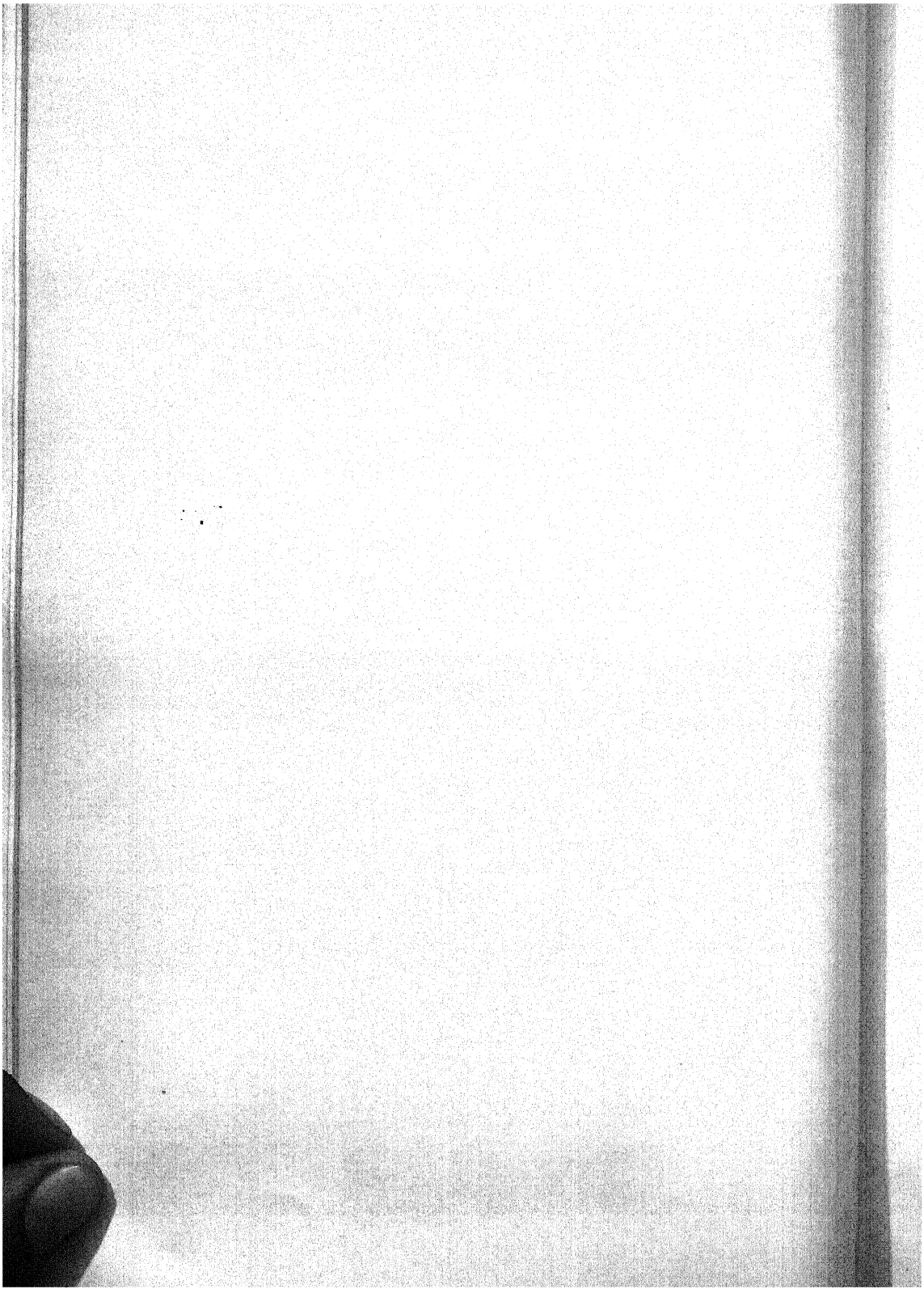

PREFACE.

By some English and French writers the capture of Malacca by the Dutch has been attributed to treason. Among others, Alexander Hamilton (1), the English Captain, writes as follows:—

" The Dutch General, seeing no other means of capturing the city of Malacca, and learning that the Portuguese Governor was an avaricious man, concluded a treaty with him for the delivery of the city against payment of 80,000 pieces of eight. To carry out this project the Governor ordered his officers to let Dutch come right under the walls of the city and then by opening a sudden fire on them, to surround and annihilate them. The Dutch who were forewarned, came at the appointed time and forced their way through, and on entering the city they killed the Governor in order to be free from the payment of the 80,000 pieces of eight."

The writer of " Batavia " referring to the above-mentioned says:—

" Meanwhile the whole story is a fabricated lie, because it is a well-known fact that the Portuguese defended themselves to the very last; that they, under the circumstances, concluded a favourable treaty, which they observed sacredly; that the Portuguese Governor died a natural death. Our simple and upright ancestors were not capable of such tricks of which they are accused by the English. Sush tricks would perhaps befit heroes like RODNEY and VAUGHAN."

Similar stories are also being circulated in our times. The French traveller Dr. M. YUAN speaking of Malacca says:—

" The Portuguese were in possession of Malacca between 1511 and 1641, but at the latter date the Dutch merchants bribed a miserable Governor to deliver the city into their hands. The Portuguese troops, knowing nothing of the treason, rushed to arms at the approach of the Dutch and fought heroically, but they were overwhelmed. Meanwhile the treacherous Netherlanders rewarded the miserable traitor in their own way. They murdered him in order to escape payment of the 500,000 francs (*livres*) which they had promised to pay. After gaining this victory they came across the Commander of the Portuguese force and spoke to him insolently thus:—

' When will your people retake this land ? '

' When your sins become heavier than ours ' was the simple reply of the Portuguese.

(1) In his book entitled " A New Account of the East Indies, being the observations and remarks of Captain Alexander Hamilton, who resided in these parts from the year 1688 to 1723 etc. page 77–88, London. This is also quoted in the important book " BATAVIA " about East Indies, Vol. 3, page 96, Amsterdam, 1799.

The Dutch merchants have departed long ago, the London merchants are ruling Malacca to-day and Portugal is still expiating."

The following extracts from the old Colonial Archives at the Hague demonstrate that the writer of BATAVIA was speaking the truth when he said that the Portuguese defended themselves to the very last. We refer the reader to the evidence given by the surviving clergymen to Commissioner SCHOUTEN when he spoke about the prolonged siege. The important decree by the Government of Batavia in respect of the victorious MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE by virtue of which "the gold necklace which had been hung round his neck by the brave Portuguese Governor Manuel da Souza Coutinho after the loss of Malacca, was presented to him again for use—this time by the Dutch East Indian Company as a token of honour," is also significant. Is it likely that a man like the Governor General ANTONIO van DIEMEN would dare to issue such a decree if a villainous treason like that had been committed? No one has doubted that van DIEMEN was a religious and righteous man. Commissioner SCHOUTEN who, immediately after his arrival at Malacca on the 1st February, drew up a report of the siege and forwarded it to the Government at Batavia, says:—"The Portuguese Governor Manuel da Souza Coutinho died of illness two days after the fall of the city and was interred with due military honours and Roman Catholic rites in the Church of ST. DOMINGO."

Is it possible that the authorities would have rewarded Commander CAERTECOE as stated in their decree of 10th October, 1642, had Malacca been captured by treason? The decree reads as follows:—

"A petition has been submitted to this meeting by MINNE CAERTECOE, Vice-Commander, who has just returned from the East Indies by one of the homeward bound ships. In that petition are enumerated in detail the services rendered by the Vice-Commander to the Company on several occasions during their expeditions, particularly at the Capture of Malacca when he acted as Commander-in-Chief. As an appreciation of his services and to encourage all those in the Company's service, the Committee resolved to authorise their house in Amsterdam to present him with a golden necklace and medallion to the value of Five Hundred Guilders, bearing the engraving of the city of Malacca on one side and that of the Coat-of-Arms of the Company on the other.

Finally the fact that the Coat-of-Arms or the Seal of Malacca was altered on the 13th of March, 1641, sufficiently demonstrates that the old Seal must have been obtained during the capture of that city. In Governor JOHAN van TWIST's journal of that date we read:—

"In regard to the gates and the ramparts and the Coat-of-Arms of the city of Malacca, these shall be altered in the following manner:—In the first place the gate of ST. DOMINGO through

which the victors made their triumphal entry will be baptized Victoria. To the Coat-of-Arms of the city depicting a Chinese junk (because the Portuguese first entered the place under the guise of Chinese traders and afterwards conquered it) shall be added an armed man holding in his fist a crowned negro together with the seal of the Company in commemoration of the capture of the city of Malacca by the Sword and its amalgamation with the United Netherlands State."

Impressed by these achievements of our forefathers brought about by their unbending faith, valour, prudence and steadfastness, without being blind to the shortcomings of some of them, we have preserved these documents from oblivion in order that we may ever remember their great deeds. Every Dutchman must be filled with indignation, seeing that there are some in our time who would belittle the fame of our forefathers and try to extinguish the rays of the halo of their glory that shines before the eyes of Europe.

The Occupation of the Straits of Malacca 1636—1639.

One of the most important events during the Governor-Generalship of ANTONIO VAN DIEMEN, was the capture of Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641. The East India Company thereby became the masters of a place which, as a stronghold and specially by reason of its excellent situation for trade, was of very great value and importance.

Malacca is situated between 2° 10′ Lat. and 102° 14′ Long. on the Peninsula of Further India on the coast of the Straits now called the Straits of Malacca after her name.

Malacca was once the capital of the kingdom of Malays. When the Portuguese DON LOPEZ DE SEQUERA appeared for the first time in the year 1509, the city was in a flourishing state being the greatest trade centre or emporium in East India; Arabs, Persians, Gujaratis, Bengalees, Portuguese, Siamese, Javanese, Chinese, Luzons, etc., were there carrying on trade. (1).

No wonder that the Portuguese aspired to take possession of this important place. In this project they succeeded on the 5th of August, 1511 (2) under the command of the famous ALPHONSO D'ALBUQUERQUE. "By capturing Malacca, the Portuguese monopolized the trade between East and West—in the exchange of goods such as clothing, spices, Chinese ware and other articles—making the city the chief centre of trade." (3).

The Dutch, however, who had been carrying on a prolonged war against the Malays, Javanese and Achinese and had finally subdued them, came to India for the first time at the end of the last century, thenceforward becoming formidable competitors. They also had realised the importance of Malacca, and by way of striking at their enemy the Spaniards, under whose rule all the Portuguese possessions had been since 1580, they soon set to work to capture the place.

CORNELIS MATELIEF appearing before Malacca in the year 1605, besieged the city during 1606, but was obliged to raise the siege and re-embark on arrival of a relief fleet from Goa. (4) A second attempt was made by PIETER WILLEMZ. VERHOEVEN in the year 1608, but again it was a failure. Other attempts were made between 1623–1627, but were likewise abortive. After this, only a few ships and vessels were sent occasionally to the Straits of Malacca to harass the Portuguese as much as possible until a more favourable opportunity should arise to enable them to pursue their object vigorously. The Princes of Achin and Johore had always been hostile to the Portuguese and therefore the Authorities in Batavia made overtures to them to help the Company with

men and ships in order to capture the city of Malacca. The Portuguese however were on the alert. They fortified the city and the outworks, being well supported by Goa. The Viceroy DON MIGUEL DE NORONHA DE LINHALES never missed an opportunity to warn the Governor and the Council. On the 24th September, 1634 he writes:—"It is imperative that you be well prepared in matters of war, because it is the intention of the evil-minded Achinese never to give us a respite. I have information that their king has negotiated with the Dutch with the object of besieging Malacca jointly next year. I am also informed (this with some reserve) that the Achinese, having suffered severe losses recently, are unable to make a move yet; nevertheless it is wise to make timely preparations against all eventualities, and for the defence of His Majesty's interest."

CORNELIS SYMONZ VAN DER VEER was one of the leading Commanders of the fleet in the Straits of Malacca against the Portuguese. For three years he harassed the latter incessantly and inflicted damages on their trade, either by capturing their vessels or obstructing the transport of supplies. (7) The most important event is recorded by the Governor-General in a letter to BARENT PIETERZ (1636): "It appears that in the month of May last an auxiliary fleet of 20 well manned vessels (Fustea) and five small ships had been sent to the Straits of Malacca from Goa. Being unaware of this, although we had been there just before the arrival of this auxiliary fleet, the Vice-Commander ORLANDO THIBAULT (8) was ordered to proceed from the South to the North, and taking command of the yachts KOUKERKE, WIERINGEN and BARDES to cut off the arriving vessels. On the 2nd of June the above three vessels, sailing within reach of Malacca, observed the new fleet of the enemy. They valiantly made towards the shore to within a cannon shot, and fired 60 shots at the enemy fleet most of them hitting successfully. At night they returned to sea and sent BARDES to the South to inform the Commander of South Malacca of the event. Meanwhile the two ships that were waiting outside Malacca were located by the enemy and attacked by the 20 ships. Fire broke out on board the WIERENGEN, and as the officers were either wounded or killed, the vessel could not put up a good fight and went down burning. But the KOUKERKE, thanks to THIBAULT, put up a magnificent fight repulsing the enemy several times, sinking 3 of their vessels (Fustea) and causing fire on two. After the burning of the WIERINGEN they retreated and joined our fleet with a crew of only 14 out of 50, having been hit several times by the guns of the fort. Four of the crew of the burning WIERINGEN were rescued by the KOUKERKE. The enemy sustained very heavy damages, and the loss of the WIERINGEN was amply compensated."

"We are in possession of the waterways of Malacca and according to intercepted Portuguese letters, the city is in dire necessity, and this critical state has presumably moved the new

Viceroy to speed up succour for it. Malacca will be relieved by five supply vessels (which did not participate in the battle) carrying rice."

"We intend soon to tighten our blockade of Malacca. We hope to hear shortly from Coromandel about the activities at your end." (9).

Regarding the issue of the above-mentioned battle the Governor-General and the Council write to him as follows:—

"The Portuguese fleet mentioned by your Excellency was that sent out from Goa under the command of General DON FRANCISCO COTINHO CAVACCA for the relief of the Straits of SINGAPURA. It met our yachts WIERINGEN and KOUKERKE. WIERINGEN caught fire and was burnt, but KOUKERKE gave such a battle that CAVACCA was killed together with a great number of Portuguese and Negroes. Letters intercepted mention that the Portuguese had very great hopes of Cavacca opening the way again to Malacca and clearing the Straits entirely of our cruising yachts, but it seems God did not wish it."

"Malacca is so closely invested that very few ships can pass through, except very small boats. Last month Commander CORNELIS SYMONZ. VAN DER VEER captured a junk coming from Macao. The Company gains thereby about Fl. 34,000 (Thirty-Four Thousand Guilders). On the 14th we received letters from the ARRAKAN stating how the fly-boat DEN OTTER sailing through the Straits of Malacca had met five small boats (*Navets*) near Little Ceylon (*Klein Ceilon*) and had captured one of them coming from NEGAPATAM with a cargo of rice and clothing. The goods, comprising 88 packets of clothing and 45 to 50 tons (*lasten*) of rice, were confiscated. The boat was emptied and then burnt. The other boats managed to escape."

"The Portuguese navigators have once more demonstrated that they possess no courage, because they were not able to defend themselves against such an insignificant fly-boat. It is a long time since we captured a NEGAPATAM boat."

"We are of opinion that there is a secret supply water to Malacca."

"We would request your Excellency to write us occasionally about the activities of the Portuguese in Goa. Being in touch with the English, you will have many opportunities of obtaining the desired information. It would assist us greatly in our organisation of the Company's force." (10).

A few months later information was received in Batavia that the fleet under the command of CORNELIS SYMONZ. had gained another victory over the Portuguese. "Regarding Malacca, we had the advantage over the enemy's vessels (Fustea) capturing

one, causing fire on three and holding five more in the river DINDING. The Admiral of these vessels DON FRANCISCO COTINHO DE VIVERES has been brought here as a prisoner together with a clergyman and nine Portuguese. Besides these, we are holding more than a hundred prisoners. Further we have captured a "Jelias" coming from Malacca on its way to Macao. The confiscated cargo is not checked yet, but many Portuguese letters have been intercepted: they give a graphic description of the battle off Goa stating that the Portuguese won the victory. They mention however that our fleet pursued them and that the passage of the carrack to Lisbon was hindered." (11).

"The above letters confirm further that the Malabars of Baragara captured a richly loaded "Galliot" coming from Macao. There were some Dutchmen on board including the captain of the wrecked yacht WIERINGEN, who were being sent to Goa from Malacca. Please make enquiries about them and if possible have them released. We have already informed the Commander of our Fleet at Goa about it." (12).

"The vessels that were locked up in the river DINDING have since been destroyed. Since our advices, the Portuguese have had further reverses in the Straits of Malacca."

"The Commander CORNELIS SYMONZ. VAN DER VEER informs us that he has destroyed nine enemy vessels (Fustea) in the Straits and on the South of the river DINDING. A yacht and a "Jelias," after being chased by us right into the broad river, were found to have had on board an unusual number of crew, i.e. 70 or 80, besides 30 soldiers. They landed and took up a position to fight, having fortified themselves with the guns of the ships. After a few days' resistance they were obliged at last to surrender, leaving in our hands 13 metal guns, 4 rifles and other arms besides a fair amount of tin. About 400 Portuguese "Mestisoes" (half castes) and a Negro escaped, some of these falling into our hands again, but most of the Malays were either massacred or starved in the jungles. So that of the 150 people sailing from Malacca, only 9 survived, besides 52 who were exchanged with 14 Dutch prisoners. There are at present 172 Portuguese and Negro prisoners in our hands. Thank God for this victory."

"On the 15th August an enemy vessel was intercepted having on board a Portuguese dignitary who was returning from a mission to the king of Macassar. A quantity of cloves and sandalwood were taken. These reverses and defects have so weakened the enemy that we are convinced now that they are not able to hold Malacca any longer. In this our released prisoners concur." (13).

Meanwhile Commander CORNELIS SYMONZ. VAN DER VEER started negotiations with the Prince of Johore in which he was successful, while the Prince of Achin himself asked for our aid

against the Portuguese. " The old King of Achin died and was succeeded by his son-in-law, the Prince of Pahang. This Prince sent his ambassadors to us asking for assistance against Malacca. We agreed to this and the Governor DEUTECOM was authorised to proceed to Achin for the necessary negotiations. (15) It took however fully a year before DEUTECOM's mission was crowned with success. It was definitely agreed that this King of Achin was to capture Malacca with our assistance, and to determine the time of the campaign a " Gorab " or Galley was specially sent by the King bringing his Ambassador to us along with DEUTECOM. It was decided to concentrate our joint forces in July somewhere near Malacca, including all our available fleet from the Indian Coast and Ceylon."

" Malacca cannot hold out for long owing to shortness of supplies. It appears to have become desolate. We intend sending our despatches to COROMANDEL by the beginning of March 1639, but if you do not receive any news by then, you should proceed with all available contingents to Malacca. If you are urgently needed in Ceylon, you should authorise someone else to take command of the forces for Malacca."

The fleet stationed in the Straits of Malacca rendered excellent service to the Company. Many " Galley's, Fust's and Navet's " were captured from the enemy, causing not only considerable damage to his trade, but worsening the already critical position of Malacca by cutting off much-needed supplies. The position of the Portuguese in these parts of India was, at that time, anything but rosy. " We understand with absolute certainty from intercepted letters written in Goa in April last and found on board the Royal Fust BON SUCCES which was captured on her way to Malacca by the Commander CORNELIS SYMONZ., that the position of Malacca is so serious that the Portuguese themselves expect it to fall, unless adequate measures are taken by Portugal for its relief during this year."

" With the " Galleon " MADRO DI DIOS 400 men perished including 96 Portuguese, many of them nobles."

" According to intercepted letters, strict orders are given to all ships destined for Macao to sail through the Straits of Bali instead of the Straits of Malacca in order to evade danger."

" We are further informed that in September two ships are to carry supplies to Malacca from Goa, according to a promise made to LOUIS MARTIN DA SOUZA, Captain General in Malacca. It is also stated that many valuable jewels are being prepared for the King of Achin including a " Kris " and several bracelets studded with excellent diamonds. All these are to be forwarded by the above two ships to Malacca." (17).

We give here a description of one of the many engagements which have taken place recently. " Our Yachts VEENHUIZEN and

RIJSWIJK were sent to GOMES POLES and PULU-AY (= Pulau Weh) to "cut off" three FUSTS (vessels) which were reported to be sailing to Achin from Goa having on board an Ambassador to the King of Achin and many valuable jewels. The Fusts were sighted on the 28th October. The VEENHUIZEN was unable to approach them owing to unfavourable wind, but the RIJSWIJK managed to engage one of them and finally to capture it and kill the crew. The other two made a furious attack on the RIJSWIJK and managed to get on board and a hand to hand fight ensued in which our crew defended themselves heroically. Unsuccessful attempts were made by the enemy to destroy the ship by fire; weanwhile our crew managed to damage the Admiral's ship so badly that she began to sink. This frightened the enemy and they quickly made off with all the booty after hacking the mast and throwing the anchors overboard. The VEENHUIZEN pursued the enemy FUST chasing her into the river of Achin, where she was confiscated by the order of the King, and the ex-Governor of Malacca, who was on board travelling as an Ambassador, was taken prisoner." (18).

The brave Commander CORNELIS SYMONZ. VAN DER VEER (19) was transferred to Goa to take the command of the Fleet of Defence there, and in his place was appointed Commander JACOB COOPER. (20).

The negotiations with the King of Achin proceeded favourably. He had repeatedly promised whole-hearted support, and had already sent representatives to Batavia to enquire about the intended expedition, in order that he might make timely preparations. In August 1639 there was already well-equipped artillery in Batavia of about 2,000 Europeans ready to be despatched to Malacca in November or December. But the expedition had to be postponed on account of the campaign in Ceylon. (21) Dissensions had also cropped up meanwhile between the Princes of Achin and Johore that were detrimental to the intended expedition.

The Director General PHILIP LUCASZ. who left for Ceylon to take command of the forces there and who had been instructed to call on his way at Malacca for reconnoitring purposes, with a view to capturing the place on his return from Ceylon, writes as follows:—

"Leaving the roads of Batavia on the 24th September, we anchored off Carimon Island on the 9th October, and on the 12th ORANG KAYA LAXAMANA of Johore appeared with 40 vessels ready to take the offensive on behalf of his King against the Portuguese, determined to storm the city of Malacca. We encouraged him in his design but pointed out that in the interest of all concerned it was desirable that the differences between the crowns of Johore and Achin should be composed. LAXAMANA complained bitterly that although Johore had given no cause for offence, yet the King of Achin had violated its territory and had oppressed its King and people. Nevertheless the King of Johore

was willing to show his goodwill and would co-operate in the expedition against the Portuguese provided definite treaty terms were offered to him. But in view of the uncompromising attitude of the King of Achin it was considered futile to intervene. LAXAMANA however, undertook not to engage meanwhile in any hostile actions against the Achinese, but to wait and see how they behaved."

In his instructions to Commander JACOB COOPER on the 21st October, 1639, regarding the policy to be followed in respect of these Princes, the Director General writes:—" Do not let yourself be involved in the strife between these two States, least of all by siding with either party, but prevent hostilities between them by threatening to side with the party that has given no offence. There is increasing bitterness between them, but we are of opinion that a means of reconciliation will be found eventually. If they offer to accommodate you in small things you may accept them, but it is not advisable to allow the ACHINESE or even PANGLIMAS to use the Company's vessels for transporting their own troops. Any such requests you should tactfully decline, saying that your ships are intended for patrol work and to watch for the enemy's vessels and inflict damages upon them, and that it would be inadvisable to deplete our forces. If the Achinese show slackness in their preparations to participate in the siege of Malacca, then you are continually to persist that it is owing to the slackness of the Achinese that the Portuguese are not driven out of these lands." (23) He goes on to say that Johore was expected to have a well equipped force ready for the siege of Malacca in March or April, and that LAXAMANA had ordered six shallops to be built, one of which was already completed, and the other five would be ready within five months.

PHILIP LUCASZ. left Carimon Island on the 14th October with the fleet, and arrived at the roads of Formosa on the 16th, where he says:—" He met Commander WILLEM JACOBZ. COSTER (24) with his yacht RIJSWIJK, coming back from Malacca where they had been able to arrest three fishermen near the fort. The inspection and measuring of the bulwarks had been done hastily and not very accurately on account of the bright moonlight and the fear of being detected. But it agrees with the chart in Batavia. Their prisoners confirm the statement of former prisoners:—that rice was very dear in Malacca and was not obtainable for less than a Real for four gantangs of 4½ lbs. each. The Citadel however, possessed many fine cannons, but owing to poor pay the military were mutinous; there were not more than fifty soldiers and about 3,000 " casados ordinair " in the fortress; the gates were badly guarded and the guardsmen were not doing their rounds regularly."

" These and other reports as to the conditions of the Garrison at Malacca prompt us to suggest to Council that the fortress can

be captured if it is stormed with a force of one thousand resolute Europeans in the following manner:—

"Leaving the main Fleet behind, a small vessel well provided with ladders, escalade and other implements should proceed towards the shore on a moonlight night. The main fleet should then follow and take the place by surprise. The yachts VEENHUIZEN and the DRAAK just arriving from Formosa narrate how they had captured some "jelias" coming from NEGAPATAM, within the harbour of Malacca. The Commanders COOPER and THIBAULT were sent with four gunboats (chaloup) and fifty musketeers to land somewhere on the outskirts of Malacca, and by capturing some prisoners by night to find out from them whether our arrival had been detected. They were also instructed to make an attack on the house of a certain nobleman by the name of LOUIS PACHECO (whose house was situated on the outskirts of Malacca) and to arrest and take him along as a prisoner. Everything went off well, and the next day at 2 p.m. they returned bringing with them twenty natives prisoners, 10 or 12 cows, some sheep and goats, which they had taken from the district of Malacca. They had surrounded the house of the nobleman but the bird had flown. According to a shaven Chinese the nobleman had left some time ago for PATANA. These prisoners told us that people in Malacca had known days before, that thirty ships were to arrive, and were therefore on the alert. On the 19th inst., we dropped anchor in the roads and sent the VOS with a white flag, to sail towards shore and negotiate for exchange of prisoners. As soon as she was out of sight there came a ship from the shore bringing a reply to the PADRE's letter sent by VOS. The Portuguese were willing to exchange prisoners and for that purpose a Captain of the Infantry and a Naval Captain boarded Commander COOPER's ship which was flying a white flag. The guests were rather impudent, demanding, in exchange for the Captain of the OTTER and three soldiers, all our prisoners comprising seven natives and about twenty-six negroes. We were not prepared to agree to this, and preferred to exchange man for man. The PADRE could be exchanged only with the Captain, and the soldiers man for man. We gave them to understand that this was our last word and that if they wished to consult their principals first, they might as well allow us to accompany them to the shore for a decisive reply. To this they agreed and this afforded our men an excellent opportunity to take certain close observations of the fortifications. In this Commander COSTER did valuable service by accompanying our men under the disguise of a quartermaster and taking close observations of the place. Our delegates were arrested on landing and ordered to the northern section of the fortress where the Governor was hard at work fortifying the place as our assault was expected to come from that quarter. About 8 o'clock the Governor arrived in a palanquin with torches, followed by a big crowd of people. Shortly afterwards our men were dismissed with the promise that the prisoners would be

delivered on board the following morning, as it was too late that evening. Early next morning four Dutch prisoners were taken on board the Vos with a message from the Portuguese Governor to exchange those with Portuguese prisoners at our discretion, requesting us in the meantime to consult with his delegates first. After due consultation we produced the Padre and five other prisoners, retaining a certain Captain of a " jelias " by the name of JUAN DA GUERRA who, on account of his vile language and impertinent behaviour towards our officers, probably under the influence of drinks, had been locked up in a " galleon." We were absolutely unwilling to release this vagabond, but upon repeated requests of the delegates we finally consented to let him go, after a severe reprimand, stating that it was solely for the sake of the Governor that we had agreed to release him. So seven Portuguese were exchanged for four Dutchmen, and both parties went away contented."

" We drank to the health of the person who would become the Dutch Governor of Malacca within a year, and then planned an assault on the enemy vessels (Fusten) with the object of capturing or destroying them. Vice-Commander THIBAULT set out at midnight for the shore with five shallops carrying guns and musketeers, but he was soon detected by the enemy's outposts. Nevertheless, an attack was made on the biggest of the " Fusten " causing a fire on board which, however, was promptly put out. Some of the enemy " sentry boats " and RED ISLAND observing our operations came quickly to the rescue of the " Fusten " and a regular sea-fight ensued in which there were many casualties on both sides. Meanwhile our ships opened fire on a suburb of the town, causing general consternation and alarm among the inhabitants."

" The batteries of the fort which had been silent till then, commenced a thundering, though rather slow, bombardment. Unfortunately a shell hit one of our shallops killing two sailors and a soldier. We managed to get away with nine prisoners, three of whom were seriously wounded Europeans. It was reported that only a feeble resistance was shown on shore, where not more than twenty musketeers had been observed. This made us presume that the bulk of the forces had been ordered to take up positions either as advance guards or in an ambuscade, nor were we mistaken because early next morning organised charges were made on us from all corners of the wood with guns and rifles. Finally we were honoured with two shells from the cannons as a ' send off.' Our work was done and we set off lightheartedly."

" The Chart of Malacca which we brought from Batavia is not quite accurate as you will see from the enclosed chart rectified after our latest observations. After a close survey of the situation of the territory and actual site of the fortifications on the North East and on the South, you will be pleased to observe that the

fortress is not so inaccessible or impregnable as it has been rumoured to be."

"We are of opinion that the place can be conquered by a resolute attack rather than by a prolonged siege. It is a pity that our repeated requests in this respect have been treated by the Council with indifference, procrastination and excuses. If things were left in the hands of men like Commander COSTER (who has rendered such excellent service) it is questionable in whose hands Malacca would have been to-day. But patience. It seems the destined hour has not struck, and we must yet await the outcome of the Ceylon campaign." (26).

Had the proposal of Director-General PHILIP LUCASZ. been accepted and had there been many men in the Council like WILLEM JACOBZ. COSTER the assault would have been undertaken, most probably with success. There would be no occasion then to mourn the loss of so many lives lost during the long siege.

On the 22nd October PHILIP LUCASZ. left with the Fleet for Ceylon after giving the necessary instructions to Commander JACOB COOPER, that end with the following words:—

"..... Before concluding, I urge you to keep a vigilant watch and inflict as much damage as possible on the enemy. Moreover you are to blockade the fortress of Malacca closely and completely, cutting off all supplies, so that when the appointed hour strikes and we receive orders from the Governor-General and the Council of India, the victory will be obtained with less bloodshed, labour and costs. May God grant it." (27).

It can be seen from the above how often the Portuguese were harassed in the Straits of Malacca by our forces after 1636. We have already paid a high tribute to Commander CORNELIS SYMONZ. VAN DER VEER, who not only contributed largely towards our successful exploits by his personal valour, but also prepared a chart of the Straits of Malacca which the Governor-General and the Council of Indian describe in their letter dated 23rd December, 1642, addressed to the Directors as—"indicating all the depths and the shallows, the islands, the rocks, the sands, and the corners, etc. carefully surveyed and properly mapped, so that it will be of very great service to those who will be called upon in future to sail to the Straits of Malacca."

Now let us see how the siege of Malacca was planned and executed, resulting in its capture by our brave men.

THE SIEGE AND CAPTURE

1640—1641.

It was on the 5th of May, 1640, that the Batavia Government took the momentous resolution to conquer Malacca either by the sword or by treaty. Early that morning Sergeant-Major ADRIAEN ANTONISZ. arrived from the Straits of Malacca on the yacht WELSING. He had been ordered by President WILLEM JACOBZ. COSTER and the Council in Ceylon to proceed to Achin in place of Commander CORNELIS SYMONZ. VAN DER VEER (28) (who had died in the meantime) in order to resume negotiations initiated by Commander CORNELIS SYMONZ. VAN DER VEER at the instance of Director PHILIP LUCASZ., with the King of Achin in respect of the Malacca expedition. According to the Sergeant-Major, the King was still fully disposed to assist us in this project and was ready to reinforce us in Malacca with some contingents. In addition to the yachts on the spot, namely the Vos, the VEENHUIZEN, RIJSWIJK, ROEMERSWAAL, the NANGERAK, the KLEIN ZUTPHEN, and the DRAAK, the Sergeant-Major had brought under the command of Commander JACOB COOPER, the battleships RIJNSBURG and BREDAM. The vessels EGMOND, VALKENBURG, and OUDEWATER were also expected shortly from Ceylon, so that besides the crews, we would have more than 400 troops available for the siege of Malacca.

The capture of Malacca and the elimination of the Portuguese had long been an object of ours. On three occasions, in April and August, 1639 and on 27th March, 1640, it was actually resolved to send an expeditionary force but somehow these were abandoned. We were, however, determined on this occasion to launch operations for the capture of the place before the end of the year (1640). All our available vessels were ordered to proceed to Malacca with men, arms, ammunition and supplies, but the general command was entrusted not to Commander JACOB COOPER but to Sergeant-Major ADRIAEN ANTONISZ. (30) who was considered more capable in every respect, more efficient in leadership and war. He was instructed to acquire the city either by war or treaty. The following is his royal commission to take command of the Straits fleet.

(Appendix II. Commission for Major ADRIAEN ANTONISZ.)

ANTONIO VAN DIEMEN, Governor-General and the Council of India, acting on behalf of the States General of the United Netherlands, His Royal Highness Frederick Henrick by the Grace of God, Prince of Oranje, Duke of Nassau, etc., etc., and the Directors of the authorized East India Company in these Eastern

lands, to all who shall see or hear these presents, greetings. Be it known that:—

We have from time to time seriously considered the capture of Malacca from the Portuguese our hereditary enemies, not only for the expansion of trade, but to strengthen our influence and prestige over the neighbouring Indian monarchs and Princes. Our light yachts have for some time past made the Straits unsafe for the enemy's trade. We consider, however, that the opportune moment has arrived for the realisation of our object, as we are informed that the garrison is weak, that the leaders are at variance, and that there is a general scarcity of supplies, especially rice.

Moreover, we may expect from the Kings of Achin and Johore assistance in our campaign. Taking these factors into consideration, we have resolved in the Council of India to lay siege to Malacca this year to force it to submit. For that purpose we can think of no more experienced and courageous leader than Captain Major ADRIAEN ANTONISZ. ex-Field-Marshal of the Ceylon Campaign, whom we hereby appoint Commander in Chief of the Netherlands Naval and Military Forces destined for Malacca, including the fleet at present under Commander COOPER comprising the following ships and yachts:—EGMOND, RIJNSBURG, VALKENBURG, OUDEWATER, BREDAM, DE VOS, LANGERAK, VEENHUIZEN, LIMMEN, RIJSWIJK, ROEMERSWAAL, KLEIN ZUTPHEN, and the DRAAK, together with the ship UTRECHT, and the yachts WELSING, WATERLOOZE, WERVE, and the "galliot" DE YAGER, the Commander's ship. All other ships coming from the Patria and elsewhere for the purpose of reinforcement shall in addition be subjected to his command. He is authorized to fly the flag at all times, convene Council and preside over same, to administer justice civil as well as criminal with the advice of the Council. He is further empowered to employ all approved methods and tactics of warfare in addition to the special instructions given by us for the occupation of Malacca. And we hereby order and command all Commissioners, Commanders, Vice-Commanders, Merchants, Treasurers, Masters, Captains, Lieutenants, Officers, Mates, Soldiers, Sailors and Boatmen none exempted, all those already in the Straits or expected to arrive from elsewhere, to recognise and obey ADRIAEN ANTONISZ, as their Commander; and to assist him in word and deed according to their oath of allegiance to the Company, which we shall appreciate as a service rendered to the Company against the enemy.

sd. Antonio van Diemen.

Given in the Castle of Batavia on the great Island of Java, this day, the 19th May, 1640.

Meanwhile it was decided that the yacht LIMMEN should serve as a supply ship carrying a crew of 40 sailors and 20 soldiers and enough provisions for the fleet for at least 8 months.

Commander Cooper was also warned in time to cut off the two boats supposed to have been sent by the Mataram Javanese with a full cargo of much needed rice for the relief of Malacca.

Sergeant-Major ADRIAEN ANTONISZ. left Batavia on the 20th May with four of the above ships carrying 242 sailors and 90 soldiers, and arriving at Malacca in the beginning of June, closely blockaded the place with all available ships at his command.

The Commissary JUSTUS SCHOUTEN (31) describing the fortifications of Malacca writes:—" After the arrival of the Netherlanders in India and especially after the siege by Admiral Cornelis Matelief in 1600 the fortifications were reinforced with granite and plaster, geometrically calculated according to European standard. There were three gates, two bastions, an angular structure and two flights of steps, the walls of which could withstand bombardment from either side. They were 32 feet high. The circumference outside the walls and the bulwarks was about 420 Rijnlands roods and within the walls 330 roods. The citadel was fortified with 70 very heavy and 40/50 smaller metal guns placed as follows:—

On the " Curassa " Gate	16	pieces
„ „ " St. Jago " bastion	8	„
„ „ Corner of Hospital de POVERS	2	„
„ „ gate of oir MILLE VIRGINES	11	„
„ „ bastion of MADRE DE DIOS	12	„
„ „ gate of ST. DOMINGO	8	„
„ „ steps of ST. DOMINGO	2	„
„ „ steps of Hospital DEL REY	3	„
„ „ towers of the FORTALESSO VELJO	3	„
„ a battery above the Cathedral	3	„
Total ..	68	pieces

" The light guns were placed at the gates, the windows, in the old Castle, and in the towers, so that the fortress was extraordinarily well provided with cannons and all relative war materials. The garrison consisted of 260 men forming four companies of 63 each and their respective officers; but the Portuguese mestics and native inhabitants, in all about two to three thousand, formed the best fighting men for the defence. Owing to its excellent fortifications and its strong garrison the city was unconquerable for any Indian Prince. Only a very strong European army would have a chance of forcing it."

Fully a month passed before a landing could be effected and this happened in the following manner (32):—

" On 3 August at dawn we landed at high tide with 12 Companies comprising 600 men including 130 sailors, on the north of the city in a large field outside the range of enemy guns. There we

re-formed them in 3 battalions of 4 Companies each. Commander JACOB COOPER was in the vanguard assisted by Captain LOURENS FORCENBURGH; Rear-Admiral MINNE WILLEMZ. CAERTEKOE together with Captain LAMOTIUS was in command of the "bataille," while the Rear-guard was under the joint control of Chief Factor and Advocate GERARDT HERBERS and Captain MAXMILIAEN BONTEMS. The Javanese and the Bandonese were in the "bataille," while the MARDYKERS, in all 95 natives, in the rearguard. The Johorites (Laxamana's troops) came last, with their 5 to 600 men. We landed 7 field guns namely 2 of 8 lbs., 2 of 6 lbs., and 3 Princes guns. Leaving behind in the boats and ships 204 and 208 respectively for the defence of our transport we started marching along the seashore towards the enemy's bulwarks where we found 200 Europeans and a like number of natives in the first line trenches in expectation of our arrival. The enemy batteries from the citadel and the bulwarks opened fire immediately but in spite of continual bombardment we were able, eventually, to drive the enemy not only out of the first line trenches but to press them hard beyond their second line, namely the stone walls of the suburb, right up to the bulwarks and walls of the city, capturing 4 metal guns of 3 to 4 lbs. shells 2 metal bells, one mestic prisoner and 2 white women with two European children one of whom was only 1 year old and had been evidently left behind by his runaway parents."

"The enemy set on fire all the houses near the city. On the same day we destroyed 7 of the enemy's big *jelias* and 5 small boats lying some in the river and some ashore. We also dug a trench rapidly between the Church of St. Thomas and the city where we placed 4 guns, after that we put up two batteries and a bridge over the river for sending our men now and then to KLOOSTERBERG (Monastry Hill) with the assistance of Malays. Thus settled in the northern suburb we started a daily bombardment against the city wall."

Batavia kept sending supplies and ammunition to Malacca. On 24 July the yacht "KLEIN AMSTERDAM" left Batavia for Malacca and on the 5th of August the following:—

the ship "Wassenaar".....	with 65 sailors and	180 soldiers,
the yacht "Grijpskerke"....	with 40 sailors and	65 soldiers,
the galliot "Quelpaert".....	with 15 sailors and	15 soldiers.
Total ..	120 sailors and	260 soldiers.

These ships were under the command of Commander PIETER VAN DEN BROEKE (assisted by Captain Hendrik Dobbertijn and some competent officers), a man of well earned fame owing to his heroic activities at the capture of JACATRA in 1619. By a special decree he had been granted the third place in the Council (33)[1].

[1] See appendix IV.

On 9 August the yacht CABO DE RAMA sailed to Malacca with 130 soldiers on board, 50 pigs, oranges, sugar, etc.

In a letter dated 4 August, 1640, addressed to Adriaen Antonisz. by the Governor-General Van Diemen and the Council of India, we read the following:—

negligence of THIBAULT, the absence of EGMOND and SERPENT, and the delay in the arrival of home vessels. We have so far been able to keep up the blockade, but a long siege and the prevailing sickness are liable to claim from us more victims than the enemy would. It is therefore imperative that you make haste and attack the enemy vigorously. This is not actually a mandate, but as mentioned in our instructions, you may, after consulting with your Council, engage in decisive operations at a favourable opportunity. By the capture of Malacca (God grant us) we hope to have some of our forces released for Ceylon."

" We enclose extracts from some intercepted letters. They speak of the enemy's poor plight. We hope that the other " fusts " will fall into our hands. You will do well to reprimand the negligent Captains LIMMEN and ROEMERSWAAL in front of the Council, as a lesson to the others. We wish the yacht carrying the Ambassador to Japan would fall into our hands. We hope a vigilant watch will be kept so that the old Ambassador (a man of 60 years) may not escape." [1]

" We are surprised at not having news from Commissaris Jan de Meere (34). Achin's promised help appears to have dwindled, while the Johorite Laxamana's promises are doubtful now that he has postponed his visit and seems dissatisfied because you have not written to him on your arrival. Trusting His Excellency's solemn promises and having you as our representative for Malacca, we considered it unnecessary to write to him further. Moreover, it is our intention after the capture of Malacca to come and arrange matters by way of satisfying the Princes of Achin and Johore."

" It was a mistake of Commander COOPER to allow them to fortify BATASOUWER (also written BATOESOWER or BATOESABAR). It has made them insolent. They have gone so far as to negotiate with the Portuguese, according to the intercepted letters of ANTONIO TELLES."

" However, we should give little credence to a conquered enemy's words and prefer to trusting the Laxaman's. Should he fail in his promise to assist us against the Portuguese he will have to face the enmity of the Achinese as well as ourselves. JAN MENIE does not understand our policy. We always give preference to Achin over Johore, although it is advisable to preserve the friendship of both if possible."

[1] Appendix V.

"It is wrong of Commander COOPER to have parted with such a big quantity of gunpowder and guns. We are aware of all that has transpired during his command at Malacca. We hope he is on his way back. During his absence you may utilize PIETER VAN DEN BROEKE as the third person in your Council in preference to ORLANDO THIBAULT. The latter must answer for his stay in Quadeh contrary to orders. Meanwhile you may make use of him and let him reform and amend."

"The WASSENAAR is carrying all you require except the gun carriages. We hope you can have the old ones repaired. We are sending some draught horses instead. The gunpowder from COROMANDEL was of very great use to us."

"We have ordered next Wednesday to be a day of public prayer for our victory."

"See that Malacca is well closed in. We hope you have been able to sieze Captain AMBROSIA VELOZA with the three "fusts" that left Goa on 3 May. This Captain is well-known here. He has on several occasions written to the King of Spain and to the Viceroy of Goa running us down and urging them to re-establish Portuguese rule. Some of these missives are in our possession."

"It seems ANTONIO TELLES intends sending relief from Goa to Malacca at the end of September or the end of October, but he awaits reinforcements from Portugal. Be on the look-out however if Malacca has not capitulated by that time." (35).

In August some of the above-mentioned boats from home arrived at Batavia, and on 2 September these were ordered to Malacca with further reinforcements

the ship EGMOND,

the yacht ENGELSCHE ANNA, and

the boat BANDA.

The two last named carried 55 men under the command of Lieutenant GARRIT WOLFSHAGEN and Petty Officer JAN ANTHONY FRANCKEN.

On 10 September the yacht SANDFOORT anchored off Batavia bringing letters from the Commander-in-Chief of Malacca, dated 7 August and stating they had launched the attack on 2 September after the arrival of the Johore land and sea forces on 29 July. The Governor-General and the Council replied:—

"We are pleased to note that you are safely encamped and await reinforcements to start major operations. These will be forthcoming in about 11 or 12 days. The yacht KLEIN AMSTERDAM, WASSENAAR and the QUELPAERT with SANDFOORT are on their way while the GRIJSKERKE and CABO DE RAMA will leave shortly

followed later by the ANNA and the BANDA. They will carry in all 253 sailors and 467 troops with the relative supplies and ammunition required by you. We hope that something remarkable will occur on the arrival of these reinforcements and that the city will soon capitulate but anyhow be prepared for a long siege. Remember Malacca is an old and strongly fortified city well provided with guns and a strong garrison of whites and "mestizen."

"As promised, we send by the EGMOND 110 men in two companies together with 100 sailors. We have also shipped 50 barrels of gunpowder, lunt, muskets, rice, meat, bacon, ship's equipment, anchors, ropes, sails, etc. As soon as the remaining nine ships arrive from Patria, we will send you 300 uniforms and 1,000 shirts."

"The EGMOND has on board as passengers NICHOLAS JANSZ. HOUTKOOPER, merchant from Vlissingen, who is known to be a factory man and a civil engineer; ISAAC JACOB DACHIN from Amsterdam, an expert gunner and artillery man; and WILLEM KETELAAR, a clever surgeon and physician. Employ them according to their professions. After the capture of Malacca you may send the doctor back to us, whereas Gunner ISAAC JACOBZ. can be retained in Malacca."

"After its capture you will make over the governorship of Malacca to ADRIAEN ANTISZ., and if he refuse it, to JOHAN DE MEERE. For the occupation of the city you will need in the beginning at least 300 men under good officers. After the capture of the city some of the ships should be sent out to other places. But none must be utilized elsewhere while the siege continues and it will last long. The Johorites must be watched carefully so that they may not create trouble on the pretext of shortage of rice. This can always be procured at the Company's expense."

"The letters from Commissary DE MEERE reporting acute dissension and strained relations between Achin and Johore have not surprised us. The Achinese purpose to subjugate Johore before the capture of Malacca. This is against our policy. We want them to agree to assist us in capturing Malacca. This does not seem to appeal to the Achinese and they have flatly refused to assist us.

"It is a calamity to be deprived of the assistance of both. *No man can serve two Masters.* However, it is quite inadvisable to help Achin to crush the Johorite, without ever being certain of Achinese help in our Malacca campaign. We must not forget that the Achinese have in other respects treated our Commissioners very well indeed. They have made liberal offerings to the Governor-General. They have conceded our requests in respect of the West Coast of Sumatra and have confirmed anew all former privileges. It is in our interest to give preference always

to the Achinese because of the great commercial benefits we derive now and hope to derive from them in future. Yet we must do our utmost to bring about a reconciliation after the capture of Malacca by sending our Ambassador to Achin together with the Ambassador of the Johorites to conclude a treaty. If the Johorites can be prevailed upon to make a rapprochement we doubt not that the Achinese will respond readily and liberally but it is a delicate question and should be handled very cautiously so as not to offend or antagonize the Johorites in view of the siege of Malacca. We cannot imagine that the Achinese will engage in hostile action against Malacca, or even Johore or the Johorites, during the siege of Malacca, but to obviate hostilities and humour them, you are to transport in 1 or 2 yachts Achin rice to Pahang for the relief of the needy and under that pretext you are to watch and see if there are any Achinese at that place and prevent mischief."

"As soon as Malacca has capitulated, you shall dispatch one of our fast yachts with a friendly letter to the King of Achin announcing our victory. Further, you are to send him two metal and four iron guns as presents, expressing the hope of visiting his Court with the Ambassador of Johore. On the same happy occasion of the capture of Malacca you will express your sincere appreciation to the King of Johore, not forgetting to make him liberal presents of cannon, gunpowder, and shot, and urging him again to conclude peace with the Achinese."

"It was annoying to hear of the trip of the Portuguese Ambassador to Japan from Goa *via* Macao, and his escape and arrival at Malacca in the beginning of July. We shall in due time learn the result of this mission to the Emperor of Japan. *The enemy is trying hard to get a footing once more in Japan,* but we think he will not succeed. As with the Spaniards in Manilla, the stronger the appeal for entrance, the stricter the refusal."

"Many MATARAM vessels have run into JAMBY and PALEMBANG not daring to call at Malacca. These vessels are extraordinary well manned and equipped with ammunition. It is the aim of Mataram by assisting Malacca to divert our attention from the Batavia campaign. We are confident that after the capture of Malacca this restless guest will himself ask for peace."

"We were very pleased to note that old Commander JACOB COOPER has decided to stay. We applaud his courage and hope he will participate in the glory of Malacca's capture[1].

"Should there be new vacancies you will please think of midshipman JACOB JACOBZ. VAN TWIST of Lieutenant MATHIJS RIEL's Company. He is an experienced soldiers and a cousin of JOHAN VAN TWIST." (36).

[1] Appendix VI.

The ships SANTVOORT, NEPTUNES, and the frigates DE LIEFDE and DE LAK destined fcr Ceylon were ordered to call at Malacca first and stay there for eight days as a demonstration to convince the Portuguese that we had no intention of giving up the siege. At the end of September these ships departed to their destination.

A letter was received from the Commander-in Chief on 28 September, and the following is the reply:—

"We have received your letter of 5 September by the 't QUELPAERT giving an account of your campaign. We note that the river is an impediment dividing our forces. We also note with regret that five of our men have committed treason by deserting to the enemy's camp and revealing our position, resulting in a furious bombardment of our camp and causing us heavy losses. It is, however, gratifying to note that in spite of these adverse circumstances, our losses have not exceeded 49 killed and 43 wounded, the enemy having suffered heavier losses."

"We are confident that when our own new battery No. 14 is in action the bulwark ST. DOMINGO, 't CURAS and THE TOWER will be destroyed. The enemy's cannons will not be able to harm us and he will be disheartened. We are, however, of opinion that Malacca can offer a strong resistance; the place is well fortified and apparently there are still sufficient supplies. A long siege may be inevitable, but remember that with the advent of the wet monsoon your troubles will increase. During the rain supplies of men, ammunition and provisions can reach you very slowly. The unhealthy damp climate, the scarcity of supplies and the strenuous labour will undoubtedly create sickness and dejection in our camp and this will be a great hindrance to success. These considerations should move you to hasten operations and if possible to make simultaneous attacks on the fortress. You should not be anxious about the enemy obtaining relief from Goa or Macao. There are no available galleons in Goa or Macao to carry supplies to Malacca. Manilla has no ships according to intercepted Spanish letters received from the Moluccas on the 27th ult. All available Spanish vessels in Manilla are requisitioned for TIDOR where extreme distress and famine prevail. Besides, the Spaniards and Tidor are engaged at present in a serious fight with the Ternatans. Neither Goa nor Macao will ever dare to send out 'fusts" or small vessels to Malacca."

"We need not fear an échec like the one suffered by MATALIEF when a fleet of 18 galleons (*Armade de rimas*) appeared from Goa for the relief of Malacca. Nor have we to fight the Achinese like the Portuguese in 1639 when they joined the Johorites to crush the Achinese. Malacca is bound to fall provided we are not seriously handicapped by epidemic, famine or shortness of gunpowder which by the way, we notice you consume liberally. We quite realize that one cannot be sparing in powder in such cases."

" We could not comply with your request to send a member of our Council to inspect—first, because we have full trust in you for the management of affairs; secondly we cannot spare any of our members at present owing to pressure of work (home letter expected shortly); third, we do not expect the siege to last much longer, although we know that *Malacca is not a cat to be handled without gloves*. Anyhow, you are entrusted with the execution of the whole project which is in the interests of the Company and for the reputation of our country. We know that " ice is not broken with the hands " and you are quite justified in pointing out all the difficulties. It gives us great pleasure to note with what courage the campaign is conducted and this has encouraged us to alter our previous instructions. We invoke Almighty's blessings, courage and unity which are needed most on this expedition."

" We are informed by deserters that the supplies of gunpowder at the fortress are scanty, but that a good quantity is stored in the Church of ST. ANTONIO No. 4. You may make enquiries, and send a few shells in that direction. It is reported that leading inhabitants have sent their women folk to RAMBOU and NANNING. If no relief arrives from Goa in the meantime, they will soon despair. A few " galliots " from Macao, where there are enough supplies, may try to smuggle through; so you should have 4 yachts continually patrolling the Straits to detect them in time."

" We approve of the contents of the leaflets you have had circulated in Malacca, which the Governor has ordered to be burnt unread. It was evidently feared that your revelations would create an unfavourable impression in the community against the King of Spain. The opportune moment has arrived for sending the padres (popes) and their retinue (who are with you) to the besieged with letters (37) urging them to capitulate, or, warning them, in the event of refusal, of the consequence of defeat."

" The people in MOAR, RAMBOU and NANNING should be continually warned by us and the Malays, not to assist the Portuguese as if they do they will be considered our enemies and be liable to be assaulted. NANNING and RAMBOU should be cautioned seriously either to respect their promise of helping Malacca, and to expel or deliver the Portuguese women, or be prepared for ruination. These villagers must be handled very strictly because it is evident that Malacca is deriving great benefits from them."

" The Johorites should be kept in hand with small supplies of provisions which you can deliver out of the present consignment. They should be given to understand that their political fate depends upon the siege of Malacca, and that in case of success they may expect to regain independence and be freed from the Portuguese domination, whereas otherwise they are doomed to downfall. With

their small quick boats they should continue detecting all the sheltering places and retreats of the Javanese and other boats approaching Malacca. We cannot send you shallops from here: you can either purchase them from the LAXAMANA or try and procure otherwise."

" Rumours about the ill-treatment of " upper-merchants " JACOB COMPOSTEL in Achin on account of his bad temper, we can hardly credit. It is presumably a lie spread by the Johorites to create discord between us and the King of Achin. ANTHONY HURDT is proceeding to Achin to negotiate with the King."

" We note with much pleasure that you have asked Governor GARDINIJS for 20,000 lbs. of gunpowder and have forwarded the necessary empty barrels, i.e. 130 in all, by the GRIJPSKERKE. We have no doubt that your order will be executed, but we wish you had asked for 500 or 600 barrels. We have now only 120 available here and next time it will be necessary to send empty barrels to him with orders to supply you urgently. Your orders must be given preference above everything else, because it is unthinkable to have to abandon Malacca for want of gunpowder. Commissary DE MEERE should attend to these matters more carefully. Fast yachts can always bring you supplies from the Coromandel coast but if these cannot call at Malacca, then there is less chance of obtaining supplies from Goa. You must not depend upon getting more powder for the present from here because our own position is fairly serious. Molucca requires 200 barrels and AMBOINA and BANDA must be provided for. By the HAARLEM we shall get just enough for them, so that we can only spare the 120 barrels mentioned above. One should not economise on such occasions, but we trust you will make good use of your powder and shot by inflicting damage on the enemy. We have sufficient stocks of fuses (lunt) but expect new supplies. No ships having arrived recently from Patria, we have been obliged to utilize the old and rickety ships DER GOES, KLEIN-BREDAM, WACHTER and 'T QUELPAERT for shipping the supplies required by you. These boats are also carrying between them 35 men scraped up from our scanty garrison besides 120 sailors, the best available, together with their necessary provisions for 6 months (as per enclosed invoice)."

" Sickness is raging among our troops. More than 300 persons are laid up in the hospital, which is very disheartening. The following is a specification of the shipment which is partly for the boats themselves and partly in execution of your order:—

120 barrels of gunpowder of 100 lbs. each
5 cases (chests) of fuse (*lunt*)
2,400 cartridges (*scherp*) of different weight
300 hand grenades

12 mortars

400 spears of which 376 fine and 24 rough

100 half pikes

2 gun carriages of German make which have been lying in our fortress.

They will serve your purpose. The Dutch makes are damaged. We shall make new ones as soon as wood is obtained

2 French gun-carriages

1 large case containing the required medicine

200 barrels of meat and bacon

250 cooking pans (iron)

30 tons (last) of white rice

27 litres of Arak of which 2 strong

1 packet containing clothing, etc. for presents

1,000 reals of 8° namely 500 in specie and 500 in notes (payment) for sundry expenses and for the purchase of provisions

72 live pigs, onions, etc."

"We hope that everything will reach you in good condition and will be utilized for the service of the Company. At present there are no other ships in the roads except the BANDA ZUTPHEN, FREDERIK HENDRIK, MIDDELBURG and LEEUWARDEN, which are chiefly loaded with home return cargo. The first boat is scheduled to leave in December. As soon as these boats are away we shall start sending you more rice, meat and bacon, etc., but as mentioned above, no more gunpowder will be available. We shall send you a reinforcement of 200 to 300 men, but the north-west monsoon (and the rough seas) might cause delay."

"We have already mentioned that it is out of sheer necessity that we have utilized the old and rickety boats and we hereby instruct you to have these hauled ashore with the help of the crews, and after discharging the cargo and valuables, *to have all of them burnt or demolished (excepting the Quelpaert) openly in clear view of the city of Malacca.* This applies not only to the GOES, KLEIN BREDAM and WACHTER, but you may similarly do away with the LANGERAK, QUEDAH, DRAEK, SERPENT and other condemned vessels. The BANDA, DE JAGER, some small yachts and the ENGELSCHE ANNA are expected via Jamby and we shall be able to continue sending advice and victuals."

"Commissary JOHAN DE MEERE has written us privately urgently requesting us to relieve him of his offices, but the Council after due deliberation, has decided that for certain reasons he cannot be dispensed with and he is requested to continue in his capacity of second person and as our Commissary, to attend your

Council and give his salutary advice. Further, he can attend to the accounts and administration of consumption, despatch of ships, etc., without taking part in any military operations. After the capture of Malacca should you decline the Governorship of the city, the above Commissary will be our next candidate. We are all mortals and *those who are nearer the fire get burnt first*, so that if anything happen to you, which God forbid!, then the Commissary will hold Council, acting at the same time as its President, and he will appoint immediately a prominent and efficient person as Commander-in-Chief and elect a proper Committee. The Commissary may be excused of this charge if he so desire."

"Should the Council vote against his candidature, then he is authorized to over-rule such a resolution and may choose a Commander-in-Chief, when all the other members of the Council will have to conform. The election should be between ex-Commander COOPER, MINNE WILLEMSZ. and PIETER VAN DEN BROEKE as the only eligible captains present."

"The Commissary is ordered to register a proper record in the log books of the ships carrying them to Malacca, of the names of sailors and soldiers who have lost their lives during the siege, either by sickness or by the enemy. Their goods and effects must also be properly registered and looked after better than was the case during the Ceylon campaign."

"When Malacca falls into our hands you will administer justice to deserters, but the provisional (vaandrig) standard-bearer and the villain EVERT JANSZ. VAN KUIJLENBURG must be brought over here as prisoners under a strong guard. What a terrible mistake to have chosen such a person. He has been convicted in TAYOUAN for theft and expelled from the militia."

"We have issued strict orders prohibiting the export of strong drinks. You are therefore instructed to have the arriving boats well searched and if any strong drinks are found on board, to have these confiscated. You are quite right in saying that intoxicating drinks are the cause of much evil."

"The parson JOHANNES SHOTANUS has been suspended again for misdemeanour. We are sorry for the man because he possesses such wonderful gifts, and we have decided to give him one more chance hoping that he will reform. His teachings are exemplary. Would that he practised them! You may treat him with due respect as long as he is on good behaviour. Much could be accomplished if he only abstained from drink. He is not recommended to act as parson after the fall of Malacca for fear of disgracing his religion by insobriety."

"We are pleased that ex-Commander COOPER has been given the command of the flotilla and have no doubt that he will keep a vigilant watch for the complete isolation of Malacca."

"It is to be feared that the Commissary's despatch from *Achin* to *Malacca* via *Perak* has fallen into enemy's hands. They must have leart that the King of Achin declines to participate in the Malacca campaign owing to his dispute with the Johorites. This will encourage them to make overtures to the Achinese in the hope of undermining our relations and spoiling our chance of obtaining outside assistance for the capture of Malacca. It is in such cases that Malacca's strategic importance comes into bolder relief. THE CAPTURE OF MALACCA WILL EXCEL ALL THE CONQUESTS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY (DUTCH) IN INDIA. For this reason we cannot appeal to you and your brave men too strongly to exert all your energies and to apply all possible means for final victory. It is our idea never to exacuate the place even if we were forced to be on the defensive for a time. Ultimate success is bound to come bringing with it the Company's liberal rewards and appreciation of the services of all employed in the campaign."

"According to your letter of 5th September, your forces around Malacca consisted of .. 955 soldiers, 757 seamen = total 1,712

The contingents by the BANDA, ANNA, and EGMOND	167	„	183	„	=	„	350
Further reinforcements by the present opportunity ..	55	„	120	„	=	„	175
The BANDANESE and the MARDIJKERS recruited with great difficulty ..	46	„			=	„	46
So that (provided no mishaps have occurred to reduce these figures) you will have now a fighting unit on land and sea of .. men."	1,223	„	1,060	„	=	„	2,283

"With these forces we hope you will be able to launch simultaneous attacks from both sides and reduce the fortress. We are anxiously awaiting such happy news."

"Captain PIETER REYNDERTZ. of the QQELPAERT has informed us of the death of Doctor TULP. He has also delivered the 9½ lbs. Amber (alamber) and the three heavy shells from the guns of Malacca. He is proceeding to Malacca again and we hope he will soon return with advices from you."

"We have shipped by the DER GOES 60 uniforms which please distribute among the needy, keeping proper record of same." (38).

"By same opportunity a letter was written to Commander PIETER VAN DEN BROEKE in reply to his of the 5th September. (See appendix VIII).

The yacht KLEIN-AMSTERDAM arrived in Batavia on 22 Octobe bringing the following dispatch from ADRIAEN ANTONISZ. the Commander-in-Chief of Malacca.

"We wrote you last on 5th September as per enclosed copy, stating in detail all that has transpired here since the departure of SANDVOORT and our requirements in case the siege is to be continued to the bitter end. The yacht ENGELSCHE ANNA and the BANDA have since arrived with troops."

"Your instructions regarding VAN DEN BROEKE will be followed. MR. COOPER is still in the service. Our operations both as regards consolidating our position and our movements towards the approaches of the city you will see recorded in the enclosed diary which we commend to your attention."

"On 7 September another 200 MANIKABERS came down from the mountains to our assistance, and later 300 men from RAMBOU who do nothing but make the place unsafe."

"On 11 September another of our men went over to the enemy in the person of Midshipman ANTONIO GUNDER VAN OLDENBURG, and on 23rd 5 Javanese."

"The 2 shallops, sent to RINGY by the Major with the Malays, returned on the 26th inst. with the prouws, after going up the river and destroying a battery. The 3 Malays brought 5 persons with them, but they were found to have supplied RINGY with rice and sago. So two of them were put to death and the third sent to the LAXAMANA to fetch more of these smugglers.

"On the 17th inst., after fixing our new battery, we decided to send the padres with your Excellency's missive to the Governor and the Council of Malacca. They were to cross the river and obtain a reply within 24 hours. Near the city walls they were stopped and ordered to wait there for the Governor's reply. Suddenly there came loud shouts from the walls ordering the padres to get away (*padre anda, anda anboree ?*) and they were even shot at, but just managed to steal a retreat to our camp, leaving behind their clothes and the white flag which were promptly set on fire by the enemy and the red (or blood) flag hoisted in its place."

"Our new battery was put into action the other day early in the morning, bombarding the fortress effectively, demolishing many sea posts and making breaches in the sea walls. In all 245 shots were fired of which 205 were of 24 lbs., 21 of 18 lbs., and 20 of 12 and 8 lbs. We had only one casualty."

"To get a passage over the river we allowed the Malays to put up a bridge at a point about 500 yards from our new battery. A wooden ambuscade (*wambuis ?*) has also been constructed there, sheltering 50 men, and 1 metal gun for the purpose

of attacking or harassing people from the enemy camp who may be found on their way to the monastery gathering herbs or vegetables. All the gates are closed up except ST. JAGO."

"On the 20th, Major DE VRIES and Captain LAMOTTE were ordered to cross the bridge with 150 men and lie in ambush to entrap people who come out daily from the city to cut shrubs or trees. Heavy skirmishes took place resulting in 5 killed and 12 wounded on our side. The enemy's losses could not be ascertained but three Europeans and 2 natives were seen lying dead. The road, however, was so marshy that it was impossible for our already sick and helpless men to get near the Monastery without disastrous results, especially as the road appeared to be different to what DIEGO KEESJE had indicated."

"Further encounters resulted in the loss of one of our countrymen and a Javanese."

"Learning from deserters that 9 vessels had left Malacca for RINGY to fetch supplies, we ordered DEN DRAAK and HET SERPENT to proceed to the mouth of that river and stop them. Commander COOPER and Captain PIETER BAECK are tightening the blockade as much as possible as in our opinion complete isolation and the cutting off of supplies are the best means of forcing the enemy to capitulate."

"Many fugitives, men and women, have come over complaining of famine in the city, but they say there are in Malacca still 300 soldiers of the King, 250 Cascados (?) and about 300 natives who can handle guns. They have spread the news that we cannot hold on longer than the end of this month."

"More men, more powder, more shells are needed particularly the 24 pounders, and we hope what we ordered by the 'T QUELPAERT is already on its way here."

"The enemy seems to be disheartened by our bombardment and our assaults. They use now very heavy artillery and they have hidden the big gun at the CURAS for fear of being stormed at night."

"Malaria and other diseases are raging in our camp, many of our men being laid up ashore and on board. September and October, which coincide with the fruit season and obnoxious smells, are known (according to the Manicabers and the natives) as the unhealthiest months. If sickness continues unabatedly like this we shall soon be at a loss what to do. Everyone of us has had fever. The latest victim is MR. DE MEERE who is laid up on board. Advocate (fiscal) Herbers and many other prominent persons have been on the sick list. Of dropsy and beri-beri, thank God, there have been only a few cases lately. We earnestly hope that by the middle of October the health and climatic conditions

will so improve as to enable us to carry on the campaign with full vigour, and force the citadel into submission."

"We note there are no gun carriages in Batavia to serve our purpose, but could you perhaps send thick wooden planks and axles? Will you also remit some Spanish reals (these being the only currency here) in cash or otherwise, some assorted clothes i.e. black broad "baftas" and Guinea linen cloth, which are in demand here? Further, some curios to be presented to the notables here."

"As an appreciation of their work in the construction of the bridge and the erection of the battery, we thought it advisable to present the Malays with a bundle of wadding valued at 125 guilders, and also a bundle of "balaties" containing 80 pieces, which Commander COOPER had captured. This will encourage them to be of further service to us."

"In conformity with your instructions to send fortnightly reports of our activities, we hand you herewith a detailed account of recent happenings, as well as a full list of our men including the sick. Copies of our missive and other documents sent for yacht 'T QUELPAERT are also enclosed. The yacht KLEIN-AMSTERDAM captained by MICHIEL CLAESZ. and carrying 14 Dutch men, 6 natives, and 12 fugitive women, has been specially instructed to proceed from MONNIKENDOM to your port to deliver our missive. We also send you letter No. 8 written by Commander COOPER regarding the late HEER LUCASZ." (39).

"On 27 October the Governor General and the Council decreed to send further reinforcements to Malacca and on the 30th October the yachts KLEIN-AMSTERDAM and the ZON left Batavia with a contingent of 100 well trained men. The following letter was sent to Commander-in-Chief ADRIAEN ANTHONISZ. by the same opportunity":—

"We wrote you last on the 11th inst. on the departure of the yachts GOES, KLEIN-AMSTERDAM, WACHTER, 'T QUELPAERT and EGMOND and hope these boats have arrived safely bringing reinforcements of 571 men together with the supplies desired, ammunition, cash money and all other sundries which we hope will serve to hasten the capture of Malacca. We enclose copies of our two previous letters and hope you will have given effect to our instructions. We were pleased to note all you wrote in your letter of the 22nd regarding the new battery and the bridge, as also your receiving 500 auxiliaries from the mountains of RAMBOU. The punishment meted out to the smugglers of MOAR will stop further smuggling of supplies to the enemy's stronghold and intensify famine in the besieged city. The slackening of bombardment on the enemy's side indicates his shortness of gunpowder."

"We were immensely pleased to learn that you had consolidated your position so well for defence, and that you were almost in possession of the convent MADRE DE DIOS, otherwise known as BUKIT CHINA. We hope that with the new reinforcements and the assistance of the Johorites you will have approached the convent and will be able to bombard the city from that important position causing much damage. Herewith a sketch of Malacca city done by Commander CORNELIS SYMONZ. some time ago, together with his description of the citadel and the fortifications. According to the sketch, two of the city's bulwarks can be bombarded from the convent and by this means a blockade of the city can be effected. It is also stated that the east side of Malacca is well fortified and that alongside the walls it is marshy. You have occupied the most advantageous position, and we approve of the precautions taken against any possible smugglers to or out of Malacca. We must try and take as many prisoners as possible whether on land or on sea. We are surprised at those disloyal rogues who have deserted to the enemy including the midshipman: some day they will get their deserts. The 5 missing Javanese have probably escaped to Perah."

"We are grieved to hear that plague and dysentery have assumed such alarming proportions in our army as to threaten abandonment of our plans. We hope God will spare us such a calamity and by the middle of this month the epidemic will have ceased and the sick recovered. We know it is very hard to have to fight the enemy and sickness at the same time. The bravest will need all their courage. We pray for the speedy recovery of Commander DE MEERE and Advocate (Fiskaal) HERBERS. We can afford to lose such prominent men now when there is such a great scarcity of able men here and they could not be replaced."

"Regarding the ill treatment of the padres by the enemy in violation of all military rules, and the burning of their clothes together with the white flag and the planting of a red flag, we can only hope that they will soon come to their senses and reconsider our liberal terms for the capitulation of the fortress without bloodshed. From all reports the Governor MANUEL SOUZA DE COUTINHO must be a courageous and tactful man."

"By the yacht FRANCKER which arrived on the 28th inst. we received a letter from the merchant PIETER PAETS of Dabul in India dated 15 August, saying that there was a great disappointment and depression in Goa on account of the loss of NEGUMBO and PUNTE DE GALE; (40) that some frigates were being equipped for the relief of COLOMBO manned by KAFERS and CANARINESE owing to lack of PORTUGUESE; that things were pretty bad in GOA and COLOMBO; that in May last a vessel had carried the news to Goa; that the Achinese were going to help us in conquering Malacca, which news the Goanese had taken to mean that Malacca was no more in Portuguese hands. Consequently they were not

making any attempt for the relief of the fortress but were only seriously concerned in preparing relief for Colombo. Malacca is therefore waiting in vain for outside relief."

" End of May a *caravelle d'aviso* (fast packet boat) arrived in Goa from Portugal with news that eight galliots were due to arrive in September. We have, however, reliable information that only two galliots and two *patachos* (pinnaces) were being built in Lisbon for Portuguese India and that these were due to leave in April. Let us hope that they will meet our fleet under Commander BOUWENS. The galliot from BASSIN is lying in Goa and it is doubtful if the new BON JESU (41) will be ready by September. Besides, no crew is available to take these boats to sea. So no serious attacks are anticipated and you may safely go on harassing the citadel."

" Further news has leaked out from the same *caravelle* that the mighty Spanish fleet sent out to Brazil on a punitive expedition, has been defeated and put to flight, many ships being destroyed. This news is confirmed as you will see from the enclosed home papers."

" Regarding the battles in DUINS, no mention of this is made in Goa, although we are of opinion that the *caravelle* has been sent out chiefly in connection with that news and it is possible that the projected two galliots for GOA are held up in LISBON."

" Your urgent appeal for further reinforcements has unfortunately come at a time when there are no troop ships here. We have, however, scraped up from our garrison a further 100 men who are being transported by the only two available yachts, the KLEIN ZON and AMSTERDAM, under two sergeants. We have thought it unnecessary to send officers because your companies are so very much reduced. You may soon expect a further contingent of 100 men and thereafter a third one of 150 men. Besides the troops there are 50 seamen on board the above two yachts making altogether 150 men fully provided for six months."

" The ships are also carrying the following supplies and ammunition, as per invoice enclosed:—

30 barrels of Dutch gunpowder (we hope to send you a further 30 barrels),

792 shells of 24 lbs.,

1,285 shells of different sizes,

12½ tons (last) of rice,

6 tons of Javanese beans,

2 litres wine,

75 barrels meat, bacon, etc.,

but we much regret that we were unable to ship the "baftas," the Guinea linen, the shoes and the socks as there was no room. We have sent instead 500 realen of 8° with 80 packages of small black "baftas" by the above yachts. The *Johorites*, the *Manicabers* and the people from RAMBOU, should be well rewarded and praised so that they may remain faithful to us, and help you to carry up the gun to MADRE DE DIOS in spite of the morass and the steep road."

"You can realise how anxious we are for the incorporation of Malacca."

"Sickness and epidemic may deter us for some time but we are fully resolved not to abandon our campaign. In the extreme case of the epidemic intensifying or spreading beyond control, you are to withdraw to your camp and be on the defensive, without releasing your hold on the blockade or losing ground. You should also fortify the ROODE ISLAND (Red Island) and hold all the passes leading to the fortress. The blockade must be continued rigidly until adequate reinforcements bring about the desired end. If we abandon the siege, our reputation is bound to suffer in the eyes of *Achin, Johore* and the adjacent native states. Moreover, Batavia's progress will be seriously hampered. The acquisition of Malacca is well nigh essential to us."

"The import of rice here has of late increased tremendously. All supplies from MATARAM destined for Malacca have been brought here. In two days 18 *Lamboas* have arrived."

"We advise you not to send the sick here, because we think many able bodied men will pretend sickness just to get away, and this will be detrimental."

"We anxiously await news from ACHIN and hope there have been no complications. We expect the King's Ambassador shortly. The jewels ordered by Commander JOCHEM ROELOTZ. for His Majesty, have been sent out by the WALVISCH and the SALAMANDER. They consist of eight pieces valued at about 74,000 guilders. It will mean a big loss for the Company should His Majesty be not pleased with them, but it is to be hoped that as he has ordered them himself, he will take them over against pepper tolls."

"You may on application grant leave to Captain MAXIMILIAN BONTEMPS to sail to *Ternate* to meet his wife who, as you know, has arrived there with MR. CAEN."

"He is a knave who follows his Captain sighing and groaning, and the Councillor PIETER VAN DEN BROEKE is one of them. He has written to us saying that it is on account of his sins that he has been sent to Malacca and hopes that God may forgive him. Such dispirited and thoughtless ideas emanating from men of his standing are liable to demoralize a whole army. His designation of our army as a "sick army" has created consternation

among patriots in Batavia, while evil-minded foes scoff at us. And whereas this Councillor, who was sent only with good intentions to a zone of operations where there are as good prospects for promotion and fame as anywhere in India, has proved himself unworthy of trust, you are to send him on board, appointing CAPTAIN MINNE WILLEMSZ. as his substitute, and putting in the latter's place one of our best captains. PIETER VAN DEN BROEKE seems to be good in criticising others but he is not capable of rectifying mistakes or improving matters. All we need in this expedition s salutary council and strong will to carry out resolutions. We are grieved that such a sedate man should have gone wrong in such highly important matters, bringing shame on himself and causing general depression. Ordinary privates reveal in their letters a better grasp of the situation." (42).

" As mentioned above, the 100 soldiers are without any superior officers but some partisans and halberdieres have been provided to look after the troops. They may be utilized for any of your companies or otherwise as you think best."

" Before concluding, we repeat that you may look for further reinforcements shortly. Our last word is: hold on courageously for the capture of Malacca! We send you sincere greetings and pray the Almighty may protect you all." (43).

On 14 and 17 November letters arrived in Batavia from Malacca which we give below in part:—

" We regret to announce the death of Commissary JOHAN DE MEERE on the 3rd int. on board the RIJNSBURG. On the following day he was interred in the Church of St. Thomas with military honours. We have ordered Commander COOPER and PIETER VAN DEN BROEKE to take an inventory of his goods which are to be sent to his widow."

" The yachts RIJSWIJK, WELSINGE and LANGERAK have been sent under the command of LAMBERT JERONIMUSZ. to CABO RACHADA to intercept Portuguese relief boats destined for Malacca."

" Malacca remains well closed in and to render the blockade more effective, we have ordered two French metal guns to be transported together with two companies of 40 men each to the Roode (Red) Island (formerly a Portuguese stronghold but now abandoned) and placed in position to block the exit of fugitives and to prevent ships going in or out."

" We gather from deserters who come in daily, that the famine in the city is so acute that the *Casados* or free burghers have been ordered by the Governor each to supply food for 2, 4 or 6 King's soldiers according to their means. Certain " bantangs " and a " jelia " from RACCAN managed to get through our lines with cargoes of paddy and rice and this has encouraged and

stiffened the enemy very much. The chiefs of these vessels have been arrested and will be dealt with properly."

"The Malays are a great help to us by their loyalty and courage. Our friendship continues unabated. They do a great deal of damage to the enemy by pillaging and plundering everywhere and carrying away fruits and cattle. On the 7th instant they set off at our request with 13 or 14 sailing boats carrying a company of troops to RINGY to assist the yachts DRAECK and the SERPENT in destroying the beautiful paddy fields there and thus reducing further the chances of Malacca's relief. But the Malays soon returned with our troops disappointed as they found the rice under water, so that their efforts to destroy the crop failed."

"We are still handicapped by sickness and insufficient men and ammunition, and cannot yet subdue Malacca. The City is practically in a pool or swamp and to cross the roads one has to wade through water waist deep: at high tide they are impassable. On the 11th instant LIEUTENANT LA FORCE was sent to the Monastery with 60 musketeers to investigate, but he was obliged to stay there the night owing to heavy rains and returned only the next morning with his men, after having crossed a swamp up to their waists."

"Our force[1] consists of 2,063 men, including over 400 natives. Unfortunately the unhealthy weather continues with rain and wind and the sick list is liable to swell considerably. You will realise how urgently we need men. We would also remind you of the scarcity of ammunition, especially of powder and shots of 24 lbs., as well as of heavy grenades. We require about 700 barrels of gunpowder, 1,000 to 1,500 shots of 24 lbs., and as many heavy grenades as you can spare, and further a few articles of surgery."

"We enclose a map of Malacca indicating the position of our army and how far we have stretched out on the north."

"Owing to continuous rains the fruits are fast disappearing, but vegetables can be had in abundance from Malays against cash which, however, we lack: we would request you to remit some."

"The skipper LOUIS LOUISZ. VAN DE VOS, JACOB CORNELISZ. of BREDAM and HENDRICK HENDRICKSZ. of KLEIN-ZUTPHEN who have been arrested for letting 13 vessels through to Malacca, were called up on the 18th instant and after trial were suspended and sentenced each to pay a fine equal to 4 months' salary. We would have dealt with them more severely but for the shortness of captains here."

"It is now three nights in succession that an enemy "jelia" has been trying to get away but it has been driven back every time, thanks to the vigilance of our men. The enemy seems to be in urgent need of rice."

[1] See Appendix IX.

"After the failure of the mission through the padres, we conceived the idea of hurling letters tied to rockets in to the city. We enclose relative copies. We do not know what effect it will have. We regret to announce the death of Commander LAMBERT CORNELISZ. on the 17th instant, whose place has been taken by Captain DRICK GERRITSZ. of LANGERAK, a very active person. MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE has been sent out with the yachts ROEMERSWAAL, BLIJSWIJK, the ENGELSCHE ANNA and the KLEIN-ZUTPHEN to PAPU KASA to patrol the seas between the Straits and the coast of Sumatra and to prevent the entrance of enemy vessels. Five of our shallops are also keeping a constant watch outside the roads of Malacca." (44).

The following is an extract from a letter received by the QUELPAERD on 17 November:—

"The people from MOAR, RAMBOU and NANNING are very faithful to us and they do much damage to the enemy. Some time ago SIBIDU RADJA sent a message to RACCAN asking them not to sell rice or paddy to the Malays, but to arrest all these traffickers and treat them as slaves or hand them over to us."

"The information given by the prisoners of women fugitives detained in Rambau and Nanning, is false as well as the news that there are hardly any stocks of gunpowder left in Malacca. We are reliably informed that there are sufficient stocks in the Church of St. Anthony which is turned now into a powder magazine where they are working 10 or 12 tons (*last*) of saltpetre daily. They are sometimes bombarded from Red Island.".....

"We think it inadvisable to send the padres to the city a second time and that for two reasons. Firstly, because they know exactly how we are situated and in what pitiful plight our men are at present. Secondly, we expect before long the enemy himself will beg for a settlement. The four deserters must pay for their villainy if they are not dead yet, but we will not fail to send you "vaandrig" Evert Jansz. van Kuilenberg as a prisoner."

"We have appointed the merchant ANTHONIE HURDT a member of our Council, and also to be in charge of the general book-keeping."

"The parson JOHANNES SCHOTANUS is officiating at the Church of ST. THOMAS. He will remain in that post and will always be treated with due respect as long as he proves himself worthy of it. So far he has conducted himself very well."

"Through CAPTAIN REIJNDERTSZ. of the QUELPAERD we are returning the paper money for 500 reals as these are of no use to us because they are not wanted by the Malays. We offered them to SEBIDU RADJA through Commander PIETER VAN DEN BROEKE to be circulated among his people who were to be assured that the notes could always be exchanged for silver money. The

Raja, however, returned the notes, saying that his subjects would never dare to give out how much money they possessed."

"The Commander Major has been laid up for the last 15 or 16 days and is at present so weak that people think he will never pull through. God help him. The financial advocate who has also been lying sick on board for a long time, is slowly recovering. MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE and many prominent officers, soldiers and sailors are becoming worse and worse every day. It is pitiful to see them in their present state. We are, however, not downhearted and trust in the Almighty God to help us."

"As you are aware the enemy is trying hard to get some of his vessels through to RACCAN (Arrakan (?)) to fetch rice and paddy. For three successive nights their jelias have attempted to pass through and every time they have been detected in the moonlight, and driven back by our men. We are informed however, that one of their vessels has succeeded somehow to sneak through in a rainy and windy night. We do not know what reception it will have in RACCAN. All deserters and prisoners unanimously speak of the great scarcity of supplies in Malacca and their great hopes of obtaining relief from Goa. Our men assisted by the Malays, have destroyed all the rice fields in Ringy in order to deprive Malacca of any possible supplies from that quarter. All the natives are so thin and emaciated that they look a pitiful sight because they cannot get anything else to eat but herbs which they gather from the jungles. Many die of hunger. The prominent citizens and the garrison have enough supplies to last them another month after which they must surrender unless relief comes to their rescue which God forbid."

"On the 5th inst., the ex-Governor of Malacca has proposed to the Council to launch an immediate attack on us in view of our decimated forces on land and sea. The present Governor has disagreed and this has given rise to very heated arguments in the Council, the two actually coming to blows. Full details of this incident you will hear from ANTONIO DA SOUZA, a Portuguese from Lisbon, and a MESTIC who came over from the enemy camp on the 30th October, and are now being sent as prisoners per galliot "QUELPAERT." Further we refer you to our diary."

"The Malays bring in many prisoners daily so that soon there will be enough men to found a kingdom of JOHORE (?)."

"Lieutenant LA FORCE passed away on the 23rd October." (45).

The following extract from a letter by Commander JACOB COOPER reveals some particulars about the JOHORITES, the MALAYS, etc:—

"The Malays are rendering us a great service in this expedition by destroying all the enemy's paddy, rice, fruits and vegetables and also by closing in the sea coast with their 5 shallops and 15

to 16 prauws to prevent anything going in or out. It is true the Malays are not good soldiers but they are good at keeping watch. It is due to their vigilance that the repeated attempts of the enemy's " jelias " to get through have failed. If within a fortnight no assistance is obtained from GOA or elsewhere the fortress will fall into our hands. The JOHORITES with MANICABERS here are 2,000 to 2,500 strong, of whom 6 to 700 are sick. MAHA RAJA and SIBIDU RAJA are daily offering to reinforce our position on the south of the citadel. They are ever ready to work for us. They have already brought 7,620 coconut trees and 14 to 15 pinang trees to our works, and have accommodated us with oars, paguayers (? = *pĕngayoh*), *kajang* planks, gun carriages, wooden planks, axles, etc.,—in short they have supplied everything that we have asked for. They have also made four rafts, each to carry 100 masts, and a bridge on the river. They are very keen on the capture of Malacca, and will do anything to that end."

" On the 30th ultimo, 8 or 9 vessels arrived from QUIDAH bringing a letter for Captain MINNE WILLEMSZ. which is forwarded to you. These men come here for their *ontong* (to seek fortune) and get in touch with our Malays and Manicabers. The Maharaja and Sebidu Raja have at the instance of JAN JANSZ. (who is rendering great service to the company and is looked upon by the Malays as their chief), sent a boat to RACCAN requesting them not to have any dealings with the Portuguese, as Malacca is besieged by the DUTCH and the JOHORITES and there is no chance of escape, because three points and the high fort are already under the fire of our guns. They were also warned not to admit fugitives from Malacca, but to arrest them or treat them as slaves. They were threatened that in the event of a refusal they themselves will be attacked as soon as Malacca is captured, and that they will not be spared. It is rumoured from BANKALIS that the people in RACCAN have siezed and sold the Malays, who had gone there from Malacca to trade."

" Regarding the arrival of the " Fusts " and a Javanese boat, this happened at the time of the Commander-in-Chief who was fully aware of it."

" Now that I have been here so long I hope that it will be our good fortune to conquer the citadel shortly."

" The Commander-in-Chief is dying. God help him. He has been very ill during the last 10 or 12 days and there seems to be no more hope of his recovery. Let us pray that it happens otherwise, but God's will be done." (46).

The Governor General and the Council of India took a resolution on the 19th November as per following extract from their letter addressed to the Council in Malacca:—

" The yacht WATERLOZE WERVE and the galliot QUELPAERD arriving here on the 14th and 17th inst. respectively, Malacca

brought us the sad news of the demise of Commissary JOAN DE MEERE on the 3rd October. Moreover, it is reported that the Commander-in-Chief ADRIAEN ANTONISZ. was in a critical state when the *Quelpaerd* was leaving and that there was no hope of his recovering. Many officers, soldiers and sailors are infected with the plague and the critical situation there calls for an able leader, the present Commander-in-Chief being ill and according to reliable information, very irritable and extremely harsh towards his subordinates. After serious deliberation our Council resolved unanimously and we have decreed that JOHAN VAN TWIST shall proceed to your place, invested with full powers from our Council to assume, on his arrival at Malacca, supreme command of all our forces, whether the old Commander-in-Chief be dead or not, or whether Malacca may have been captured or not, and to effect all arrangements in respect of the siege of the incorporation of Malacca at his discretion. In view of the west monsoon setting in already, we have thought it advisable that JOHAN VAN TWIST shall proceed on board the yacht FRANCKER which is lately overhauled and is now in perfect seaworthy condition. The DUIF and the QUELPAERT are accompanying him with troops and the necessary supplies and provisions."

"The attitude of the King of Achin has engaged our full attention lately and the question of our relations with him has been seriously discussed in the recent sittings of our Council."

"It was chiefly to strike a blow at our common foe the Portuguese that we originally opened up negotiations with the Achinese, who ultimately undertook to help us in the capture of Malacca and so eliminate the Portuguese from these parts. They have, however, failed so far, to fulfil their promise on account of their hostility towards the JOHORITES whom they wish to subjugate with our help before participating in the Malacca expedition."

"The Johorites, perceiving this, have not only sought our friendship but have actually placed 2,000 men at our disposal for the capture of Malacca. This has apparently annoyed the King of Achin who seems to have made no secret of not wishing to negotiate with us any more in Achin, unless we discard the Johorites immediately after the fall of Malacca. He seems even to suspect that we intend to attack him with the Johorites after getting Malacca."

"Now, considering that we have for years been on friendly terms with His Majesty the King of Achin and have enjoyed special privileges in his territory as the most favoured nation, deriving great financial advantages. Further considering the special concession granted to us from time to time through Commissary JOCHIM ROELFSZ., PAULUS CROOCK and specially through the late JOHAN DE MEERE, by virtue of which the west coast is closed to merchants of any other European nationality but ours. Considering

the yacht GROL has been hired for toll, to go-round once a year to the principal pepper centres in TIKU, PRIMAN and INDRAPURA to collect dues; to pay the monopoly sums in Dutch guilders or set them off against debts due in respect of jewels or other goods purchased by the King from us. Considering therefore that it is both necessary and to our interest to retain the friendship of His Majesty, we have unanimously resolved to commission Commissary JUSTUS SCHOUTEN to proceed to Achin by the yacht ZANDVOORT (via Malacca) in company with the Achinese Ambassador (who arrived here by the same yacht on 10 September and has since been staying here owing to the alleged ill treatment of the merchant JACOB COMPOSTEL by the King of Achin, which rumours however we have found to be untrue) to present our greetings to His Majesty together with a missive and gifts; to acquaint him fully as to our pleasant alliance with the JOHORITES, assuring him at the same time that his rightful claims against the Johorites have our full attention and shall be adjusted after the capture of Malacca. Further he has to assure the King of our sincere friendship and our earnest desire for its continuance."

The yacht FRANCKER was manned with 50 seamen and 50 soldiers, the DUIF with 40 and 34, and the QUELPAERD with 13 and 16 respectively. HANS OSSENBURGER and PIETER VOS of Utrecht were appointed officers of the army, the former as Lieutenant and the latter as Standard Bearer (*vaandrig*). On 1 December it was finally decided " that JOHAN VAN TWIST and JUSTUS SCHOUTEN should leave to-morrow, (it being now the end of the inclement season) together with the Achinese Ambassador (who is already on board after causing three days dalay) by the yacht FRANCKER accompanied by the DUIF and the QUELPAERD for Malacca through the Straits of Palembang, and that on arrival in the Malacca roads Commissary SCHOUTEN shall continue his voyage to Achin on board the FRANCKER together with his suite and accompanied by the DUIF."

The following is a report sent to the Directors of the Company in Holland by the Governor General and the Council:—

" On the 4th inst. the battleship RIJNSBURG arrived with the fiscal GERRIT HERBERS and CAPTAIN MAXIMILIAAN BONTEMPS who confirm the news communicated to us by letter from Malacca that the fortress is still offering resistance and refusing to listen to terms although according to deserters the city is in a hopeless state and unlikely to hold out longer than a fortnight. We sincerely hope that the end is near and soon our forces employed in Malacca may be free for use in other places. The Commander-in-Chief ADRIAN ANTONISZ. passed away after 18 days illness and has been interred in the Church of ST. THOMAS. The ex-Commander JACOB COOPER has succeeded him and CAPTAIN LAMOTIUS has been appointed Sergeant-Major. PIETER VAN DEN BROEKE and MINNE WILLEMSZ. and the two private councillors are still very

ill. Our total forces to-day on land and sea do not exceed 1,707, of whom 115 are MARDYKERS, JAVANESE and BANDANESE. There are 471 men on the sick list, so that our present fighting unit consists of 1,236 men only. It is our earnest prayer that the epidemic may cease soon so that we may not be obliged to abandon this important place."

"The KLEIN ZON and the AMSTERDAM left here on the 31st October with 100 brave valiant soldiers and 60 sailors and we hope they will be a great help and encouragement to our men in Malacca. Further 600 sturdy (fresh) Johorites have come to our assistance and we have no doubt that with this reinforcement it will be possible to blockade the city from the south as well, and thus force the besieged to surrender. God grant us to give you the news of the capture of the city by this same opportunity. Our hope is great." (47).

A few days later the yacht LANGERAK appeared in the roads of Batavia bringing the following news from Malacca, which was similarly communicated to the Directors in Holland:—

"In previous letters we fully described the state of our army and the besieged in Malacca. We have now received an advice from Malacca, dated 6 January by the yacht LANGERAK, informing us that PIETER VAN DEN BROEKE and Commander JACOB COOPER both died of plague on 1 December and 3 January respectively. The epidemic is still raging notwithstanding the dry weather. MINNE WILLEMSZ, an active and able man who was the second in command, has succeeded Commander COOPER as Commander-in-Chief. Misery and famine continue in the beleaguered city. Being on the verge of starvation, the enemy made one supreme effort on the evening of Boxing Day, 26 December, to break through our lines with five "jelias" and seven "bantings" in order to procure rice in RACCAN on the west coast of Sumatra. The "bantings" being small vessels, managed to escape but the "jelias" were cornered after a furious fight. We captured one of the "jelias" which was mounted with 4 small guns (bassan) and 1 big metal gun and carried 20 Portuguese soldiers. Another jelia was blown up with its two metal guns and 26 white troops. The remaining three jelias were driven back by our shallops. The enemy suffered severe losses, while our casualties were 18 killed and 30 wounded. On the 2nd inst. the above three jelias managed to escape through our lines at great risks aided by a land wind. Since that date a "schoe" or small junk coming from *Macao* with a cargo of rice has been chased by our men and is stranded near Malacca. The ship's people themselves set it on fire. The Portuguese, including the son of LOPEZ SERMINTO, fell into our hands as prisoners. Aware of the miserable state of the besieged and in view of the further weakening of the garrison by the departure of 100 good fighting men on the above three jelias, our command in Malacca have resolved, according to their advice to us, to storm

the fortress shortly, whether they obtain further reinforcements from *Batavia* and *Tayouan* or not." (48).

The following is the decree by which Commander MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE was appointed Commander-in-Chief in place of JACOB COOPER deceased:—

Saturday, 5 January, 1641, at the Meeting of the Secret Council.

Whereas it has pleased the Almighty to call Commander JACOB COOPER from this world, whereby our Army and Navy are again left without a leader, we have resolved to appoint an able and vigilant person in his place. And for this purpose our Council, with the approbation and approval of the Governor General, have chosen and appointed MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE to be Commander-in-Chief of our land and sea forces, and to conduct the campaign in accordance with our instructions issued successively to the late Commander ADRIAN ANTONISZ. and JACOB COOPER for the ultimate acquisition of Malacca. We understand our men are now getting ready to storm the citadel and our Council has therefore passed a resolution appointing next Wednesday as a special day for fasting and public prayers in the presence of the Army and Navy in order that the Almighty may grant us ultimate victory over our enemies.

Whereof this deed is drawn on the above mentioned year and date in the Dutch army for Malacca.

Sd. Hendrick Sievertsz. Spanhem.
Anthony Hurdt.
Nicolaes Jansz. Houtcoper.
Johannes Lamotius.
Pieter Baeck.

In the margin was written

In my presence, Joris Schilderhuyzen.
Secretary.

It was under administration of Commander MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE that MALACCA was captured in the end. So far the only record, found in the Colonial Archives about the siege, is an extract from the daily Diary of the Commander. This is of such importance that we give it below *in extenso*, together with the resolutions of the Secret Council to show how the city came into our possession.

Extract from the Diary of Commander MINNE WILLEMSZ CAERTEKOE while in command of the Dutch Forces around and in the city of Malacca beginning from the 5th January 1641 and ending on the 28th of the same month.

January 5th—Nothing of importance to note.

„ 6th—The yacht LANGERAK left in the evening for Batavia with 154 prisoners and 58 deserters.
The Malays came to greet our new Commander. The captured jelias which were too old and of no use to us, we presented to the LAXAMANA as a gift together with 2 guns (bassan) which we had taken on the night of the 26th out of the burning vessels. Further we offered this ORANG KAYA a few other small gifts.

January 7th—The yacht LANGERAK set sail. In the evening HENDRICK SIEVERSZ. SPANHEM, SR. ANTHONY HURDT, NICOLAES JANSZ., JAN JANSZ. MONIE and the captain of the jelia called ANDRE FERDINANDUS embarked in two prauws with 10 or 12 soldiers; went quite close to the city; landed and marched to the point of ST. DOMINGO right up to the *pagar,* when they were detected by the enemy, who at once rang his alarm bells. Our men retreated quickly without having attained their object.

January 8th—The Commander was publicly proclaimed on board all the ships. The long missing shallop made its appearance. Hope to observe to-morrow as a day of public prayer to invoke the Almighty's gracious help and support.

January 9th—The Council resolved to order all our men to be landed. To-morrow further resolutions will be taken according to circumstances.

Wednesday IX January Anno XVICXLI (1641)

at the Meeting of the Secret Council.

Whereas everything is now ready for storming, but for further relief of our conscience and to be fair we have thought it right to offer the enemy one more chance of accepting reasonable terms before we embark upon extreme measures, the Council has resolved unanimously that, the upper-merchant ANTHONY HURDT and the skipper PIETER BAECK of Red Island shall proceed to the city with a flag of truce and demand its surrender;

Secondly, that the Commissary HENDRIK SIEVERTSZ. SPANHEMS and the upper-merchant NICOLAES JANSZ. HOUTCOPER shall visit all the ships to determine what number of men can be safely removed to augment our land forces for the storming;

Thirdly, that Captain FORSENBURG who is at ST. JUAN, shall be told to take a quick review of his troops and be present

here the day after to-morrow in good time to help us debate more fully our plan of attack, by disclosing the exact number of men that can be withdrawn from the other side for the storming (with God's help).

Signed as before.

January 10th—Early in the morning the commissioned SR. HURDT and PIETER BAECK of Red Island sailed to the city and demanded its capitulation for the third time, but returned disappointed. The enemy would not hear of it.

January 11th—At a plenary meeting of the Council it was resolved to storm the citadel at the first opportunity:—

Friday XI January Anno XVICXLI (1641)

at the Meeting of the Secret Council.

Whereas it is well-known that three "jelias" and eight "bantings" sailed out on the 26th ult. to procure victuals for our beleaguered enemy by which the enemy's already scanty garrison is further depleted; and whereas we are informed that the above vessels are expected to return shortly, the Council at the motion of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE, resolved that on Monday the XIIIIth instant early in the morning the city of MALACCA shall be stormed with all our available might, and may the Almighty grant us His gracious blessing and victory. Amen.

Secondly that for the good order of things the companies of the army shall consist of XLV men including the officers.

Thirdly that our forces shall be drawn up in three troops, namely:—

The *Avant-garde* led by Captain LEONART FORSENBURG,

The *Bataille* led by the upper-merchant ANTHONY HURDT

and

The *Arriere-garde* led by the upper-merchant NICOLAES JANSZ. HOUTCOPER. Each of the merchants shall be assisted and supported by one of the Captains present, or in their absence owing to ill-health, by one of the ablest Lieutenants of the army. Sergeant Major JOHANNES LAMOTIUS will take the command of the whole force.

Fourthly that the city shall from now on be continuously bombarded by our old and new batteries in order to widen the breach in the walls and to harass the enemy.

Fifthly that some of our men will be taken in shallops to the CURAS and to the South of the city to give false alarms, engaging the enemy's attention while our main force concentrates on ST. DOMINGO, whence the assault and the storming will take place.

Sixthly that CCL sailors shall be armed with grenades, pikes, hatchets, and ladders, to act as guards under the command of the Commissary HENDRICK SPANHEMS. For each XXV sailors there shall also be a skipper or officer to look after discipline.

Seventhly that everything found in the city shall go to the fighters as booty, except guns, ammunition, and other war materials.

Whereto this deed is drawn up....etc. Signed as before.

January 12th—Nothing noteworthy, except the continual bombardment of *Curas* and *St. Domingo* for widening the breach. Procured old ladders for the storming. Some deserters came over at night to tell us that there were not even a hundred healthy people left in the city and that the famine was intolerable.

January 13th—At dawn all our forces, sailors and soldiers, landed for to-morrow's storming. A placard was posted declaring everything found in the city booty (except guns, ammunition and other war materials) but forbidding—on pain of death—any plundering before the beating of the drum.[1]

January 14th—Early in the morning the whole army marched towards the city together with the sailors under the Command of Commissary HENDRICK SIEVERTZ. SPANHEM for the great assault which culminated in our capture of the citadel at ten o'clock. We thank the Almighty from the bottom of our hearts for the great victory. The KLEINE-ZON was despatched to Batavia on the 17th to carry the glad tidings contained in the following letters:—
Laus Deo. Deo. Semper. Semper.

Noble, Valiant, Wise and Honourable ANTHONIO VAN DIEMEN, Governor General of the Netherlands India in the Orient.

We are rejoiced to inform your Excellency that God Almighty delivered the city of Malacca into our hands on the 14th January 1641. Praise be to God.

The marching was very orderly. The storming was carried out very well. A bridge was thrown across the river at 10 o'clock at night and at three a.m. the army was marching as follows:—

Firstly—The *Avant-garde*.

[1] Appendix X.

Lieutenant JAN DE MOFF with 25 musketeers, and then 12 carpenters.

WILLEM GERRITZ. Captain of the Vos.

Captain CLOECK of the ZONNETJE.

Captain JAN JANSZ. of the ENGELSCHE ANNA.

These had each a company of sailors carrying ladders....	72 men.
Between the ladders marched grenadiers under the care of the Captains of the GOES and BREDAMME.....	50 „
Then followed the standard bearers.....	28 „
Of Lieutenant CHRISTOFFEL.....	45 „
„ „ BACKER.....	45 „
„ „ HENDRICK VAN NORDEN.....	45 „
Total ..	285 men.

These were under the command of Captain Lieutenant FORSENBURG, and the sailors under Commissary SPANHEMS.

Secondly—The *Bataille.*

The skipper PIETER BAECK with 2 companies of sailors, each 24 men strong, were carrying the big ladders. There were 12 grenadiers among them under skipper DONSELAER with skipper Cornelisz. Further 24 sailors to carry the dead or the wounded were under the skipper JOCHEM of KLEIN-BREDAMME, in all ..	84 men.
Then followed Lieutenant RICHARD WILS with.....	45 „
„ „ „ GOVERT CALPHERS with.....	30 „
„ „ „ VINCENT SCHOORDER with....	45 „
The Company of the MARDIJKERS.....	50 „
„ „ „ DE WITH.....	30 „
Total ..	284 men.

SR. ANTHONY HURDT was in charge of this section with Captain CUYLENBURCK.

Thirdly—The *Arrier-garde.*

Lieutenant BRUYN with.....	40 men.
„ JACQUES VAN DE WOESTIJNE with.....	40 „
„ DUYVEL with.....	38 „
Captain CLEYN with the *Javanese* and the *Bandanese* with.....	34 „
Lieutenant HARDERWIJCK with.....	40 „
Total ..	192 men.

This section was under Sr. Claes Jansz. Houtcoper assisted by Lieutenant David Vinck in the absence of the relative Captain owing to sickness.

Noble Sir. Having drawn up our forces and after earnest prayers, we attacked the enemy courageously and in good order at daybreak, and forced them to retreat, pursuing them round the city and ultimately taking possession of the renowned city of Malacca.

Most of the Portuguese, who were at the gates, were mowed down, whereas our casualties were 25 soldiers, two sergeants, one standard bearer and Lieutenant Backer, although we cannot say this with certainty owing to the great excitement. On the occasion of this great victory we wish your Excellency and the Council of India much luck and happiness. In haste.

Written at Malacca in the Monastery of the Paulists. The 15th January, 1641.

Your Excellency's obedient and happy servant,

Sd. J. Lamotius.

Noble Sir General. Lieutenant Jan de Moff behaved in this Company on all occasions both on land and sea, like a true and honest cavalier.

The letter addressed to the Council reads as follows:—

Noble, Valiant, Wise, Honourable Gentlemen,

The Governor-General and Council of India.

Our last letter dated the 6th inst. stated that we had decided to storm the city of Malacca as soon as we received assistance from Java or Japan. Meanwhile the Commander-in-Chief Minne Willemsz. Caertekoe and his Council thought proper to appoint Wednesday the 9th inst. a day of public prayers and fasting so that God our Lord might be pleased to bless our exploit.

On the 10th inst. the Commander who was lying ill in bed, called another meeting of the Council in which it was unanimously resolved to commission the upper-merchant Anthony Hurdt and the skipper Pieter Baeck (Commissary Hendrik Sievertsz. Spanhem and Nicolaas Jansz. Houtcoper were to review the army) to urge the enemy once more to surrender but the latter would not take heed and put up a red flag at the entrance.

On the 11th inst. the Commander called another meeting of the Council and suggested that, in view of our complete preparations, it was advisable to storm the city on Sunday night. This was adopted unanimously. Our forces were drawn up as follows:—

The *Avant-garde* under Captain Forsenburg, two of whose right hand fingers were shot off; and Hendrick Sievertsz. Spanhem who led the sailors.

The *Bataille* led by the upper-merchant ANTHONY HURDT.

The *Arrier-garde* led by the upper-merchant NICOLAES JANSZ. HOUTCOPER.

The Sergeant Major JOHANNES LAMOTIUS was in command of the entire army.

In this formation our army of 650 men marched towards the city on Sunday night at 2 o'clock and the Almighty was so merciful that by ten o'clock we were masters of the city. Our men fought like lions.

By a placard we declared on Sunday afternoon everything booty except cannons, gunpowder and shells. We lost in all 30 men and had 60 wounded including the skipper of the GOES, the skipper TOBIAS CLOECK of the ZONNETJE and Lieutenant BAEKER.

We will write within 6 or 7 days a detailed account of all that happened and of the present state of affairs. This letter merely serves to give the good news in brief.

The Padres declare that about 7,000 people have died and that they have been eating dogs, cats, rats and hides of beasts. Our shallop EGMOND has come back safely with 28 men.

We send you 30 prisoners. Lieutenant JAN DE MOFF is also coming. He asked the Council for leave stating that you had consented to relieve him as soon as the Malacca campaign was over. We have therefore complied with his request.

We found at the city walls 107 pieces of guns etc. as per inventory[1] and in a street 5 metal and 4 iron pieces. We will state in our next how many more we have found as well as the number of bells. It is such a strong fortification that it would seem impossible to have stormed it. Such a fortress is worth seeing.

Six months' provisions have been distributed among the people on board the yacht the ZONNETJE. We send you the case belonging to the skipper TOBIAS CLOECK. The inventory is inside.

So far no ships have been sighted from anywhere.

We all wish you to-day Noble, Wise and most Honourable Gentlemen, good luck with the city of MALACCA.

Written in the Monastery of ST. PAUL on the 16th of January, 1641.

Signed MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE.
HENDRICK SIEVERTSZ. SPANHEMS.
ANTHONY HURDT.
NICOLAES JANSZ. HOUTCOPER.
JOHANNES LAMOTIUS.
LOURENS FORSENBURG.
PIETER BAECK.

[1] See Appendix XI.

Continuation of Commander CAERTEKOE's Diary. In the city of MALACCA.

January 15th and 16th—Nothing noteworthy, other than daily visits to Portuguese dwellings and houses to remove goods into insured warehouses.

January 17th—The ships OLIPHANT, PAAUW, LIS and OTTER arrived at the roads from TAYOUAN, the Chief Captain being Commander HENDRICK NAGTIGAEL. The first two with the OTTER were destined for SURAT and PERSIA while the LIS was to sail to COROMANDEL.

January 18th, 19th and 20th—Still busy removing goods from the Portuguese houses to safety. The above ships have departed with the yacht ROEMERSWAAL as their pilot boat to the end of the swamp (*vuilen*).

January 21st, 22nd and 23rd—Nothing noteworthy.

January 24th—All the Portuguese were called up by beat of drum. Those intending to leave for NEGAPATAM were to come with their slaves to the Church of ST. PAULO. This done, all the slaves were taken away by the Commander.

January 25th—In the afternoon the skipper PIETER BAECK went to *VRIEZENBERG* with 6 soldiers and a sergeant to take the PORTUGUESE PIERRE DABRE, who had come from RINGY, with 200 men, women and children, to the Commander. He was received with 10 to 12 of his own slaves, the others being left outside the city. We have also given the yacht KLEIN-BREDAMME to the Portuguese to carry 350 souls—men, women, children and slaves—to NEGAPATAM, a Portuguese Captain being at the helm by the name of LOPEZ DE MELLO, who was provided with a pass by the Commander in case he may meet any of our vessels on the way.

January 26th—The Commander selected about 60 men and women out of PIETER DABRE's slaves who were brought here yesterday, to carry lime, stone and other materials to rebuild the works destroyed. The rest being mostly incapable of work were left outside the city, to build their own houses and to repair damaged dwellings. To-day the skipper Anthony .....who passed away last night on board the UTRECHT was buried with due solemnity.

January 27th and 28th—Nothing of importance to note.

The KLEINE-UON leaving MALACCA on 17th January arrived at Batavia on the 24th. How the important news carried by this

yacht was received in Batavia is to be seen from the resolution taken by the Governor General and the Council of India on that same day:—

Thursday the 24th January Anno 1641.

" After all the means and methods employed by the Company for the siege and conquest of Malacca and after waiting eagerly in hope and fear since 2nd August when the siege was laid (during which anxious time many of our brave officers and soldiers died of illness), our newly appointed Commander-in-Chief MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE advised us on the 16th ultimo that his Council had resolved to storm the besieged city as soon as assistance was received from here or from Tayouan. To-day early in the morning the skipper of the KLEINE-ZON arrived bringing the long desired news of the capture of MALACCA which took place on the 14th, with our 650 brave men (without the assistance of the Johorites) who all participated, sailors and soldiers, healthy or ill, in the storming, and smashed all resistance until the enemy, seeing no chance of escape, surrendered. Our losses were 30 killed and 60 wounded. Thus falls into our hand this important fortress, generally recognised as impregnable, with its cannon and all other war materials. Henceforward it will be under the rule of the States General of the Free United Netherlands, and his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange. Further it will be considered private territory and a dominion of the United Dutch East India Company. The booty (which is said to be considerable) has been left by the above Commander MINNE WILLEMSZ. to the exploiters and the conquerors."

" For this victory we owe eternal thanks to the Almighty who helped our men so markedly by giving them courage and blessings. We have consequently ordained that to-morrow afternoon a general thanksgiving service and a Christian meeting shall be held inside the castle as well as outside in the city and that with the firing of guns, and with muskets, drums, trumpets and fireworks the victory shall be celebrated. All officers on land and in the roads are given due order hereanent."

" *Actum* in the Castle of Batavia, *datum ut supre.*"

Signed ANTHONIE VAN DIEMEN.
CORNELIS VAN DEN LIJN.
PIETER MESTDACH, Secretary.

The flyboat HEEMSTEDE was quickly prepared to carry this important news for the Company to Patria and she set sail on the 31st January.

The following extract is from a letter addressed to the Directors:—

" Our resolution of the 24th inst. was due to the arrival of the yacht KLEINE-ZON on the same day bringing the happy

news from Malacca from our Commander-in-Chief MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE, of the great victory and the capture of that famous and well fortified citadel. Eternal praise be to the Supreme Captain for His mercy! Let us give in brief the particulars of this expedition according to the documents enclosed herewith. The 9th instant was observed by the army as a day of fasting and prayers. On the 11th inst. no ships arrived from TAYOUAN or BATAVIA, but, all preparations being complete, it was decided to storm the city on Sunday night with the available forces as the enemy had refused to accept our terms for capitulation. A bridge was thrown across the river at night and before day-break all our men, whether in good health or not, numbering 650 marched in good order and drawn up in three troops towards the city and the bulwark of ST. DOMINGO where a breach had been made by our bombardment. Heavy fighting ensued but our troops with hand grenades drove the enemy out of the bulwark and pressed on, razing to the ground everything they found in their way and taking three points. The CURAS offered long resistance, but the inhabitants of the town losing courage, hoisted a white flag and offered to surrender, provided life was granted to them. This request was complied with, although considering their former obstinacy they did not deserve such treatment, and by the grace of God at ten o'clock on Monday the 14th of January we became masters of this strongly fortified city, our losses not exceeding thirty killed, including two skippers and a lieutenant, and sixty wounded. The walls of this city are about thirty feet high and at least twenty-four feet thick, provided with seven bulwarks and 70 pieces of metal guns that fired shells of 50, 36, 24, 18, 15 pounds or less, besides the smaller iron guns as in our enclosed list.

"The JOHORITES did not assist in the storming, but in all other ways they were of great service. At the request of the Portuguese they were left outside the city. It is rumoured that the booty is considerable, not lacking in silver and merchandise, so that, even after allowing for what has gone to our troops, enough will have been obtained by the Company to cover all expenses. The goods are kept under strict supervision. Ware-houses are sealed and plundering is prevented."

"The crew of the KLEINE-ZON before leaving received in cash six months' pay in MALAK's money and we think they are all satisfied. 400 men were found in the city and it is reported that during the siege which lasted *five months and twelve days* about 7,000 people perished or ran away. Cats, rats, and hides of beasts were consumed. For a fowl 30 "serafins" were paid. We lost during the siege a little under 1,000 men killed in action and dead through epidemics. This has greatly depleted our forces and we take this opportunity of requesting you once more to reinforce us with 6,000 men."

" This victory has placed the Company in greater respect and security in these parts. Great trade will follow. All the neighbouring Princes will respect us. ACHIN will remain our friend and probably grant us the " toll " of the whole of Sumatra's west coast. MATARAM must befriend us, sell its rice in BATAVIA and buy its requirements from us."

" The fall of MALACCA has caused great dejection among the Portuguese prisoners. They say openly " Now that Malacca is lost, there's no more India for us " and it is true. With the abovementioned reinforcements (should you decide to send them) we shall be able to drive the PORTUGUESE out of India within a short time. The ENGLISH and the DANES must then dry up and your honourable Company will have full control of the rich trade."

" It has been a hazardous task and we have often been apprehensive. But abandonment would have brought us many enemies and thank God we were able to endure. The credit and the honour of conquering this impregnable city is the greater because it was achieved without the assistance of the ACHINESE and without the JOHORITES participating in the storming."

" The 25th inst. was observed as a thanksgiving day and in the evening our victory was celebrated in grand style and by the firing of guns. May the Almighty grant further prosperity to the Company."

" JOHAN VAN TWIST and Commissary SCHOUTEN who left here on 2 December by the FRANCKER and the DUIF for MALACCA and ACHIN, reached JAMBI on the 29th inst. and the QUELPAERT has returned. VAN TWIST as Governor of Malacca and SCHOUTEN as delegate to ACHIN will undoubtedly be of very great service."

" The Governor General may pay a visit to MALACCA in May to put things in order. The trip, however, will not be undertaken if it stands in the way of other important business necessitating his stay in Batavia."

" Five of our gun-boats arrived at MALACCA from TAYOUAN on the 17th inst. on their way to COROMANDEL and SURAT only three days too late to have participated in the victory. More credit and profit for the besiegers." (49).

Meanwhile the newly appointed Governor JOHAN VAN TWIST and the Commissary SCHOUTEN arrived at MALACCA and in the following letter give a detailed account of that place as they found it, stating further what they have done for its administration as well as in regard to ACHIN and JOHORE.

FRANCKER and DUIF, and found the conquered city far from being in a happy state. Commander MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE, the merchant ANTHONY HURDT, and the Council were unable to

establish order on account of the epidemic, which is still raging unabated and has claimed further victims, including the merchant NICOLAES JANSZ. HOUTCOPER. Nor have they been able to use the remaining available forces landed from the ships UTRECHT, WASSENAER, BREDAM, ENGELSCHE ANNA BLIJSWIJK, RIJSWIJK, VENHUIZEN, VOS, ROEMERSWAEL, and the smaller yachts KLEIN-ZUTPHEN, and AMSTERDAM, numbering about 165 partly healthy and 291 sick men, besides five weak companies of 330 men out of which 93 were sick. So it followed that as soon as the new Governor assumed power, invested with due solemnity by the Commissary JUSTUS SCHOUTEN, he thought of plans for the convalescence of the sick, the best expedient being a trip to the neighbouring health resorts, which plan had already been conceived before his arrival by the Commander-in-Chief and his Council. It was proposed that the yachts VENHUIZEN, BLIJWIJK, RIJSWIJK and ROEMERSWAAL should transport the invalids, but owing to the illness of the Commander-in-Chief and other chiefs the departure had been postponed. We made only one alteration, by exchanging the Vos for the ROEMERSWAAL which was sent to *Ceylon*. We also released 21 men and women slaves who were to have been sent to QUEDAH and the island of LADA to be exchanged for cattle and provisions, which meant that these innocent people would have been delivered into the hands of barbaric MOORS. Such un-Christianlike and inhuman acts would have kindled the wrath of God on this city and its Government, inviting all sorts of plague. By our upright and Godfearing behaviour we should attract the inhabitants of these lands who are mostly Roman Christians. Cruel examples like the one here cited are bound to frighten these people from their homes and gardens without whose supply of necessities this republic could never exist.

In conformity with the above resolution the yachts left the roads of MALACCA on the 3rd inst. under skipper-Commander PIETER BAECK (who appears to be a capable man) having on board 290 sick and a few healthy persons. The VENHUIZEN and Vos were to call at LADA whereas the BLIJSWIJK and the RIJ*ff*WIJK were instructed to proceed under skipper CORNELIS LOUWERENSZ. SPANBROEK to the QUEDAH river and to deliver our missive and the accompanying presents to His Majesty, informing him of the happy news of the capture of MALACCA, after a long siege which had caused sickness in our camp and had necessitated our sending some of our invalids to His Majesty's harbour to recuperate. Further His Majesty was to be assured of our services and friendship and requested to take care of our sick and to send us quickly by the same yachts a number of cows and bullocks, from PULAU LADA (where there are many bullocks), for which we were ready to pay cash or give cloth in exchange. In this way we hope to revive our 316 men and to strengthen our weak garrison which is daily dwindling. Without this or timely reinforcement it will be impossible to occupy the city and the fortress properly and to withstand surprise attacks

by the enemy. In view of this and for other considerations we regret we have not been able to despatch the desired reinforcements to CEYLON, but to follow your instructions we ordered the yacht ROEMERSWAAL to proceed with 30 seamen and 28 bags of rice with your advices to the President JAN THIJSZ. The yacht set sail on the 7th inst. under the care of the Almighty. Further, we decided to send by the yacht DRAEK 25 invalids and 10 healthy sailors to PAHAN via IHOR for recuperation with instructions to meet the above-mentioned LAXAMANA and try to bring about a peace treaty between these two neighbouring states which are so useful to the Company, impressing upon them that our chief object was the extermination of our common enemy the Portuguese, for which purpose we had undertaken the siege of Malacca and had sacrificed so many prominent officers and soldiers until finally we succeeded in capturing it. Further in view of the infirmity of our people it was decided, after due deliberation, to instruct the above JAN JANSZ. MENIE to urge upon the above ORANG KAYA LAXAMANA and the other Ambassadors of JOHORE to send us quickly 150 or 200 labourers to demolish our batteries and approaches, to repair breaches in the walls, and to pull down all wrecked and useless houses which cause terrible stench and infection, promising them in the meantime to pay these workmen well, to supply them with rice and to treat them fairly. We have no doubt that with these precautionary measures the city will be strengthened shortly before the expected arrival of His Excellency the Governor-General, and the epidemic will gradually disappear on account of the continual cleansing of the place.

By the same opportunity we sent letters and a small present to Johore, meanwhile instructing the yacht DRAEK to transport the 12 Koyang or "last's" of rice lying in Achin, which the late Major ADRIAEN ANTONISZ. had promised to ship to PAHAN at the request of the King. Our excuses are to be made to LAXAMANA and RAJA BANDARA and chiefs of His Majesty for the delay due to the prolonged siege and blockade (engaging all available ships for a close watch on Portuguese vessels and preventing us from sending the promised yacht). We have handed to skipper ARENT FRANSZ. of the above yacht, a quantity of cloth valued at *f* 577.15 with which he has to buy at PAHAN and on the island of TIMAON and LOERE (= Pulau Aur) as many fowls, goats and other victuals as he can possibly get at reasonable prices. We fully believe that the JOHORE Ambassadors will be induced by JAN JANSZ. MENIE, whom we have often recommended verbally and in writing and who is very popular amongst the Johorites, to proceed to ACHIN, with Commissary SCHOUTEN or shortly after his departure, but whether the desired peace treaty will be concluded between the two princes depends on the ACHINESE. The new Ambassador of Achin TUAN AGA MUSTHAPA (the old one being absent from illness) behaved in such a strange and abstract manner towards the representative of the JOHORITE ORANG KAYA LAXAMANA notwithstanding the former's affability

and disposition for peace, that any talk or sweet persuasion on our part would have fallen into ashes. To free ourselves from obligations towards LAXAMANA, the Council considered it advisable to utilize the yacht KLEIN-ZUTPHEN, which was to have carried gunpowder to you urgently, for the purpose of conveying the above Ambassador, while the BANDA is now taking her place and is the bearer of this letter.

Under-merchant JAN JANSZ. MENIE has been instructed to accompany the Ambassadors to Achin, and afterwards during their absence to remain in Johore as a hostage. The above yacht must be sent, with or without the Johorite, to inform Commissary SCHOUTEN in time of the Laxamana's decision.

We have in conformity with your instructions and together with Commissary SCHOUTEN started to arrange other equally important matters. In the first place we have appointed the skipper JOCHEM PIETERSZ. (owing to the indisposition of the Commissary Hendrick Sieversz. Spanhems) as provisional "Equipage Master" to look after the shipping and discharging of the vessels and to act as harbour master. Upper-merchant PIETER QUAETGEBUER has control of supplies, while under-merchant ARNOUT POST has been appointed assistant to SR. ANTHONY HURDT who is wasting away. With these appointments we hope to stamp out all abuses and irregularities and to preserve better order than during the siege and the capture of this place.

After the Commander-in-Chief ADRIAEN ANTHONISZ. and his successor JACOB COOPER and specially after the storming of the city, supervision and administration were very bad. Contrary to law, the vanquished Portuguese were granted life and freedom and about 200 to 250 of their prominent and wealthy men and women, including clergymen, were allowed to travel by the yacht BREDAM to Goa with all their wealth estimated at about 100,000 reals of 8° and with their slaves—men and women—without the knowledge and sanction of the Council. We doubt very much if bribery has not played a prominent part, because upper-merchant ANTHONY HURDT and other members of the Council, by way of exonerating themselves, give us to understand that large quantities of gold and silver, in ornament, or metal, also costly jewels and other valuables were taken to the church of ST. PAUL, and there placed in chests, safes, canisters, etc., the keys of which were always by Commander MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE. We are also told that the Commander sent by his boy to BATAVIA per EGMOND and *DER GOES* two big cases of captured goods, contents unknown; that there was another big case of the same size on board the UTRECHT containing a small trunk; and further there were 10 packets of unknown articles, and in his house another 6 cases of similar dimensions full of plundered goods. All these were were traced and verified.

Whereas these appropriations exceeded all reasonable limits, the Council, at the request of ANTHONY HURDT and the Captain LAMOTIUS and FORSENBURG, after a friendly warning to Commander MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE to declare candidly how much gold, silver, and jewels remained in his possession over and above the amount of *f* 13,302[1], decided to have the case, and the 10 packets (being old "areka" and myrrh) found on board the UTRECHT opened in the presence of the representatives of both parties, and to bring ashore the above trunk sealed. This was opened in the presence of the Commander, the Commissary SCHOUTEN and other members of the Council and the contents were as follows:—

23 gold chains	weighing	Reals	62.
12 coral chains	,,	,,	17.
125 gold buttons with a cross	,,	,,	12.
1 silver and gold belt	,,	,,	20.
26 gold "stiffen" (pins)	,,	,,	10.
Sundries	,,	,,	10.
	Total weight in Reals		131.

There were also two bags of coins which the Commander claimed to be his private money.

The case was repacked, sealed and weighed and will be shipped to BATAVIA per WASSENAER together with the Company's goods under invoice and Bill of Lading, marked No. ✡ care of Commander MINNE WILLEMSZ. himself. The two bags of money have also been sealed and handed back to the Commander to deliver to you together with the case, and we leave it to you to dispose of these as you think best.

On the third day of our arrival Canonicus Vicarius ANTONIO GONZALVO accompanied by the thirteen remaining clergymen of different orders, came to greet the new Governor at his residence, asking for a passage for them all to COROMANDEL according to the promise made by Commander MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE. This was, however, declined after due deliberation, and it was pointed out to them that they ought to have left by the yacht BREDAM which had been specially provided to transport all Portuguese prisoners to NEGAPATAM. We sounded the Padres gently to find out whether they would be disposed to stay enjoying freedom of thought and full liberty in their religion, in and out of the city, in their houses, gardens or churches, but under our allegiance. They did not seem to understand us and persisted in their old maxim, that two religions could not be tolerated in any country, unless they were allowed unrestricted

[1] Appendix X. Should be XIII.

liberty, and freedom from oaths, which would be against the See of ROME and the authority of SPAIN, against which they would not take up arms. This cannot be heeded, but we have resolved to get rid of these restless and turbulent people whose machinations are known all over the world, by shipping them to you per yacht KLEIN-AMSTERDAM which has been thoroughly repaired lately. We have, however, at their request and subject to your approval, allowed one or two Dominicans, to stay behind to look after rents and incomes, and to see what arrangements can be made for the future.

During a later discourse with the Padres, we gave them clearly to understand that it was on account of their obstinacy that the city had suffered such a calamity, because they had deliberately ignored and rejected our very favourable terms. To prove this we opened in their presence the letters[1]) addressed to the Governor of MALACCA by His Excellency the Governor General, which had been returned unopened. The vicar read them with surprise and drawing up his shoulders replied that they were not to blame. but the great courage of the deceased Governor MANUEL DA SOUSA COUTINHO, who assured that relief would be forthcoming from GOA, MACAO, etc., and hearing exaggerated accounts of the cruelties of the Dutch Commander-in-Chief (known then as Tiger) had so deluded the people that they made up their minds to face the worst rather than surrender. This statement deserves credit considering the well-known haughty temper of the Major who was more of a bold soldier than a capable Commander-in-Chief.

It is dangerous to entrust people who know nothing about commerce or politics, with such highly important schemes. Jealousies and discords that are usual amongst members of the same trade should be avoided, because they often do a lot of harm to the republic.

We will not estimate the possible advantages to the Company, had we come here before the surrender and capture of the city of Malacca, nor is it our intention to discredit others and praise our own achievements.

After the departure of under-merchant JAN JANSZ. MENIE, the ORANG KAYA PADUKA SARANARA BINDARA and THUNINDRA SAEARA, who had been specially sent by ORANG KAYA LAXAMANA, arrived in their own vessels, bringing acknowledgment of the missives and presents sent to His Majesty, and recalling promises made by the late Sergeant Major ADRIAEN ANTONISZ. and the late Commander JACOB COOPER, requested us to arrange for two yachts to escort His Majesty on his intended trip shortly from PATANI to BATASOUWER the newly built fortress with a retinue of 23 noblemen and many other followers in a great number of boats, which were being prepared. This request was politely declined

[1] Appendix III. a.6.

on the ground of our sick seamen. But in a letter addressed to His Majesty we expressed regret for the delay in replying, which had been due to the demise of the Commander-in-Chief. Further, we offered His Majesty (apart from the 4 metal and 41 smaller guns sent by Commander MINNE WILLEMSZ. and his Council, and the two metal guns sent to the Laxamana) a gilt cup and a *Persian* "alkatib" as a souvenir of the conquest of Malacca and as a token of our friendship, with expressions of deep regret at not being able to comply with His Majesty's request.

While the two ORANG KAYAS (one of them well-known as BINDARA and the other an adopted son of Laxamana) were here, Commissary SCHOUTEN tried to get them to communicate with the Achinese Ambassadors. They were quite willing but the Achinese again made stale excuses saying they held no mandate to negotiate in such highly important matters, and the meeting fell through. We are afraid that these two arrogant and proud nations will never come to terms because the Achinese look on the Johorites as their vassals and subjects, an attitude, strongly resented by the latter. Our intervention is apt to kindle the fire of enmity more and we must be very circumspect because we are anxious that the favours and privileges derived from the ACHINESE shall not be lost; at the same time we must not allow the JOHORITES, who were such a great help in the siege and capture of the city and have entrusted themselves almost entirely to us, to be crushed or enslaved by the Achinese.

Notwithstanding the ungraciousness of the ACHINESE Ambassadors the two ORANG KAYAS left for JOHORE with our letter and the presents quite contented. They promised to give such reports to the LAXAMANA and the King that supplies would be sent immediately; and that delegates would be sent with under-merchant JAN JANSZ. MENIE here or to Achin to conclude a treaty of peace with the King. God grant that this may go through for the benefit of the parties concerned.

In conformity with your instructions the ACHINESE Ambassadors were received on board by the Committee and fetched ashore where a company of soldiers was ordered to escort them. They were also given small gifts out of the captured goods. But they were so mean and unmannerly as to walk the streets shamelessly like beggars and to buy all sorts of wares from the soldiers. They collected a large quantity of fine copper work, basins, kettles, gongs and other articles of value which they intended to smuggle through, taking mean advantage of the permit granted them and their servants for free passage through the water-gate. The JOHORITES followed their bad example. To stop this evil we immediately made a public proclamation by beat of drum and by posting a placard forbidding all persons, officer, soldier, sailor, MALAY JOHORITE, captive PORTUGUESE or slave, to profit by the purchase or sale of captured goods. Moreover, no goods were

permitted to be exported without special orders. Penalty for violation of this law was fully stated in the placard, as per enclosed copy. This put a stop to the Achinese practices and restrained their shamelessness. But by way of satisfying them we have at the advice of Commissary SCHOUTEN allowed them to take a few copper lamps, pots, etc. We have further paid them 50 reals for cancelling all purchases and they went on board the FRANCKER quite contented. They complained bitterly, however, about the unhealthiness of the climate which caused the old SRI NARA WANGSA and many of their servants to fall ill. They long to get back to ACHIN as soon as possible and we hope this will be accomplished in two days.

The two deserters namely FRANCISCO DE FONTES OF LISBON and JAN JANSZ. MAGERMAN OF AMSTERDAM were sentenced to death after formal trial, and their monthly salaries were confiscated. The execution took place on the 8th inst. within the walls of Malacca in the presence of many Portuguese men and women who were astonished at the prompt justice done by the Dutch, as compared with the Portuguese. The dead bodies were taken to RED ISLAND and there hung in chains from the gallows as an example to the public and as objects of general contempt. The body of the infamous (*vaandrig*) EVERT JANSZ. was also exhumed, as unworthy of the earth and placed in a box on wheels, with the head stuck on a pole. We refer you to the enclosed death warrants for fuller details as we would rather not dwell on this odious subject.

Besides the money distributed among the officers we have found 5,300 reals minted in GOA which will satisfy our needs for the time being. We intend to introduce our money and avoid using the reals as much as possible, utilizing them only for profitable transactions, although foreigners will strongly resent it at first because the real is the only currency favoured in these parts and specie is exchanged among the Malays for 1½ reals of Portuguese money.

From the enclosed lists of our present depleted forces on land and sea and in our garrison, you will realise that reinforcements are urgently needed for the proper defence of the fortress. As politicians have said *It is easier to conquer a place than to keep it.*

We cannot count much on the invalids sent to QUEDAH and LADA for their health. Some may regain full vigour, but the majority will be so weak and delicate for a time that they will be useless for any labour.

In short, MALACCA will consume more men in the near future and we must see that we have always sufficient reserves to fill gaps. Our position should never be endangered through lack of men.

We intend to reduce our garrison to two companies placed under able officers. This will not clash with your orders and

agrees with the advice of Sergeant-Major LAMOTIUS and Captain LOURENS FORSENBURG, who are of opinion that for Malacca's defence at least three companies of 120 men are necessary, each with its Lieutenant, standard bearer, two sergeants, a cadet and two ordinary corporals. Besides these, 70 or 80 soldiers are needed on board the cruising yachts, boats and vessels to be used for expeditions on land. These forces should be under the command of two capable captains. We have however, placed our garrison, comprising 377 men of whom 87 are on the sick list, under the absolute command of the above two Captains: 160 men under Sergeant-Major LAMOTIUS (who has the preference) and 140 men under Captain FORSENBURG, with their respective Lieutenants and standard bearers. We recommend their services to your kind notice and request you to reward them liberally.

The number of cannons captured in Malacca including those presented to the JOHORITES and the ACHINESE, are stated in detail in the enclosed list drawn up by our master-of-arms, who requests you to send urgently three good gunners and 30 smart shots to look after the artillery because here there are no good men obtainable. We concur with the Sergeant-Major that 40 good guns are sufficient for the defence of the fortress, and will therefore send you all the remaining guns, ammunition, war material, copper, etc., as soon as we can.

The above-mentioned Captains consider the following urgently required:—

120 good armours	120 pikes
350 morlioens (helmets ?) and	350 pitchforks (*fourketstokken*)

in order to hold more spectacular parades and also for defensive purposes in time of need. We also need horses to explore the fields (when works are demolished and trees felled beyond reach of a cannon shot) and to keep in check the MANICABERS and the neighbouring villagers who have already started " to prick up their ears." (50).

In his private letter to the high authorities in Batavia Commissary SCHOUTEN makes the following significant remarks about the capture of Malacca. (51).

" It is unanimously admitted now that the siege of Malacca was not concluded properly and that the late Commander ADRIAEN ANTONISZ's hard-headed obstinacy was responsible for a prolonged expedition instead of a short determined and successful campaign. Moreover his haughtiness and his fame of being a " tiger " seem to have frightened most of the enemy and to have driven them to resist desperately to the last, rather than capitulate."

" Commander COOPER, I am reliably informed, is " worn out." Your opinion of him is quite justified because his administration has been bad: thank God that it has not been unfortunate.

He seems to have been the dupe of unscrupulous advisers under whose influence he has followed a wavering and detrimental policy."

"The last Commander-in-Chief, MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE, was wiser and more fortunate in his leadership of the campaign because he acted diligently and harmoniously with his Council. But close scrutiny reveals that *victory is not attributable to any one but to the help and the blessing of God who put faith and dauntless spirit in our men and fear and dejection in our enemy*. Prominent officers give this much credit to Commander CAERTEKOE and his sleeping army, that when all the points were taken, he went to the city walls and offered the conquered enemy full freedom, contrary to all customs and rules of war, thereby obviating much disorderly plundering and especially the violation of women. This was a Christian act. But that he allowed the prisoners to get away to NEGAPATAM by the KLEIN-BREDAM, we consider a great disservice to the Company, because it is rumoured the fugitives took with them treasures of great value estimated by some at 100,000 "pardaos" or "cruzados" which however is to be somewhat discounted."

"As to the defence of MALACCA the Portuguese seem to have been better equipped with ammunition and war material than we thought. Insufficient supplies and famine however caused pestilence to spread in the city and this brought about its downfall.

"At present we can speak of Malacca thus:—

M	Is eene plaats	Magtig van muren
A		Aanzienlijk van gebouwen
L		Lustig van landdouwen
A		Aangenaam van tuinen
K		Kaal door plundering
K		Koortsig door besmetting
A		Arm, mits den oorlog

M	Is a place of	Mighty walls
A		Abounding in buildings
L		Land of Charm
A		Attractive gardens
C		Chaotic after plunder
C		Climate feverish
A		Anaemic after the war

"But we hope that with the help expected from you and with good administration the city will soon regain prosperity to the benefit of the Company. May the Almighty's blessings be upon it.

'We consider Mr. van Twist (who is a man of quick perception) the right person to establish law and order and good administration, but he should be assisted by an upper-merchant who understands the *Malay* and *Portuguese* languages. ANTHONY

HURDT is, in my opinion, unsuitable for this post, because he is lazy, careless and inexperienced, and apt to look after his own interest rather than that of the Company. The Sergeant-Major LAMOTIUS and Captain FORSENBURG are brave soldiers, frugal and discreet. They are therefore needed here. The Fiscal SCHILDERHUYZEN has been appointed to act as secretary to the Governor. The skipper BAECK, now in QUEDAH will be given the command of all yachts and vessels here. Under-merchant ARNOUT POST is in charge of stores and the receiving and shipping of goods, while under-merchant Schaep keeps the garrison books. JAN JANSZ. MINNE will do well as our Sabandhaar. DIEGO KEESJE could act as regent of the Portuguese burgers, but he is not to be trusted much, as also MOCKA MERAH who came here voluntarily after the capture. This man has been smuggling provisions to Malacca and has in this way helped the Portuguese *to hold out six week longer.* The merchant QUAETGEBUER cannot be of special service for the time being, except to assist in insuring goods and to look after the provisions. In short MALACCA needs efficient linguists as merchants and assistants."

From the above it is apparent that everything was being done at the outset to establish proper administration in the city and to make it serviceable to the Company. News reaching BATAVIA during the first months after the capture, was as a rule very unfavourable, especially as regards the health of the inhabitants. But an improvement set in in June and July according to the following letter written by the Governor General in December 1641, to the Directors of the Company giving a report of the actual state of the city and its prospects, and of the distribution of the booty:—

"Since we wrote last by the fly boat HEEMSTEDE announcing the capture of the mighty city and fortress of Malacca, the following ships and yachts have arrived here one after the other bringing many sick men and deceased:—

"The GOES, the JAGER, the EGMOND, the KLEIN-ZUTPHEN, the WASSENAER (with Commander MINNE WILLEMSZ.), the BREDAMME, the LIMMEN, the 'chaloup' AMBOINA via JOHORE, and the ENGELSCHE ANNA. Some of them have been to JAMBY to clear pepper accounts. Few of the above patients have pulled through. The majority have died and the rest are wasting away. We have permitted some to go with returning ships to other climates for recuperation. MALACCA has been in a miserable state. But the plague which raged right up to the months of June and July, is now gradually abating owing to the clearing and cleansing of the place and the refreshing rains which are driving away unhealthy stinking smells: we hope that conditions will go on improving. The atmosphere there has been so infectious that some Indians who arrived in their vessels with merchandise, lost many of their folk and returned quickly, all of them having contracted illness.

It is not surprising because as you will see from the enclosed, the besieged suffered endless misery during the five months and twelve days of siege. It was like the destruction of JERUSALEM. The fortress was absolutely shattered by our guns. The CURAS, the HOSPITAL DES POVRES, ST. DOMINGO and the HIGH TOWERS were levelled to the ground by our bombardments. All these must be repaired. We have sent them twenty pairs of JAVANESE convicts (chain slaves) masons, and some other workmen. Our Governor JOHAN VAN TWIST writes on 10th August, that the bulwark of St. Domingo, now called VICTORIA, has been repaired and is already occupied by our forces. The CURAS is next to be repaired. We enclose a sketch of this famous city together with Commissary SCHOUTEN'S description and report (which was handed to the Council of India on his return from ACHIN via Malacca) of Malacca, its past and present, its situation, territory, inhabitants, law and domain, incomes from gardens and fields, etc. We refer you to these documents and request you to take note of our letters and instructions dated 30 April, 3 July and 18 October forwarded to Malacca. You will realise from these documents how important this conquest is and what great profits can be derived in a short time for the Company by this acquisition. We consider the retention of Malacca (about which we await your order and advice) absolutely necessary for trade with the Malayan Coast south and north of Malacca, the upper coast of Sumatra, and north Borneo, etc. which could be carried on with great advantage without affecting BATAVIA at all. Later we could introduce a toll on all vessels coming from Bengal, Coromandel and other places for tin transactions. The conquest will help us to conclude a favourable peace treaty with Portugal because we are no more afraid of their competition. The Portuguese, who frequent Malacca, know very well that to have a safe voyage through the Straits and to PETANI, SIAM, CAMBODIA right up to MACAO, they must pay us in MALACCA the same dues they paid formerly to the King of SPAIN. Arrangements should also be made with the Portuguese to preclude all possible trade rivalry which damages both parties, and to respect each other's territorial waters. The Portuguese line of business is quite different to that of the Company, and there should be no difficulty in coming to an understanding. We also favour the idea of free trade in MALACCA but we must reserve as Government monopolies the following—pepper, diamonds, " besoar," gold, amber, pearls and a part of the tin. Efficient persons or Company's factors from Holland should participate in these negotiations.

It would not be fair to prohibit Portuguese traders from BENGAL, Coromandel, etc. from carrying on their business in cloth, and this concession should be granted when a treaty is signed. But the toll money derived thereby should cover the expenses of our garrison. We are certain that in time of prosperity this will far exceed all our expenses. We informed you that our military Council in MALACCA before the storming, declared

everything found in the city war booty, except cannons and war materials[1]. Many irregularities took place during the plundering after the victory and the distribution of booty, but these have been checked quickly and the remaining goods have been collected and sent to BATAVIA. The proceeds were to go towards the payment of six months salary to all who took part in the campaign. But as the principal chiefs had helped themselves beyond all reasonable limits and proportion, the Council of India ordered the restitution of the bulk of these goods, leaving a much smaller portion in their hands as their fair share of the booty. In this way it was possible to pay the six months salary as promised[2].

The gold, silver, jewels and merchandise obtained in MALACCA and entered in our books with their estimated values, as per enclosed specification[3] (excluding 18 metal cannons forwarded to you by this opportunity and four pieces kept here together with twelve bells (gongs ?)) amount to.....*f* 208,011.11.9

From this should be deducted the six months salaries paid to our men in cash.....*f* 66,713.16

Cost of the garrison in Malacca and other expenditure estimated at.....*f* 40,000.00 *f* 106,713.16.0

so that there is a surplus for us of about *f* 100,000 out of this conquest.

The valuation of the goods is very moderate, and final proceeds are likely to enhance the Company's profit considerably. We had greater expectations from this city of wealth, but much has been lost owing to disorder.

The Commander and his Council in MALACCA allowed 300 men, women and children to be transported to NEGAPATAM by our yacht BREDAMME, who, it is rumoured, carried with them treasure of great value. These fugitives had a very unfortunate voyage. Many of them died before the yacht reached its destination. We had news from PALIACATE that they had saved goods to the value of 100,000 reals but this cannot be verified. The enemy surely cannot complain of our treatment. Please let us know how we are to dispose of the above *f* 100,000—whether we have to book it as captured goods, general expenses or in the name of the Company." (52).

The Commander MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE left MALACCA for BATAVIA by the WASSENAER. He arrived at his destination on the 3rd of April 1641 and after he had presented his report, the Council of India resolved on the same day:—

"The above Commander, and ex-Commander-in-Chief at the storming of MALACCA, arrived here ill and showed and presented

[1] Appendix XII. [2] Appendix XIII. [3] Appendix XIV.

to us a certain necklace weighing 20½ reals of 8° *which had been hung round his neck* by the *Portuguese* Governor MANUEL DA SOUSA COUTINHO after the conquest of MALACCA as a token of respect. Considering the good service rendered by the above Commander who assisted in the siege of Malacca from the beginning and, after the demise of three of his superior namely ADRIAEN ANTONISZ., JOHAN DE MEERE, and JACOB COOPER, attained the high command and brought the campaign to a happy end, we have unanimously resolved to present him again with the gold necklace (received from our enemies for his bravery), this time on behalf of the Dutch East India Company as a token of honour, for which act the Commander expressed his gratitude." (53).

The widows of Sergeant-Major ADRIAEN ANTONISZ. and Commander JACOB COOPER were also rewarded. The following is the Council's resolution thereanent dated the 15th October of same year:—

"Whereas the late Commander-in-Chief ADRIAEN ANTONISZ. and JACOB COOPER laid the foundation of our conquest of MALACCA and during its siege suffered great privation and hardships, and whereas, to our great regret, they were deprived of the fruits of victory by untimely death, we have decreed to present to Madam MARIA AUN BREBIS, the widow of the late ADRIAEN ANTONISZ., a heavy golden necklace, and three smaller ones for her daughters, weighing altogether 10⅞ reals of 8°: and to Madam BARBARA POMPEN, widow of the late Commander JACOB COOPER a similar necklace weighing 10⅝ reals."

The members constituting the Council of MALACCA were not satisfied with the decree of the high authorities in Batavia dated 10 April. Some of them decided to appeal to the Governor-General for the restitution of their share of the booty. The under-mentioned documents speak for themselves:—

Saturday, 4th January, Anno 1642.

"The upper-merchant ANTHONY HURDT, Sergeant-Major JOHANNES LAMOTIUS and skipper-Commander PIETER BAECK who returned lately from MALACCA by the yachts VENHUIZEN and BLIJSWIJK, presented personally to the Governor-General (also on behalf of Captain LOURENS FORSENBURG left in charge of the garrison there), *a certain gold necklace with a medallion* weighing 28½ reals, which they offered to His Excellency as a souvenir of the glorious conquest of the renowned fortress and citadel of Malacca by Commander MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE whom they assisted collectively as his closest Councillors. After this they handed the following request to His Excellency:—

"To His Excellency the Noble ANTONIO VAN DIEMEN,
"Governor General over the State of the United Netherlands
"in the Orient."

"With all due respects, we the undersigned *Anthony Hurdt*, upper-merchant and collector, *Johannes Lamotius*, Sergeant-Major, *Pieter Baeck*, skipper-Commander, and *Lourens Forsenburg*, Captain, dutiful servants of your Excellency, do hereby take the liberty of bringing to your kind notice that, as honest officers of the Council of Malacca, we served the Company to the best of our abilities during the siege of that city, through sickness and hardships, as well as after the conquest when we had to establish law and order in that newly conquered place. Contrary to our expectation of getting solace for the sickness and hardships suffered and faithful services rendered, we have been instructed by your Excellency with the approval of your Council to refund, each of us, a good portion of our acquired booty. Your Excellency's sympathetic attitude towards our enemies, even to the extent of ordering restitution of booty, encourages us to request you humbly to refund us the above forfeited amounts whereof this requests, etc., etc."

It was decided on investigation to add the following post-script:—

"The services rendered by the suppliants, both before and after the capture of MALACCA, have been thankfully acknowledged by us and by the Company. Some of them have already had increases in salaries while others can expect increases later. Regarding the distribution of captured goods, the request of the applicants cannot be accepted in view of our decree of 10 April, which must be strictly followed. The Governor-General thanks them for the gold necklace and the medallion weighing 28½ reals, but returns the necklace, retaining only the medallion."

"Datum ut supra

Sd. ANTONIO VAN DIEMEN

PIETER MESTDACH."

These letters give an idea of what was done to make the newly conquered city habitable. We give a few more extracts from the Governor's diary and so end our narrative.

By the WASSENAER, which was to convey Commander CAERTEKOE to BATAVIA, the ex-Governor of MALACCA and his consort also left. The diary mentions this:—

"March 6—At noon the Governor LOUIJS MARTEN DA SOUSA with his consort Dona MARIA DA SILVA came to greet the Governor at his residence, requesting to be allowed to take with them some of their slaves (men and women) and also a few small things for their own use, which was granted by the Governor. After lunch the guests departed thanking him for the honour and hospitality. The Governor promised to accompany them early next morning to the ship and see that they were comfortably accommodated.

" March 7—Early in the morning the *Portuguese* ex-Governor LOUIJS MARTEN DA SOUSA and his consort Dona MARIA DA SILVA were conveyed on board the ship WASSENAER, accompanied by Governor Governor JOHAN VAN TWIST and upper-merchant PIETER QUAETGEBUER, to sail to BATAVIA. A farewell salute of three shots.....was fired with muskets, as the ex-Governor was leaving the shore.

" At noon the Governor returned ashore.

" March 10—Sunday—The Commander MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE is leaving to-day. He went on board the WASSENAER accompanied by the Governor, the Sergeant-Major, the Commissary PIETER QUAETGVBUER, the fiscal JORIS SCHILDERHUIZEN and other officers. Soldiers lined up in salute and on his leaving the shore 3 volleys with muskets and five shots by the big guns at the point CURAS were fired as a farewell.

" In the evening the Governor returned ashore, after he had delivered the respective documents and messages for BATAVIA and JAMBI to Commander MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE and had wished bon voyage to the ex-Governor LOUIJS MARTEN DA SOUSA and his consort Dona MARIA DA SILVA and other prominent *Portuguese*.

" March 11—The ship WASSENAER and the boat BANDA left at daylight for BATAVIA. We hope that by God's help, they will arrive at their destination safely, with their costly freights.

" March 13—On further discussion about the posts and bulwarks and the usual seal of the city of Malacca, it was decided to rename and alter these in the following manner:—

" The post of ST. DOMINGO through which the victorious army made its triumphal entry will be baptized VICTORIA.

The post of MADRE DIOS baptized AEMELIA

„ „ „ ONZE MILLE VIRGINES baptized HENRIETTE LOUYZE

„ „ „ MORA „ WILHELMUS

„ „ „ CURAS „ FREDRICK HENDRICK

The hospital DE POVRES „ ERNST CASIMIR and

The battery of DOMINGO MONTE „ KIJK IN DE POT.

" Secondly to the coat of arms of the city depicting a *Chinese* junk (because the *Portuguese* first entered the place under the guise of *Chinese* traders and afterwards conquered it) shall be added an armed man holding in his fist a crowned native together with the seal of the Company in commemoration of the capture of the city of MALACCA by the sword and its amalgamation with the United Netherlands State.

" June 2—Sunday—This morning MR. JOHANNES LOOSVELT, the newly arrived parson, gave his first sermon in the church of

ST. PAULO taking as his text I. Thessol. chap. 5, v. 17, after which he performed the marriages of Sabandhaar JAN JANSZ. MENIE to Dona ISABELLA DA MORA widow of MANUEL DA ROGER who was the "Tommagon" of this city; and ROELOP MANNINGHSZ. SCHAEP, upper-merchant, to JERONIMO DA MATO—widow of JUAN FERNANDEZ, a Portuguese merchant.

"July 17—In the afternoon the bodies of Commanders-in-Chief ADRIAEN ANTHONISZ. and JACOB COOPER who were buried in the church of ST. THOMAS (in the outskirts of the city where our former camp had been) were exhumed and placed on a big shallop draped with the 'tent' flag and taken in a state procession, accompanied by the Sergeant-Major and prominent military and naval officers, together with a company of soldiers with reversed rifles and a trumpeter wearing mourning, to the residence of the Governor where they were to remain till the next morning and then in compliance with the request of the widows of the deceased, they were to be interred again with all due ceremonies and honours (in memory of their bravery and services rendered) this time in the church of ST. PAUL.

"July 18—The bells of ST. PAULO and all around the city rang twice in the morning, at noon and towards the afternoon, and then the funeral procession started from the Governor's house in the following order:—Captain LAURENS marched ahead with 150 musketeers holding their rifles reversed and dragging (forketten ?); then came officers and standard bearers with black silk bands and drums covered with black damask. Then came the trumpeter of the late Commander-Major ADRIAEN ANTHONISZ. with black crepe tied round his arm, his hat and his trumpet.

The coat-of-arms was borne by Lieutenant *Claes Pietersz.*

The casket by standard bearer *Nicolaes Linsknectt.*

The gloves by the Assistant *Carel Verwijck.*

The sword by the Corporal of the midshipman *Evert van Essen.*

The spurs by the skipper *Johan van Royen.*

The body of Commander Major ADRIAEN ANTHONISZ. lying in a coffin, was covered with black cloth and draped with a flag; the sword and the bandolier being placed on the coffin. In was borne solemnly by the following officers:—

Roeloff Nanninghsz.—shop-keeper.

Adriaen Hoffcamp—upper-merchant.

Harmen Jansz.—skipper.

Dr. Lucas Danielsz.—Head Surgeon.

Josua Braconier—Secretary to the Commissary *Schouten.*

Jan Lucasz.—(Levendig ?) Assistant.

Jan Pol van Groningen
Jan van Swoll } Corporals.

Then followed a soldier holding a uniform and the regimental staff in his hands.

The coffin of Commander JACOB COOPER was similarly arranged and the order of procession was as follows:—

First came the trumpeter of His Excellency the Governor-General who had returned from Achin with Commissary *Schouten*.

Then followed the Coat-of-Arms, borne by *Dirk Harmansz.* skipper of *Francker*.

The casket by *Jacob Cornelisz.*

The gloves by standard bearer *Jan Theunisz. Baeker*.

The sword by *Euwoud Lourens*, Secretary to the Governor.

The spurs by *Dirck Cock*, Dispenser.

The pall bearers were:—

Jacob de Cooter—Provisional under-merchant.
Volckert 't Jercksz.—chief mate.
Samuel Bonnel, *Anthony de Solem* } Assistants.
Panckras Allewijns, *Jan Hendricksz.* } Sergeants.
Anthony van den Kirckhoven, *Hendrick Bramer* } Corporals.
Marcus Martinsz.—Surgeon.
Pieter den Droes.

Behind the coffin walked a soldier in full uniform, the regimental staff in hand. He was followed by under-merchant *Pels* in mourning as a near relation to the late major's widow. Then followed in pairs:—

Johan van Twist, Governor and Plenipotentiary, Representative of the Council of India, etc.

The Commissary *Justus Schouten*.

The Advocate-fiscal *Dr. Gerrardt Herbers*.

The Sergeant-Major *Johannes Lamotius*.

The Ambassadors of *Achin* and *Johore*.

The " Sabandhaar " *Jan Jansz. Menie*.

The Portuguese Ambassador—Sr. *Francisco da Sousa Castro*, the ex-Captain General of *Malacca*, who had been released from *Achinese* slavery by Commissary Schouten at the special request of the Governor General.

The Parson—*Johannes Loosvelt.*

The Collector and upper-merchant *Anthony Hurdt.*

The Padre Vicarius and the *Portuguese* Clergy.

The war and naval officers.

The captains of the free inhabitants outside *Malacca.*

The *Portuguese* citizens and other inhabitants.

" On arrival of the cortege at the church, the coffins were taken by the pall bearers to the graves. They were put in shrouds and all the tokens of honour were placed on them. The Coats-of-Arms, the caskets, the spurs, the gloves and the weapons. The soldiers then lined up alongside and in front of the church and fired three volleys with muskets. Then the big guns at the ramparts fired two shots followed by three sharp salvoes from *St. Jago* alias *Wilhelmus,* towards the sea, in memory of these brave men who not only rendered praiseworthy services to the Company, but spent practically the whole of their lives in that Company's service.

" The drums were uncovered, the rifles were taken up and the procession of mourners proceeded towards the residence of the Governor where wine was served to all and so the funeral ended. Prominent officers, the Portuguese and the masters of the ships in port were invited to stay for lunch which was served in grand style in honour of the deceased Commanders.

" July 24—Towards the evening when all the papers and letters for *Batavia* and *Jambi* were ready, the Commissary JUSTUS SCHOUTEN and the Ambassadors of ACHIN and JOHORE were escorted as far as the watergate by the Governor and other prominent officers, and from there they were conveyed by Advocate-fiscal HERBERS and Captain FORSENBURG to the armed yacht FRANCKER to sail to-morrow to BATAVIA. Before they left the shore the soldiers presented arms and fired three volleys with their muskets and three cannon shots, as a farewell salute.

" August 31—A Malay boat met the FRANCKER on the 9th inst. off TANJONG BASA and brought a letter from Commissary JUSTUS SCHOUTEN in which he complained bitterly about the slowness of the voyage and the sickness on board, two of the passengers having died already.

" November 7—In the morning after the sermon and the thanksgiving for MALACCA's glorious and almost miraculous conquest, the Governor JOHAN VAN TWIST with his respective Council, accompanied by Commander DOMINICUS BOUWENS and other prominent navel officers, proceeded to the post of ST. DOMINGO through which our victorious army had entered and after a short speech in which he explained the reason and motive of the ceremony he declared that it had been approved by His Excellency the

Governor General and the Council of India to baptize that important point VICTORIA. The other points were also to be re-named as follows:—

ST. DOMINGO	to be re-named		VICTORIA
MADRE DEUS	„	„	AEMELIA
ONZE MILLE VIRGINES	„	„	HENRIETTE LOUYSE
ST. JAGO	„	„	WILHELMUS
HOSPITAAL	„	„	MARITIUS
CURAS	„	„	FREDERICK HENDRICK
MORA	„	„	ERNST CASIMIR
HOSPITAL OF DEL REY	„	„	AMSTERDAM

The new names appeared on a board fixed on the wall and were to be followed strictly, no other names being permitted. The guns saluted each time a point was baptized, but for VICTORIA and FREDERICK HENDRICK three salues each were fired.

The event was then celebrated by a great banquet at the residence of the Governor when the members of the Council and the officers of the garrison and the respective ships were entertained.

This is all we have been able to collect together from the papers of the East India Company about this *important Conquest*. Had a complete diary of the siege been available we could have give events from day to day, but as it is we have had to content ourselves by quoting letters and reports.

And what was the cause of Malacca's prolonged siege ? In our opinion the protraction was due to the following:—

1. The omission by the Prince of ACHIN to fulfil his promise of sending reinforcements.
2. The failure to effect a complete blockade, which enabled the enemy to get considerable supplies during the siege.
3. The weakness of the army caused by the epidemic which sent many to the grave.
4. The changing of Commanders, owing to the death of three of them.
5. And last but not least, the excellent valour of the Governor MANUEL DA SOUSA COUTINHO whose name we mention with due respect. Notwithstanding the great misery prevailing among the people, he kept up such wonderful courage that they decided to fight to the last rather than surrender.

SCHOUTEN'S REPORT OF HIS VISIT TO MALACCA.

A report by Commissary *Justus Schouten* of his visit to Malacca, including an account of the past and present of that city together *with some suggestions as to its future welfare and how its trade could be utilized for the General East India Company—presented to His Excellency the Governor-General Antonio van Diemen and Members of the Council of India.*

Noble, Valiant, Wise and Honourable Gentlemen,

Acting on your instructions I visited Malacca, in the capacity of Commissioner in December last, and again on my return from Achin, in accordance with your missive of April last. After careful investigation I beg to present (1) a report of my visit with (2) an account of the past and present of Malacca and (3) suggestions as to its future welfare:—how its safety can be assured for the Netherlands State and on what basis its trade should be conducted to produce the best results for the General East India Company. The items are dealt with briefly and concisely, owing to the over-abundance of material, without however affecting their gist.

PART I.

Relating to our Mission in Malacca.

The State of Malacca as we found it.—How I found the city on first arrival and the measures taken by *Johan van Twist* with my advice and assistance for order and improvements, are fully recorded in our joint letter and in my private letter to you. I will therefore not enlarge upon it again but I merely mention the principal points.

Johan van Twist as Vice-Governor.—Our first and most important step in Malacca's disorderly state was to relieve Commander *Minne Caertekoe* of his duties according to your instructions and install *Johan van Twist* as Vice-Governor, who with the approval and support of the Council has taken prompt measures for the relief of the situation.

The dispatch of Yachts to different places.—The *Veenhuizen*, the *Blijswijk*, the *Rijswijk* and the *Vos* were ordered to convey the sick to *Quedah* and *Pulu Lada* for convalescence. The *Roemerswael* left for *Ceylon* via *Paliacate* with provisions and advices, while *de Draek* was instructed to transport the 12 tons of *Achin* rice to *Pahang*. Under-merchant *Jan Menie* was sent to *Batasouwer* to induce the *Laxamana of Johore* to satisfy the *Achinese;* and finally the *Klein-Zutphen* proceeded to *Batavia* with the costly booty, gunpowder and letters, to ask for the reinforcements needed. All these have been provided with the necessary instructions, advices and letters, including those addressed to the respective Kings and Regents, to which the writer has contributed, as also in conferences between the *Achinese* and the *Johorite* Ambassadors which have served to pacify the two Kings. Letters and presents have been dispatched to the *Johorites* and the *Achinese,* and the villagers of *Nanning* and *Ringy* have been placed under the protection of the Netherland State as vassals.

Establishing Law and Order.—New regulations have been enforced. The garrison has been reduced to two companies under competent officers. This is subject to your approval. An equipage master has been appointed for disorderly ships, and a commissary for the control of scattered provisions and rationing. Deserters have been promptly and severely punished. The scattered slaves (men and women) have been enlisted to clean up the town. A hospital has been opened for the sick. Plundering or removal of goods from houses and other disorderly acts are strictly forbidden.

Booty secured for the Company.—Strict measures are taken that the Company may not be deprived any more of her share of booty. It is disgraceful how Commander *Caertekoe,* his councillors, officers, soldiers and sailors have grabbed everything greedily. Moreover, it is foolish to have allowed the enemy to get away with

many valuables. To avoid further disorder we took immediately an inventory of all valuables such as jewels, gold, silver, amber and cash, and shipped these off by the ship *Wassenaer* together with some *Coromandel* and *Bengal* clothes, beautiful vestments and rare church ornaments, furniture and other merchandise collected from the houses. All the stores are better arranged and sealed. To my regret I have not been able to make a complete list of these goods with taxations yet, owing to the dreadful sickness among the workmen, and my trip to *Achin* which from its importance, could not be postponed.

What we did as Commissioner of Malacca.—We have already given all the information obtainable as to the actual state of affairs during the siege and after the capture of the city. Regarding the infamous appropriation of booty by Commander *Caertekoe* and his Council, prompt measures have been taken (as far as Malacca's confused and poor state permitted) to stop such evil practices.

Why Commander Caertekoe's box was searched.—The Commander (who is much honoured and respected) was not subjected to any more search than his Council, but on certain information and at the request of that same Council, the box in question was searched on board the *Utrecht* and only the trunk containing gold ware and two big bags or napkins full of coins were taken out. The six cases in his house have not been touched, and to spare him humiliation the money was handed over to him sealed, and the trunk was sent to *Batavia* with its contents intact.

Our Source of Information.—There has been a lot of talk in the army and in town about the Commander's recklessness, avarice and misdeeds, but his own servants, bodyguards and particularly the chief boatswain of the *Utrecht* and a certain *Frederik Jacobsz.* boatswain, are the best witnesses. The Councillors have followed their Commander, thinking of their own personal interest above that of the Company, as will be demonstrated more fully in its proper place by and by.

Commander Caertekoe's shortcomings.—It appears that this fortunate Commander has failed to realise that an ideal Commander should never think of booty, but immortal glory. It was his duty after the conquest to have warned his own Council, against avarice following the example of the famous commander *Themistocles* of *Athens* who, after defeating the *Persians,* when he was walking in the battle field amongst the dead bodies of his enemies and their rich ornaments said to his friends—" You may help yourselves to these things because you are not Themistocles." *Crispus Salustius* has aptly said—" To serve in those high ranks and offices, in the heights where their deeds are seen by all, the higher one goes the less justification to do wrong."

Our work in Malacca.—During my first stay in Malacca, I have assisted the Governor in many important matters by counsel

and deed. And in my absence I have written to him pointing out the improvements most necessary to be made in my opinion. These plans have not materialized for want of adequate means for their execution.

The reason of slackness.—"Had our mission to *Achin* ended earlier, we should have been of greater service to the Company by assisting the Governor during the initial stages of the conquest of Malacca, but the tedious voyage to and fro, the slackness of the *Achinese Court* and the inconvenient arrival of the *Johorites* have greatly handicapped us and we have not had the time to make proper investigations. We arrived off *Malacca* on 8 July last by the yachts *Francker* and the *Anna* and on landing at night with the Ambassadors of *Achin* and *Johore,* we were handed your letter of April last. Mr. *van Twist* also received his letter. Taking due note of the contents and acting on your instructions, we started at once making investigations to find out what had been done since my departure.

The result of our research.—It is evident that the Governor has not idled but has worked hard incessantly almost single-handed for the improvement of the city. Much has been achieved since the capture of *Malacca* and it is my duty to give here a brief and concise record for your information.

A short account of what has taken place in Malacca during my absence.—The Governor's first step was to send a sharp and serious warning to the *Laxamana* about his arrogant refusal to come to terms with *Achin,* his bold demand for delay and the abortive mission of *Jan Menie.* The effect has been instantaneous and the representatives have been sent out immediately to *Achin* by the yacht *Anna.* Further the church of *St. Thomas* and the old battery have been demolished by the natives under *Alexander Mendis.* Many trees have been cut down and a bridge built across the river, each workman getting a "tanga" and 1½ lbs. rice daily. Many old houses near the walls have been pulled down by the Company's slaves. The gate of *St. Domingo* has been repaired with the parapets and re-named *Victoria.* The other bulwarks also have been re-baptized. The bulk of the provisions, powder and ammunitions (except much rice) have been discharged and all remaining merchandise shipped off by the *Wassenaer.* The booty has been invoiced under the eyes of the Governor and taxed, together with the guns and the slaves. Some have been sold. Two big cases of very beautiful dresses and vestments have been distributed among the garrison (although most unsuitable for them); trade and pay books have been introduced; the *Portuguese* citizens have been placed under Captain *Diego Kesino,* the black Malaccans beyond and south of the city (where many houses have been built) under Captain *Alexander Mendis, Juan de Sampajo* and *Pera Fernandes,* and the fishermen under *Pera de Gambo,* all with a monthly salary. The soldiers are under the command of

Captain *Forsenburg*, and the hospital under the supervision of the Governor. *Jan Menie* has been appointed " Sabandhaar." The market has been put in order and regulations have been made for vessels visiting from different places. As a start, for revenue, a toll of 10 per cent. has been levied, besides anchorage and poll-tax, and the duty on the " roeba-roeba " or curios for foreigners; also 10 per cent. on all native fruits and cattle. We tried in vain to lease the orchards. Fruit plucking is left free for everybody but half the fruit is for the Company.

Nanning, Rambou and Ringy.—Serious efforts were made to subdue the *Manicabers* of *Nanning* and make them return the fugitives, the stolen Christian slaves and the guns, but evidently these faithless Moors were aware of our weakness and so would not part with the booty but shammed obedience with lies and excuse. *Pero Dabre* was, at their request, appointed provisional *Tommagon*, but to no purpose. Similarly we installed *Radja Merah* as chief of *Nanning* and its dependent villages, and *Intje Vador* as agent, but they were disobeyed and in spite of serious warnings and threats, the people continued their old evil practices. The people of *Rambou* also (being divided) did not desist from retaining Christian slaves, nor did those of *Ringy* who had even asked the Governor's protection against the *Johorite Laxamana*. These roguish *Moors* and *Johore* islanders continued to steal slaves as usual, so that a price was offered for each *Saletter* dead or alive. A certain *Lebeh Muda*, chief of the villages of *Tainping* and *Sebang*, has been arrested for his past and present theft of slaves. Also a certain *Intje Hitam* who wanted to run away with a *Pera* vessel.

Further events in Malacca.—The Chiefs of *Raccan*, who assisted the *Portuguese*, offered their excuses and were pardoned. Five *Portuguese* bantings brought 125 persons from *Raccan* under Captain *Jacinto D'Arevedo* and they were accepted as vassals and allowed to settle on the north of Malacca. New regulations were made in respect of rationing, board, wages and the sale of Dutch goods, but for urgent reasons these were quickly altered. Exemplary punishments were meted out to *Domingo Fernandes*, *Antonio Fonseca* and *Bastiaan D'Almeida* (with the advice of *Pero Dabre* and *Antonie Carvaljo*). Some criminal Netherlanders were also punished, others condemned (as deserters) but pardoned. The city's coat-of-arms was changed and the gates re-named. Many Netherlanders married *Portuguese* widows.

The Plague.—Many people were carried away by this infectious disease including the merchants *Quaetgebuyr*, *Post* and other officers. But the atmosphere is considerably purified now; there is less mortality and many of the sick have recovered. The daily parade for cleansing is stopped. The yacht *St. Laurens* surrendered voluntarily and was re-named *Nieuw Malacca*, was unloaded and retained for cruising, but it would have been better if she had been sent to Batavia, because the yachts *Amsterdam* and *Draek*,

which were lying ashore, went to pieces through negligence owing to scarcity of men. The *yacht Welsing* arrived from Coromandel with gunpowder and "novas" from Goa. *Pieter Baeck* returned from *Quedah* and *Lada* with some cattle: they had obtained some provisions, but 103 of them had died. The yacht *Klein-Bredamme* met the licensed *Portuguese* at *Dinding* and helped them with water and men. The yacht *Draek* returned from *Pahan* via *Pulu Timaon* with provisions, after delivering the rice which was thankfully received.

Commander Caertekoe leaves for Batavia with booty and prisoners.—The *Wassenaer* and the *Banda* left for Batavia fully loaded with booty. They conveyed Commander *Caertekoe* and carried many Portuguese prisoners. The *Utrecht* was also sent there quickly with some bells and church ornaments but she ran on a sandbank and the Governor ordered the goods to be secured in the best way, and they were afterwards re-shipped to Batavia via Jamby by the *Bredam*. The fiscal, *Herbers*, is blamed for this mishap more out of malice. The yacht *Zutphen* also carried some letters and booty.

Sailings from Malacca.—The yacht *Rijswijk* took the invalids for a health trip to *Sawang* and the Straits of *Sabaon*. The yachts *Limmen* and *Vos* were sent out with a big shallop under Commander *Baeck* to *Cabo Rachado*, while the *Welsing* and *Rijswijk* went out cruising with the shallop *de Maen* under skipper *Mendoneg*, to the Straits of *Brouwer*. Finally the *Gracht* left with the merchants *Pivyt* and *Vermeer* for *Perah*, *Quedah*, *Bangary* and *Oedjong Salang* for tin transactions. Months ago the Governor had sent there a banting with two Netherlanders and seventeen blacks under a *Portuguese* Captain with letters addressed to the Kings and the Company's residents, but they were attacked by "*Salets*" and never returned. They have probably run away with the faithful *Portuguese*. A certain *Antonio Pingero, filjo (filho ?) de Malacca* was sent to *Johore* by His Excellency, to find out from *Laxamana* as to the changed attitude of *Achin*. He has not returned yet.

Public Notices.—To eliminate disorder and establish good government in Malacca, many ordinances were issued, namely against the monopoly of foreigners, the sale and theft of human beings and slaves, misconduct by officers and soldiers, the departure of free citizens, the running of taverns, boardinghouses, and other usury, larceny, pledging, gambling and gaming and all kinds of dice throwing, night parades and keeping concubines, being absent from watches, spoiling fruit trees, exporting merchandise, furniture and ammunition, the tampering with boxes belonging to dead persons or taking booty out of an infected house; keeping back accounts, negligence in book-keeping and drawing up testaments; order and proper value of gold and silver coins introduced, the "baseroekos" changed, the Spanish reals removed, the bazaar

regulated; declaration of export and import made compulsory; introduced the usual toll, uniform measures and weights and moderate prices for all estables. Other regulations have also been enforced, which if followed properly will be beneficial, although too many regulations are as a rule harmful and damaging for the public which is best governed by a few good laws.

Booty restored; useless search.—Acting on your instructions the Governor required upper-merchant *Hurdt*, the Captains Lamotius and *Forsenburg*, and the skipper *Baeck*, to refund 20,979 guilders out of booty appropriated by them. They also undertook on oath to give a written declaration of further goods appropriated secretly. Further, no noteworthy disclosures were made in spite of the fiscal advocate's painstaking search. But the fiscal *Schilderhuysen* and many other officers, both on land and sea, have given reason for suspicion, and time and close watch may reveal a lot.

Prize-money distributed among the Garrison.—Two months wages were paid out to all who had participated in the conquest of *Malacca:* the remaining 4 months' wages being postponed, until the necessary funds are available. Other important items are recorded in my letters by the *Klein-Zutphen* and *de Eendragt*, and I will not enumerate them here. Governor *van Twist's* letters of 13 and 24 July will amplify and complete my narrative.

No ships held up, nor time wasted unnecessarily.—The arrival of the flyboat *de Eendragt* upset our programme and the writing of *Achinese* letters caused a delay of three days in the shipment of 4 guns and a bell, but the *Francker* was not held up uselessly, because, while we were busy, 18 lasts of rice and 9 bales of cloth were discharged and 27½ Malacca 'bhars' of pepper, 7 metal guns and other sundries were loaded.

The Achinese Ambassadors and Portuguese Noblemen are delayed.—We would have very much liked to have sent them with the jewels and the cash much earlier, but they themselves eagerly desired the postponement. As regards the 4,000 reals, these will be kept in Malacca for the purchase of pepper and tin, unless you otherwise instruct.

The yacht Anna is sent to Jamby and the Sabandhaar to Johore.—It was decided to send the yacht *Anna* (after repair) to Batavia via Jamby 8 to 10 days after our departure. Sabandhaar *Jan Menie* was to sail to *Makam tocheel* (= Tanhid) to meet *Laxamana* and induce him to come to terms with *Achin.* Letters were written by me to the *Laxamana* and the Sabandhaar; copies of which are enclosed.

Conferences with the Ambassadors of Achin and Johore.—You will see from the notes in the Diary of *Malacca* what conferences have taken place with these Ambassador. The haughty letter written by his *Achinese* Majesty and his pretended efforts for

peace are referred to. We have done our best for a mutually satisfactory agreement and hope we have succeeded at last. We now await news from the "Sabandhaar" by the *Amboina* which left with us for Johore.

Orders given to the Sabandhaar.—He is to ask the *Laxamana* for 150 to 200 labourers, also 8 to 10 large shallops and timber for the bridge of *Malacca*. Further 40 to 50 smart Christian slaves are to be bought in Johore where there are many. The Commander *Baeck* has sailed to *Bancalis* also with the same object to expedite repairs of the fortification.

Intended voyages to Siam and Achin.—The Governor ordered the yacht *den Draek* to *Siam* to fetch Chinese and cattle but this was later withdrawn as it was found that the trip would be useless for the Company. The projected trip to *Achin* with merchandise was also cancelled.

The Portuguese are permitted to leave.—As most of the remaining *Portuguese* and the *Mestic* citizens were more of a burden on the Community from their natural laziness and conceit and their inability to earn an honest livelihood, the Governor acting on our advice consented to grant leave to all those who wished to go to *Batavia*. Some have left by the *Eendragt* and many others by *de Anna* via Jamby.

The Padre Vicario and other prisoners.—The Padre *Paulo da Costa*, canon and archdeacon of the Cathedral, who has also been the Bishop's lieutenant and Vicar, came to us with his sister, accompanied by one *Bento Rodrigues* ex-Captain of infantry and a servant of the late Governor *Manuel da Sousa Continho*. A certain *Malaccan*, who had been with us to *Achin* as interpreter and had been arrested for bad conduct, also came with his wife, son and two daughters. He was sent off to Batavia by the Council in Malacca with the documents accusing him. The Portuguese noblemen *Francisco da Sousa* was, on application, permitted by the Governor to engage as servants a young "mestic" and a Malaccan woman, the woman being a descendant of a *Malaccan Bandara* whose treason helped the *Portuguese* to capture the city. This nobleman still imagines himself to be in the King's service and expects honours from the Viceroy.

Jamby vessels licensed to go to Perah.—Three vessels from Jamby obtained permits from upper-merchant *van Gent* to sail to Malacca and thence to *Perah* provided that on their return they stayed in Malacca in order not to spoil the Company's trade in *Perah* or displease the King of Jamby. We refer you to the resolution of the 12th July and the Governor's letter of same date.

Smuggling by Javanese through the Kings of Jamby and Palembang.—On 30 July our men met in the Straits of *Sabon* eleven Indian vessels. Two managed to escape while the others

all showed permits given by upper-merchant *Pieter Soury* and one by Sr. *Van Gent* permitting six of the vessels to sail to *Malacca* and three to *Perah* (although they all looked like *Javanese* in order that the Company may not have any trouble in Palembang or Jamby. In our opinion passes should be granted only to actual subjects of the above Kings, who should in the meantime be written to and warned not to allow smuggling by Javanese.

Fiscal Schilderhuyzen's slyness.—In my opinion *Joris Schilderhuyzen* has not submitted a proper declaration. The Governor and Fiscal Herbers should have demanded a notarial deed. Schilderhuyzen is a sly fox who knows how to deceive. When the Governor scolded him for permitting the export of copperware he made him believe that he had found a certain diamond at his place, whereby he wanted to show his fidelity. We have our doubts about it.

The Sabandhaar and Captain Lamotius disavow guilt.—The Sabandhaar who had been let free (I know why) was called upon by me in writing to submit a proper declaration on oath about the booty appropriated by him. This was done, but I think many items are not mentioned. Sergeant-Major *Lamotius* also submitted a declaration, denying all charges of being in possession of a diamond and a ruby ring, and a gold chain (altogether estimated at about 70 reals) which disappeared during the visit of the "*Klings*" [1] on their departure. Time will reveal if these two men are innocent or not.

Diego Kesio, Quaetgebuyr and Post.—Captain *Diego Kesio* who had been in the city right from the beginning of the capture and by his dexterity ought to have collected much booty, and also the merchants *Quaetgebuyr* and *Post,* who had been similarly busy collecting goods all the time, have left very little money, which is surprising. It is evident now that they were not the people who swallowed the missing big lumps although on my departure to *Achin Sr. Kesio* was trying together with Fiscal *Schilderhuyzen* to extort cunningly from ex-Governor *Louys Martyns* a booty of 2 to 3 thousand Crusados: for which the Governor had given them licence to act in the service of the Company. But the latter tells me now that nothing has come of it.

Suspicions about the servants of the Commander and the Councillors.—The *Portuguese Manuel Moreira da Moia* who served Commander *Caertekoe* as his bodyguard and assisted in the collection of booty, and other servants and favourites of His Excellency are presumed to have helped themselves handsomely, following the examples of their masters.

Resentment at the Search.—The above Councillors strongly resented the search made (by your Excellency's express order) of

[1] Orang Kling—people from the coasts of *India.*

their private goods and expressed their annoyance and complaint to one and all, and also to me in angry and arrogant words. We are given the cold shoulder by all, but are not perturbed, remembering that we are doing our duty in the service of the Company, and realising that a Commissary's job is a thankless one.

Edict for the discovery of hiddend treasures.—In conformity with your instructions it was resolved in Council on my motion to notify the garrison and the public in Malacca by edict, that whoever discovered hidden treasure would be entitled to one-fifth of same and in addition any slave would get freedom. If within 3 days of the notice and before my departure any deliveries were made, then the discoverers would receive a special bonus. The enclosed copy of the edict will give further particulars. So far there has been no tangible result. Selfishness and greed are more apparent in *Malacca* than elsewhere. We are convinced that there are some treasures lying buried in Malacca which will not be discovered easily, as their owners are either dead or departed or keep silence.

Hidden treasures belonging to two Padres.—Before my arrival from *Achin,* the houses of Padre *Paulo da Costa* the vicar and *Francisco da Ferrio* which were shown by Portuguese boys, had been subjected to a minute search by Fiscal *Mr. Herbers* and members of the Council and all jewels, ornaments and cash found there were confiscated for the Company, as you will see from the inventory and the letter by Mr. *Van Twist.*

Treasure in a deep well.—Behind the house of the Fiscal there is a well about 13 fathoms deep containing three fathoms water, which was considered too dangerously deep for any diver. On certain information Captain *Lamotius* had a silver trunk fetched out of this well by the *Javanese* Captain *Jan Pekel;* which is said to have contained jewels to the value of two thousand reals and to had been thrown into the well by a Portuguese lady. The trunk is said to have been open when it was taken out, so that there are other jewels remaining in the well, but this is not to be believed for many reasons.

The acquired booty is disappointing.—As you have seen from the invoices and extracts from transaction books relating to shipments to *Batavia* by the yachts *de Zon, Egmond, der Goes, Wassenaer, Bredam* and the *Zutphen,* and the stocks remaining in Malacca, the acquired booty has been much less than was to be expected from such a place. The flyboat *de Eendragt* took further 4 metal guns and a bell, while the *Francker* carried 7 metal guns besides the one metal and two iron guns which had come back from *Achin.* The gems and imagery of small value seized from the two Padres were also sent off, so that very little of the booty is left in *Malacca* except guns, 10 to 12 bells and the *Library.*

Why the booty was much below expectations.—We are still of opinion (as you were advised by the *Klein-Zutphen*) that in *Malacca* there must have been a much larger quantity of jewels, gold, silver, cash money and merchandise than has been revealed, and that Commander *Caertekoe's* and his Councillors' mismanagement is responsible for its loss. The first day of the conquest was spent almost in a general plundering by one and all. This continued for days, though evently and caused the loss of many valuables. Afterwards the Commander himself went round the houses of the wealthiest citizens together with Skipper *Baeck* and fetched great wealth from persons like *Lopez de Mello, Francisca da Costa,* the widows of *Gaspar da Costa* and others. The other citizens took all their gold, silver, fine merchandise and rare furniture to the church of *St. Paulus*. No proper inventory was taken as to the quality of the goods, the people who brought them or the quantity collected by his Excellency: the goods were piled up anyhow and were so carelessly guarded, that all frequenters of the church were given a good opportunity of stealing.

Disorder and Corruption.—Corruption went so far that the Commander and his Council came to a clash on several occasions, chiefly because of the Commander's avarice. Many ridiculous stories are current here among the people. Disorder continued until our arrival when better order was established with some difficulty.
Principal points of negligence:—

1. It was gross negligence not to have required the enemy, immediately after the capture, to submit declarations in writing of the goods possessed by them and to deliver up the most costly. The goods obtained have not been properly recorded.

2. No proper supervision or care has been taken of the goods collected in the church of *St. Paulus* or elsewhere in the city.

3. On the first day of the victory everybody was permitted to plunder, and for days after, plundering was connived at. Many valuables were lost in the scramble and beautiful furniture was broken and damaged.

4. Much booty was smuggled on board by ships officers, especially skippers like *Baeck, Spanhems* and others.

5. The Army officers down to the Sergeants, who were ordered to check plundering, helped themselves to goods. Prominent among these were Lieutenant *Vinck Cuylenburgh, Jacob Hansen* and petty officer *Claes*. The Fiscal is also suspect.

The goods were given away at scandalously low prices to the Moors.—Many valuable goods were exchanged for rags and shreds by soldiers and sailors who did not know their real value. Beautiful diamond and ruby rings of 90 to 100 reals were scandalously given away to the wily Moors for 8, 10, 15 and at most 20 to 35 reals. Silver-ware, cloth and fine furniture were exchanged for fowls,

fruits and fish (twenty times less than their value). A silver plate was sometimes given for a bunch of bananas or one or two saras were paid for a cock or some fish. Strict measures were of no avail and brisk trade was carried on at the city walls by means of ropes.

Hidden treasures.—We have good reason to believe that there are treasures hidden in the earth, whose owners are either dead, have run away, or are still in *Malacca*. Without some such means of support it would have been impossible for people to live in this barren place.

More goods lost.—Owing to the miserable state of our people considerable quantities of goods were left neglected in deserted houses, till long after the capture of the city and dishonest people had therefore a good chance of stealing. A quantity of cloves, tin, tortoise-shell, and much brassware was carried away.

Prominent prisoners were foolishly let off with great treasures.—The vanquished enemy was quite thoughtlessly allowed full liberty against all customs of war. Heeding the artful request of the Jesuits, the most qualified, the wealthiest and the most intelligent prisoners, both laymen and clergy together with the most prominent ladies, were permitted to sail to *Negapetam* in a yacht, without any resolution of the Council or inspection before their departure. In this way they carried off more than 100,000 reals worth of gold and jewellery, besides the best slaves of both sexes, artists and musicians, in fact the best things in Malacca. It did not occur to His Excellency that from such prominent people, especially the *Ovidor-Generaal* of India, the Jesuits and other Clergy, the many rich burghers and ladies (who had also great properties in *Goa* and other places), at least another 100,000 reals could have been realized. On the contrary he allowed them to get away with all their riches. This foolish act robbed the East India Company of at least 4 to 5 tons of gold. Further, the release of so many efficient persons strengthened our hereditary enemy, and served to keep the treasures of the land hidden, as was intended by them. The richly loaded yacht was however met afterwards by *Pieter Baeck* in a pitiful state at *Ding-ding* and was assisted with men and water. The abbot (guardian) of the convent of *St. Franciscus,* the Vicar of *St. Steven,* and a Captain of the King's soldiers were taken on board the *Quedah* and thence transported to *Coromandel* by a *Moorish* ship. This was again a great mistake. The yacht should have been ordered back to Malacca.

I have given my opinion as to the causes of the poor results of the conquest of Malacca for the Company. God grant that the Company may be served by more prudent and faithful servants in future on such occasions !

Malacca's statement of accounts.—Extracts from Malacca's account books, sent to you by Mr. *Van Twist* per *Zutphen,* will

show exactly how much booty still remains after the shipments, and what amounts have been credited to the General Company.

In the books there is no mention of what was taken by the successive Commanders before the conquest of Malacca, but what upper-merchant *Anthony Hurdt* has transferred to the account of Malacca, and what remained of the provisions. I am informed that *Sr. Hurdt* has rendered accounts to *Batavia* with vouchers relating to the shipments by the *Goes, Klein-Bredam, de Wachter,* the *Quelpaerd,* the *Zon* and the *Klein-Amsterdam* to *Malacca.* These amount to *f* 5,044.14 excluding the value of clothes sent for the soldiers. But we require account vouchers and details relating to the following items:—

To clothing shipped by *Egmond*	*f*	7,954. 8. 2
To shipments by the *Goes, Amsterdam,* etc.	*f*	1,555.10. 0
To clothes purchased through *Pieter van den Broek* from skipper Louys	*f*	36.13. 2
To 42 reals in specie left by *Sr. de Meere*	*f*	133. 7. 8
To 300 clothes for negros discharged from the *Gracht* by mistake	*f*	203. 5. 5
To 1 diamond and 2 ruby rings, and a piece of red cloth removed from the *Achin* and *Coromandel* cargoes	*f*	536.15. 0
Total	*f*	10,419.19. 1

Against these the following adjustment must be made:—

By 50 piece *Taffacilen* discharged in *Jamby* in the *Gracht* from Malacca's cargoes	*f*	510. 0. 0
By two ruby rings presented to *Maradio* and *Sri Bidi Radja,* the Johorites	*f*	165. 0. 0
By 390 els of silk ribbon returned by the *Langerak* costing	*f*	185. 3.14
By amounts credited in the army books to the General account, and advanced to the soldiers which they still owe	*f*	7,842. 7. 3
Total	*f*	8,702.11. 1
There is therefore a difference of	*f*	1,717. 8. 0

which can probably be explained as follows:—

By amounts claimed from Fiscal *Herbers* and *Sabandhaar* Menie and the amounts enjoyed by the dead ————

By amounts spent by the late Commanders for official entertainment and goods given as presents for the benefit of the Company ————

By goods transported by *Sr. Hurdt* to Malacca which in my opinion would amount to *f* 771.3.10 ————

Two accounts have been found among under-merchant *Schaep's* documents showing that he had been selling in Moar by order of Commander *Cooper* 202½ reals' worth of clothing, of which 134⅞ reals were used for the purchase of provisions. The balance is returned, also 6 packs of cloth have been exchanged with provisions.

We have not been able to verify this complicated account in any other way and we think the only way of adjusting it is to write off the difference.

Careless book-keeping at the army.—Regarding the army books which were started and kept for a while by under-merchant *Schaep* by order of the merchants *Hurdt* and *Houtcoper*, these were so full of mistakes and discrepancies that notwithstanding all our efforts we could not adjust them. We have therefore decided to take these books with all relative documents to *Batavia* so that before the accounts are closed all the entries may be made from the garrison's books after the 14th January. The under-merchant *Nicolaes Pels* has, during my return journey, transferred all balances of closed accounts from the journal to the ledger. Further, he has gone through these untidy books and relative documents with me very carefully in the hope of adjusting them, but to be able to do this all entries relating to goods given out need rectification and this is practically impossible, unless the books are re-written and the closed accounts altered again. Moreover there are about 400 known persons missing and there is no where any record either of their deaths or transfer to the ships. We have thus failed to obtain any results from the books, because the necessary material has been lacking. Moreover we have not had sufficient time at our disposal for this purpose.

How to adjust the army books.—I would advise having these books re-written by a qualified book-keeper who should take into account all available notes and documents. The Company should be credited with goods distributed: all accounts standing in the name of deceased persons should be closed, as well as those in the name of absentees who are mostly dead, whilst to those who do not respond notice should be given. Later, should any person whose accounts is closed make his appearance, then the balances can be adjusted in the books in the proper manner. This is the only way of putting the books in order. Leaving the matter in the hands of experienced men, we now proceed with our narrative.

The trade and garrison books of Malacca.—We find the trading books are kept fairly well under the supervision of the Governor, who has himself written down most of the headings of accounts, but these will be kept by upper-merchant *Johan Verpoosten* in a better way, following the system of *Batavia*. He intends closing these books at the end of October together with the garrison books which have been kept fairly well by under-merchant *Roelof Schaep*

since the capture up to the end of July. When, however, the books are taken over by the provisional under-merchant *Jacob de Cooter* (who is better qualified in book-keeping) and the accounts closed, then it is our intention to improve them by adopting the *Batavia* system.

Transfer of funds by collector Hurdt to upper-merchant Verpoosten.—In accordance with your instructions, upper-merchant *Anthony Hurdt* was appointed collector of *Malacca* (although revenue is still very small) and took the oath. He made over all the funds of the Company in my presence to upper-merchant *Verpoosten* amounting to *f* 150,433.17.2 as you will see from the written statement of accounts. We are confident that this young man will do his duty as upper-merchant better than *Hurdt,* and will look after everything. The cash is being kept by *Sr. Hurdt* but all payments must be with the sanction of the Governor.

Official appointments.—The under-merchant *Jan Menie* has been appointed *Sabandhaar,* on a proper oath, while under-merchant *Schaep* has become clothier etc. for the convenience of foreigners and the garrison. The first assistant *Carel Verwijck* is looking after the rice stores (*rijshuizen*) and the equipage book (*equipagie boek*) and the burgher *Dirck Cock* is acting as provisional distributor, meanwhile keeping accounts of consumption. Every effort is therefore made to establish law and order as far as possible.

Places visited by us on inspection.—Besides perusing all the journals, letters, resolutions, posters and all other documents in *Malacca,* we have visited all the places within and outside the walls of the city the barracks, the stores, the residents, the churches, the convents, many empty and occupied houses, ruined gardens, barren fields, and damaged orchards. We have also been to all the vessels, seen the guns together with Sergeant-Major *Lamotius* and the master-at-arms and have found further 48 metal and 8 iron guns. We have also inspected the provisions, the ammunition and everything that needed inspection in and outside *Malacca,* of which we shall write hereafter in the proper place.

Informations gathered.—I have gathered information about the state and disposition of the neighbouring population, the way *Malacca* is governed at present, the capacities, the qualifications, and the mode of living of the prominent officers, the trade and its defects. Further, I have noted down the expenditure, the provisions, the allowances, the presents, the advances and all such items, which will be narrated in good order under the heading of Past and Present of Malacca.

The Library in Malacca.—The Library at the convent of the Jesuits was examined properly by the Fiscal *Herbers,* Parson *Loosveld* and Captain *Lamotius* and was found to contain 460 *Latin* books on *Theology* and 85 *Latin* books of *Laws* altogether 545 Latin books, and about 200 *Portuguese* books on *Theology.*

The books from other convents and churches were either thrown away, scattered or taken or have perished so that very few could be added to the above number. It is said that the Fiscal *Schilderhuyzen* has picked out the best Law books. It seems others have also sent away books to their friends. I think the best books should be packed and sent to Batavia as quickly as possible, otherwise they will perish in Malacca.

The Ambassadors of Achin and Johore are honoured.—Each of the Ambassadors of *Achin* presented the Governor with a horse which will be useful for surveying the grounds. His Excellency in return honoured each of them with half a roll of damask and posie melor (?) on their departure. The Johorite representatives also received each a carmozijn (?).....
.....
The Ambassadors parted very pleased, and were escorted on board with honours, but during their departure at night the shallop *Amboina* moved away with the *Johorite* and we were unable to wish them good-bye and recommend them once again to conclude peace.

Draft for 5000 reals.—We have received from upper-merchant *Anthony Hurdt* and the Captains *Lamotius* and *Forsenburg*, 4200 reals of 8° out of their apportioned share of booty in the name of the Company and have in exchange issued drafts to be paid in *Batavia* to their agents there. Mr. *Van Twist* has also remitted in this way 800 reals to *Andries Cramer*. With the 5000 reals in hand we intend paying off the outstanding four months' bonus to the garrison and the sailors who participated in the capture of Malacca.

Conclusion of narrative about our work in Malacca.—Of all else achieved during my stay at *Malacca*, you will see from the diary the resolutions, the missives and other papers sent to you by Mr. *Van Twist*. We refer you to these documents and herewith conclude the first part of our report.

PART II.

The Past and Present of Malacca.

The Origin of Malacca.

The city of Malacca was founded by some fishermen a few hundred years ago. They came in their sailing boats from Siam, Pegu, Bengal and other islands. The fertile soil of Malacca and the abundance of fish in the adjacent sea allured these fishermen to put up some wooden huts and settle. In time new settlers from lands hard by came to augment those primitive dwellings, and gradually the place became a large city and eventually the Capital of the *Malayan* Nation and Kingdom.

The rulers of this empire dominated for many years a large part of the hinterland (hard by the old *Aurea Chersonesus*) and the adjacent islands, their people and rulers who were mostly *Mohammedans*.

It is Captured by the Portuguese.

Malacca was a flourishing State when it was discovered and conquered by the *Portuguese*. They visited the city under the guise of tradesmen. They realised the importance of the place as a trade centre dominating the Southern Orient. They settled as tradesmen and in time secretly fortified themselves outside the city. The King, who, on account of his tyrannical rule, was hated by his vassals, tried to have his territory cleared of such ambitious and imperious people. But the *Portuguese* tried hard to conquer the city and after a few battles succeeded. We refer the interested reader to *Juan de Baros,* who, in his book entitled "Decades"[1] gives a minute description of the Portuguese conquests in the Orient. It is sufficient to note that this famous and great city was conquered by trickery and force on the 15th August, 1513 (1511) by the old *hero Alphonso d'Albuquerque,* Viceroy of Portuguese India. Great treasures fell into his hands, according to doctor *Gonzalo da Illescas* (Kasteliaan ?), who describing the conquests in the 2nd part of his History of the Church of Rome during Popes *Julio* and Leo X, writes briefly thus:—"In the same year of 1513, the *Portuguese* continued with their navigation and conquests in the Orient and captured the great city of *Malacca.* There were more than 25,000 houses (families ?) in that city which is situated in *Aurea Cherosoneso.* This victory secured for them

[1] In decade Segundo.

the friendship and alliance of many oriental nations who came there for trading. The city is in their hands to this day, together with many other places, which they have conquered by the favour of God and Good Luck. They have hopes of conquering more places."

The Revival of Malayan Kingdom in *Singapore* and *its Transfer* to *Johore*.

As soon as his capital was captured the great King *Mahomet* fled to Singapore with most of his vassals. There he established the seat of his government, but his successor was transported to *Johore*. The descendants of the great Prince are still rulers of that place although divested of much of their ancient glory.

Malacca under the Portuguese Rule becomes a Commercial Town and a Base for Warfare.

The *Portuguese* made *Malacca* their principal port for all their South Indian trade, and also a *sidem bullem* for their conquests. Soon after their occupation tradesmen from the neighbouring countries crowded the place and the city became very prominent, especially on account of its trade in weapons. It brought great wealth and renown to the Portuguese crown and to the Portuguese merchants. In a short time the city was populated by Portuguese burghers, *Malayans* and Indians from many parts of India. It was governed by successive Captains under the rule of their Viceroy in India. It would be too long to enumerate the adventures of the city during the 127 years and 5 months occupation of the *Portuguese*. We refer the interested student to the relative Portuguese History and proceed with our description of Malacca.

Malacca's Fortifications.

This city has gradually been improved and enlarged. At first there were no fortifications other than the one built by the Moorish King on the site of the stronghold and palace (one can still see the ruins) of the Moorish King. Later the fortification was enlarged by the addition of palisades made of coconut palms and planks brought down from the hills of Malacca. It was only after the Dutch occupation and especially during the time of Cornelis' Matelief[1] that stone walls with plaster (chalk) were erected after the European style. There are three gates, two bastions, an angle and two flights of steps, the walls of which can withstand bombardment from either side. They are 32 feet high from sea or from land. The circumference outside the walls and the bulwarks is about 420 Rijnlands roods, and within the walls 330 roods. The

[1] In the year 1605/1606.

citadel was fortified with 70 very heavy and 40/50 smaller metal guns placed as follows:—

At the Curassa gate	16	pieces.
„ „ corner of Hospital de Povres	2	„
„ „ " St. Jago " bastion	8	„
„ „ " One Mille Virgine " gate	11	„
„ „ bastion of Madre de Dios	12	„
„ „ gate of St. Domingo	8	„
„ „ steps of St. Domingo	2	„
„ „ steps of Hospital de Rey	3	„
„ „ towers of Fortaless Velho	3	„
„ a battery above the Cathedral	3	„
Total	68	guns.

The light guns were placed all over the gates, the blinds, in the old castle and in the towers, so that the fortress was extraordinarily well provided with cannon and all relative war materials. The garrison consisted of 260 men forming four companies of 63 each, each with their respective officers, but the Portuguese mestics and the native inhabitants in all about two to three thousand formed the best fighting men for the defence. Owing to its excellent fortifications and its strong garrison the city was considered unconquerable for any Indian Prince. Only a very strong European army would have a chance of forcing it.

Description of the Buildings in Malacca.

The city within the walls contained many big houses of wood or stone, with very narrow but regular streets, after the Portuguese style. Somewhere about the centre of the city there is a small hill 14 to 16 feet above sea level. At the foot and around this hill there were many houses built, and right on top was situated the imposing church and towers of *St. Paulo* with the convent of the Jesuits. On the North somewhere near the south of the river (just inside the fortress) stood Fortalisso Velho the old castle, situated on the site of the fort and the palace of the King of *Malacca*. It was a square antique building surrounded by walls and fairly strong for defence. It had on one corner a square solid tower 120 feet high, having a parapet and containing two cannons. This tower not only served for observation of the field and the harbour, but it had a command over the river and the Indian fleet.

The Town Hall.

The Town Hall was small but fairly commodious. It was built on the slope of the hill and belonged to the *Jesuits*. They

rented it to the city magistrates who held their meetings there. In the big hall were to be seen the portraits (*conterfeitzels*) of *Alphonso d'Albuquerque*, the conqueror, and *Andreo Fortado de Mendoza* the defender (against Admiral *Matelief*).

The Two Suburbs.

The city was enclosed by two large suburbs on the North and South and again surrounded by extensive pleasure grounds, about three times the area of the city. But most of the houses were built of planks and bamboos. The northern suburb was usually called *Bandar Malakka*, with its well-known street *Kampong Kling*. It was enclosed by a wall about 2½ fathoms high and fully 1 fathom thick, with a stone gate at the extreme north. The southern suburb was not enclosed and was called *Bandar Ilhir*. Here most of the mestics, the blacks and some Portuguese citizens lived happily under the shade of coconut trees and surrounded by beautiful gardens and pleasure grounds.

The rice fields.—Beyond the suburbs and a few miles up the river, the banks of the river *Panagy* and all the land between the two rivers (an area of 8 to 10 miles) were mostly covered with big fruit orchards, beautiful meadows, or pasture grounds for cattle and extensive rice fields under cultivation. The black Christians (mostly slaves of the citizens) lived here.

To the north and south, the seashore, about three miles from the city up to the rivers *Panagy* and *Kassang*, was similarly inhabited while both banks of the *Malacca* river up to the church of *Nossa Signora de Guadaloupe* (about 4 miles from the city) were also covered with very beautiful orchards, meadows, and rice fields, and were inhabited.

The Population.

There have been more than 20,000 Christian inhabitants in *Malacca* and its resorts with 120 famous gardens and cultivated places besides many small and less important gardens as you will see from the enclosed detailed lists.

The Village of *Naning* and *Ringy* or *Rangy*.

These two villages have been under the rule of *Malacca* as vassals of the crown of *Portugal*. The former is inhabited by Monicabers and the latter by Malays. They planted rice, cultivated Siri fruits and bred cattle and sold them in the *Malacca* market. Being under a Tommagon[1] they had to pay him certain dues. In time of war they were obliged to assist the King's army with a certain number of armed men.

Naning lies inland at about 8 miles from *Malacca* with 1,000 inhabitants who are governed by one or two Orang Kaya, under

[1] Tomaggong. Prominent person in the Malay government.

a Portuguese Tommagon or Chief. The neighbouring villages of *Tampia, Sabang, Simelangsa* and other estates are under its rule but these are poorly inhabited and are of little importance.

Ringy is situated at the mouth of the *River Kassong,* on the Northern bank, having a population of 400 Malays under one Intji Cheli, who had fled from Johore with about 30 Malays. The people here occupied themselves with gardening, rice planting and fishing. They used to market their products in Malacca under the supervision of the Portuguese Tommagon.

Description of Moar and Rombouw.

The nearest neighbouring places are Moar and Rombouw, which are both inhabited by Malays and are under the rule of the Kingdom of Johore.

Moar lies 5 miles South of Malacca on the banks of a large river on both banks of which people are living in many partitioned houses, but the population does not exceed 1,500 to 1,800 who are farmers and fishermen. An uncle of Raja Gila, the king of Johore, and a Sabandhaar are governing, but apart from the homage and some war service, no other benefits are derived by the Prince of Johore.

Rombouw lies above the river Panagy about 10 to 12 miles from Malacca and has a population of about 1,000, mostly Monicaber and some Malays who are farmers and have cattle. They are governed by a certain Monicaber called Lilla Maradja, who is subject to the Crown of Johore and must pay a tribute to Datoe Bandara who is collecting the income. Three other places are under Rombouw namely Soengei Dedjang where tin and Aguila are produced. Kling with cattle and Ginting (near Naning) with many gardens and cattle. They have a collective population of 1,000. The villages had no other entrance but the river Panagy which was closed to foreigners by the Portuguese and those boats which ventured in were confiscated. A Portuguese vessel was always on watch and the people were forced to trade only with Malacca.

The Churches, Monasteries and the Clergy.

We give below a short description of the churches, monasteries, chapels and cloisters in Malacca, with their altars, priests, monks, benefices and incomes.

The Cathedral of St. Martyrs.—This was the chief temple of the Bishopric and was dedicated to the Assumption of Virgin Mary (as Patroness) because the city had been captured from the Moors on that feast day. It was a beautifully built cross-shaped church of large dimensions, situated at the foot of the hill, on a raised ground at one end of the castle. It had 8 altars, namely the high altar of Nossa Signora da Assumcao, that of the Holy Sacrament of San Pedro, of St. Juliana, of the believing Gods (?), of

St. Amaro, of Nossa Signora da Conceicao and of the Archangel St. Michiel, all of them very richly decorated with ornaments. It was administered by a Bishop as suffragan to the Archbishop of Goa and five canons of dignity such as the dean, the Chorister the Tresoreromor[1] the Archdeacon and the School-master. Further eight " Canons Confirmador " and eight semi-canons mostly " sacerdotos." Then the Chaplain, the sub-chorister, the sexton, " Subtresorers " and " Curaddalmas " (curater ?) and about 15 young clerks and seculars in the choir and in the service of high mass. All these clergymen lived on alms, tolls, by burying the dead, performing ordinary or requiem mass and other church services. In this church every day a special mass was performed at the high altar for the King of Spain and his family.

The Misericordia.—The Misericordia is a nice little church at the foot of the hill. It had three altars in the names of St. Elizabeth (high altar), St. Martin and of Nossa Signora da Piadado, all decorated with ornaments. This church was ministered by a brotherhood of thirteen seculars or a prior and 12 brothers who were recruited yearly from the best European citizens. They had a Treasurer and a Secretary while all the others officiated by turns as Mor dome der Capella. These people administrated the alms of the deceased and others, which funds together with their income for burials they paid out to poor people, widows, orphans and needy maidens, whose marriage dowry even was supplied. They also looked after the estates of deceased persons whose heirs were not in Malacca, and remitted such legacies to their rightful owners. A large number of white Portuguese were honorary members of this brotherhood who paid alms and rendered service in other ways. When any of the members died all the other members were obliged to follow the funeral procession led by the official brothers and the Prior carrying the " flag " and " tomb " of the Misericordia.

The Chaplain, his duty and his income.

They had a priest with the title of Chaplain who performed daily services and mass and accompanied all funerals of the Misericordia brotherhood. He received from the Church an annual stipend of 500 Crusados, and also half a crusado for each mass, so that it was one of the most, profitable benefices in Malacca.

The Church and the Monastery of the Dominicans.

The Church and the Monastery of St. Domingo was the largest but the poorest in Malacca. The Church was of great size, strongly built and imposing, situated on the North East corner of the City. The Monastery extended up to the walls of the city and was built of stone. It had a big garden, enclosed by the gate of St. Domingo and the fortress. There were six altars in the church, namely the high altar of St. Domingo and those of Nossa

[1] Thresorero-Major ?

Signora da Saluda, St. Jacinto, Nossa Signora da Rosario, Bon Jesus and St. Gonsalvo. These were all richly ornamented.

The Monks.—In the monastery there were usually five monks, namely the Vicario, the Procurado, two preachers, and a Sacristao, all of whom were mass-priests, but there were many visiting monks. They lived on the income derived from a few rented houses and many gardens, funerals, masses and other religious ceremonies which hardly covered their expenses and they were often supported by the alms of the seculars.

St. Paulus Church and Monastery of Jesuits.—This is an excellent building solid and pleasing, standing at the top of a hill right in the middle of the city. It has a strongly built tower—about 100 feet high—and a beautiful garden. This church had three altars, namely, the high altar of St. Ignatius, Nossa Mille Virgines and Bon Jezus, all richly ornamented. There were usually seven Jesuits here, of whom five were socerdotos and two laymen. Of the former were the Pater Rector (Inquisitor of the Faith), the Procurador, the Master of Students and two priests who were all preachers, whereas of the latter one was Administrator and the other Collector of the income of the Monastery. Often there were travellers staying there. This Monastery was very wealthy in houses and properties in and outside Malacca which were rented to foreigners. It had also a few gardens, two very big and beautiful orchards, part of which was let and the other part was inhabited by its own slaves who were working that estate. Considerable alms were collected always from the quick and the dead and consequently it was the wealthiest monastery in Malacca.

St. Anthony's Church and the Monastery of Augustyn.—The Church of St. Augustyn, which carries the title of St. Anthony, is situated on the East of the city walls at the bottom of the hill, together with the Monastery of the same name. It is a nice church but incomplete. The new building of the Monastery is also just begun and the monks are living in the adjacent house. The church had three altars, namely, the high altar of St. Antonio, and Augustin, Nossa Signora de Bon Saccesso and St. Nicholas, all of which were richly decorated with ornaments. There were usually five monks in the Monastery, namely, the Prior, the Procurado, the Sacristas and two preachers who were all mass-priests. They lived luxuriously on the rents of their houses and gardens, interest on invested monies and alms and church services. After the Jesuits they were the richest monks.

Madre de Dios Church and the Capucin Monastery.—This is a noble structure on the top of the hill called Bukit China within a cannon shot from the city. It has a beautiful garden (at the back and on one side) which is enclosed by an earthen wall. It is the healthiest and the most beautiful spot in Malacca. The monks here were of the order of St. Francisco. The church had three altars. The high altar and the chapel were dedicated to the

Mother of God, while the other two were in the names of Nossa Signora da Conceicao and Bon Jezus. They were very elaborately decorated. There were usually seven friars in this monastery, namely, the Guardian, the Procurador, the Sacristas and two preachers, who were all priests and two lay brothers who served as Administrator and porter. These friars had neither rents nor income but lived on the voluntary alms of the dead and the citizens of the place. They had a secular layman as administrator who had the title of Syndicus. These monks were outwardly very poor-looking but in fact they were the richest of all denominations.

Other Churches.—In the suburbs and within the boundary of Malacca there were seven other parochial churches or chapels, of which six were made of plank with stone pillars and one was built entirely of stone. They were nice buildings and were well provided with Church ornaments. Here is a short description of them:—

The Church of Nossa Signora da Piadado.—This church was in the Southern suburb. It had three altars of which two were in the names of St. Juan Baptista and St. Jago while the high altar was dedicated to the Patrons. A priest having the title of Vicar officiated. His stipend from the "Alfandega" was 160 crusados yearly besides the income from church services.

St. Thome.—This church was in the Northern suburb at Kampong Kling Street. It had five altars of which the high altar was dedicated to the Patron saint and the rest were Nossa Signa da Liberamento, St. Lucia, St. Bras, and Nossa Signo da Bon Viagio. A Vicar officiated here enjoying stipend and income as above.

St. Steven.—This church was also in the Northern suburb with the high altar in the name of the Patron and four other altars in the name of St. Joseph, Nossa Signo da Remedios, St. Martha and St. Apolonia. The Vicar enjoyed all privileges as above.

St. Laurens.—This was situated outside the city on the southern bank of the river. It had four altars namely, the high altar in the name of the Patron and those of St. Anna, St. Barbara and Nossa Signo. dos Meerces. It had a Vicar enjoying privileges as above.

Nossa Signo. dos Buonos Novos.—This church stood on the left hand side of the river, about half a mile distance from the City. It had three altars, one in the name of the Patron and the others—Spiritu Sanctus, and St. Bartholomeus. A Vicar officiated with stipend and income as above.

Nossa Signo da Guadaloupe.—This was a noble structure of stone, situated on the left hand side of the river about 4 miles from the city. It had two altars, the high altar was dedicated to

the Patrons and the other was in the name of St. Amaro. This church had also its Vicar who enjoyed similar privileges.

Nosso Signo-do-Empara.—This was a small church at the corner of Batang Tiga about two miles north of the City. It had only one altar in the name of its Patroness. A Vicar ministered here on the same salary as above.

The Spiritual Jurisdiction of the Cathedral over Dependent Churches.—The parochial churches were all subject to the Cathedral of St. Martyrs, and the people in Malacca were governed spiritually and served by its prelate and official priests according to the tenets of the Roman Church. Only in this church were administered the sacraments such as the Christening, the Confirmation, the Eucharist or Communion, the Penance, the Unction, the ordaining of Priests and marriage according to the order and decrees of the Concilium of Trente. No other priest was allowed to perform any of these mysterious and religious ceremonies without a special sanction by the prelate.

Church Bells, organs and relics.—All the above churches, monasteries and chapels were provided with bells and organs according to the custom of the Roman church: the spiritual life in Malacca did not lack implements for a superstitious faith, because there were also many Roman relics, such as the bones of so-called Japanese martyrs and similar fiddle-faddle.

The Four Hermitages.—Outside the City there were four hermitages dedicated to St. Guilhelmo, St. Jeromino, Noss-a Signo dia Victoria and St. Juan Baptista, each with an altar after the name of the relative patron. The doors were usually closed and only on feast days were they opened for the congregation. They were situated as follows:—

St. Guilhelmo was fully half a mile distance from the city on the left side of the river, within the orchard of *St. Augustya* monks.

St. Jermino was a mile away from town to the left of the river, in the orchard of the Jesuits.

Nossa Signo da Victoria higher up to the right of the river, in the next orchard of the Jesuits.

St. Juan Baptista was situated on the hill of *St. Juan* to the south of the city. This was founded by a secular citizen in his garden, and was opened once a year on the festival day of the Patron attended by a big crowd.

In the other three hermitages, the monks celebrated mass for their slaves, when they visited the place for amusement.

Homes for the soldiers and the sick.—There were two hospitals or convalescent homes in the city for the soldiers and the other for the poor.

The King's Hospital.—The " del Rey " hospital was situated on the north, between the water-gate and the bulwark of St. Domingo. It was a suitable building built of stone and wood alongside the walls of the city. It had an Infermero or Chief Medical Officer with 8 or 10 black servants, a surgeon, and two bleeders (*aderlaters*) who were all paid by the King:—only the King's soldiers were attended here free of charge, including medicine, but for each patient the Infermo was paid three tangas or 3/8 real per day by order of the general. There was a chapel there in the name of The Holy Ghost where on festival Sundays mass was read and once a year on the second Whit-Sunday (Whit-Monday ?) high mass was celebrated with choir and sermon. There was a permanent priest here with the title of Chaplain, who confessed the patients and administered communion to them according to the practice of Roman Church, for which he received 15 crusado monthly, and for each mass 4 tangas.

The hospital for the poor.—This hospital was also alongside the city walls, between the bulwarks *Curassa* and *St. Jago.* It was a beautiful wooden structure. Here all the black people were nursed, the Misericordia supplying all the medicine and food. The staff consisted of an Infermero, many servants, a surgeon and two bleeders. The chapel here was dedicated to Spirito Santo, where the chaplain of Misercoordia held services on feasts and Sundays. At Whitsuntide there was high mass with choir and sermon. For each mass the chaplain received three tangas, and he was obliged to have all the patients confessed and to administer the sacrament.

Inspectors of the Hospitals.—The Captain of the Infantry and the Providor and Mor—dom of the Misericordia were appointed each to inspect the respective hospitals.

Description of the " Temporal " Government.—The city and fortress of *Malacca* was under the " temporal " government of the crown of *Portugal* and the *Spanish* King, under the jurisdiction of the Government of the Viceroy of India. It was governed decently by the following principal officers and magistrates: *The Governor*—The Captain or the Governor (usually a " fidalgo " or nobleman) had supreme command and authority, over the city and its inhabitants, subjects and foreigners of that territory. In civil affairs his council comprised the Ovidor or chief Justice, the Viador or Lord Mayor, the Bishop or, in his absence, his deputy and the Secretary of State. In military affairs he had to consult with the Captain-General of war and the Sergeant-Major, while in matters of justice criminals were sentenced by the Governor and the Ovidor and executed by their order. The Governor presided at the court of the city magistrate only on important occasions.

As a reward for services rendered, the King himself appointed the governor for a period of three years with salary of 600 mille rees or 2,500 Crusados per annum. He had 40 Portuguese at his

service, soldiers as well as pages, 24 blacks halberdiers, a drummer, a piper and a bearer of quitasol[1] under a Captain of the *Portuguese Guard,* who were all paid by the King—as were the soldiers of the garrison.

The huge profits made by these Governors.

The profits made by these governors were remarkable, because all the merchants who wished to travel in their own ships or yachts had to make a present of 200 to 1,000 Crusados to the Governor, otherwise no pass would be granted, or there would be difficulties for him. The first Captain had selfishly usurped this and had made it a hard and fast rule but it was never sanctioned by the King and in a certain provisional council in *Goa* it was prohibited on pain of excommunication. This put a stop to the extortions.

They sent their cargoes everywhere and seldom paid any freight. They used to trade with other vessels at *Macao, Goa, Bengal, Negapatam, Manilla,* and other places. They made use of the King's vessels (which were to carry ambassadors to different places) to make profits for themselves. The cloves, nutmegs, "macis" (?) sandalwood, pepper, tin, and other profitable merchandise brought by the *Malays,* the *Macassars,* the *Javanese* and other foreign *Indians* could not be sold to anybody but the factors of the Captain, who made in this way an easy profit of 20 to 30% without any risk. Ultimately this extortion likewise was forbidden by the Council. Then there were the gifts from Indian Princes and the usual presents from foreigners which amounted to considerable sums. The tin trade of *Perak* was so arranged that the Governor and the city had each six month's monopoly. But through evil practices the Captains had monopolised the whole trade instead of accepting on behalf of and for the State four bhars of tin per month or 24 bhars for the six months monopoly granted by the King of Portugal. In this way they used to make about 10,000 crusados in three years, although in later years this amount was considerably reduced owing to *Dutch* competition. From all these sources of income the Governors were able to collect about 50, 60, 70, 80,000 crusados or more during the three years of their office as Governors of *Malacca.* This income was subsequently reduced by Dutch instructions to 50, 40, 30, 20, 15 and even 10,000 crusados.

The Captain-General was also usually a nobleman. He had absolute command of the soldiers, and in time of war he was the commander-in-chief of all forces on land and sea in the service of the crown of *Portugal* and the King of *Spain.* He had only to follow instructions from the Viceroy of *India.* In his administration of criminal and civil justice in respect of the Military forces in Malacca or its resorts he acted quite independently. He acted

[1] Parasol.

further as *Viador da Fazenda* or disburser of war expenses which were paid by the factor out of the King's revenues by his order. He had 40 soldiers and pages at his service, and received from the King an annual salary of 4,000 crusados but his income was much more on account of the handling of the King's incomes and from other sources. His tenor of office was also three years. He was subject to nobody's jurisdiction but the Viceroy's.

The Ovidor or the Chief Justice.—The Ovidor was an ordinary Licentiate in Law. He was authorized by the Viceroy to pass verdicts in civil cases in respect of all the inhabitants of *Malacca*, to pronounce judgments through his Secretaries and to execute sentences through his Meirinho (bailiff) for amounts up to 200 crusados. Judgments for higher amounts could be appealed against at the High Court of Justice in *Goa*. In criminal verdicts the advice and confirmation of the Governor was required.

His salary from the King was 200 Mille rees or 833⅓ crusados a year, but his profits from fines and expediting justice were so large that during the three years of his office he made about 20 or 25 thousand crusados.

The Factor.—The Factor handled administered, and kept accounts of the King's revenues, obtained from the 10% tolls of the Alfandega (Custom-house) and other duties and disbursed for military purposes by order of the General. All the ammunitions, supplies, war ships and their equipments were under his care.

He enjoyed a salary of 300 mill-rees or 1,250 crusados per annum, but the extra profit derived from three years' service came to about 20 thousand crusados.

The Sergeant-Major was an experienced soldier appointed by the Viceroy. He was in command of all the officers and soldiers of the King in the territory of the General. He had a salary of 800 crusados and an allowance of 200 crusados for expenses, without any other profit.

The Secretary.—The Secretary of the King's Factor served at the same time as Secretary to the Governor and the General at a annual salary of 500 crusados, but his extra profits were ten times as much.

Retirement of the Governor and the General.—On the retirement of the Governor and the General the Ovidor made enquiries as to their past service and each person was allowed to lodge complaints in respect of injustices sustained at their hands. These complaints were conveyed in writing to the Viceroy at *Goa* together with the above high officials, but they served rather to satisfy the offended parties than to punish the culprits, because these fat birds always knew how to exonerate themselves before the Viceroy, by means of friends or gifts.

These two high officers as well as the Ovidor and the Factor were subject only to the jurisdiction of the Viceroy during their term of office and after their retirement. The Factor however was obliged to render accounts to the Collegio de Contas[1] failing which he was liable to life imprisonment and confiscation of property.

The Magistrates.—The civil Regents or the Magistrates were called the *Corpus de Cidade* or the Civil body (constitution of the city). It comprised three Viadors, two Judges, a Procurador and a Secretario da Camara, all respectable members (Judges). This body governed the place according to the custom of Portugal. The members consulted together in regard to the revenue and the expenditure of the city. The Viadors acted as Presidents in turn, each for a period of one month. *The Viadors* or Mayors collected all the revenues of the city such as the excises on Arak and one-third of the tolls which one of them collected as Treasurer, the money being applied for the fortifications of the city and other public works. They estimated the expenditure, controlled the measures and weights, and looked after the sanitation and other affairs of the city. They were elected annually from the best citizens and did not receive any remuneration except 50 crusados each on the festivals of *Natal* (Christmas) *Pascha* (Easter) and *Corpus de Christo* for a Mayor's robe. The Treasurer, however, received a salary of 500 crusados a year from the city funds.

The Judges were the administrators of justice in criminal and civil cases in respect of all the citizens and subjects in the city. People could appeal against their judgments to the Chief Justice. They had two unpaid clerks for their despatches. They were elected annually.

The Procurator was the inspector of public works, and the provider of all the necessities of the city. He enjoyed a yearly salary of 500 crusados and was elected annually.

Den Secretario or the Secretary looked after the Archives and kept records and a register of Court proceedings and wrote everything relating to the city and its Civil government. His yearly salary was 500 crusados, and he was changed once in three years.

The Almotaseyes.—Besides the above mentioned officers, there were two Almotasayes or clerks of the market under the Magistrates for the control of the sale of eatables and for the cleaning of the city etc. These were chosen every month from the best citizens and got no salary.

The Juiz du Orfaons.—In charge of the orphan poor a Juiz du orfaons or Orphanage Master was appointed, who was changed every three years. He worked without salary.

[1] Chamber of accounts, or board of auditors.

The Tommagon.—The management of the *Manicabers* and the *Malay* vassals of *Nanning* and Ringy (villages) was entrusted to the *Tommagon* or *Bailiff* a citizen who was appointed for life. He settled all disputes and punished the guilty and communicated with the Governor of the Castle about the prisoners who were sentenced to death. As remuneration he used to get a *tanto* of the betel or siri that came to the market from *Nanning* and *Malacca* which amounted yearly to fully 1,000 crusados. He had his Agent in *Nanning* who reported everything. For coming down the river in their prauws the *Manicabars* had to deliver 1½ lbs. of rice and also one crusado for the prauw. He received further as presents a share of the freights, fowls and cattle that were brought to the market. The people in Ringy also gave him presents, but they usually came by sea paying the usual regulation fees like all the other Malays. The King of *Spain* derived little or no benefit from these *Moorish* vassals.

The Bandara.—For the foreign *Indians* who came to *Malacca* and lived together in a large group, an officer was appointed as governor under the title of Bandara, who was invested with powers of administration in respect of civil and criminal affairs. The King himself appointed a worthy person for this office, which was for life. As remuneration he was entitled to receive all the income drawn from the Royal garden next to the Church of *St. Thomas.* He obtained further ruba-ruba or donation from vessels bringing sundry goods, and also all the fines for breaches of rules etc. so that it was a respectable and profitable position.

The Shabandhaar was an officer appointed to inspect foreign vessels on arrival and departure, to receive Ambassadors and act as Interpreter to the Governor. He was at the service of the General and the Bandara. His income consisted of dues from vessels arriving which had to pay ten gantangs on each fathom of rice loaded according to measure, and for onion, garlic, fish, sugar, etc. a tanto ad valorem, which was divided equally between the Bandara, the Shabandhaar and the Alcalde de Mar. The Shabandhaar was always appointed by the Bandara.

The Alcalde de Mar was assistant to the Shabandhaar. He visited the foreign vessels and acted as interpreter. He received a part of the dues, paid by foreigners on their imported goods.

The Kapitien Mor.—The native Malaccans and other black inhabitants were led during the war by the Kapetien Mor and many native Captains, who however did not get any salary.

At *the Alfendaga* (custom house) or toll house, were paid all the regulation duties on goods imported and exported.

The Duty.—All imports except provisions were subject to nine per cent. duty of which six per cent. went to the King and three per cent. was for the city. The duty on gold was 4 crusados on a bar valued at 230 crusados.

Export Duty.—All exports were subject to an export duty of 4½ per cent. of which 3 for the King and 1½ for the city. But shipments to *Goa* and *Coetchen,* where the King had toll houses were free.

The Customs Officers.—Standing just outside the gate of the city was the *Juiz de Alfandega* or chief customs officer, who was authorized to confiscate, in the name of the King, any goods that were wrongly declared or smuggled. He was present there on the days of depeche (cargo discharge) for audience and taxed all the goods for import and export. His salary was 500 crusados a year and a real of 8 a day, but his extra profits through sly practices in respect of taxing goods were known to be considerable.

The Customs Registrar kept records of the income. His salary was yearly 200 crusados and 1½ reals a day, but his extra income obtained by dishonest means was considerably more.

The Accountant calculated the duties and informed the customs registrar and the King's Factor in writing. His salary was 100 crusados and ⅛ real per day.

The weigher received ⅛ real for each bhar weighed by him.

The watchmen.—Two or three watchmen or "sarchars" received each 5 crusados monthly.

The Payment of Duty.—Upon written declaration by the customs officer, the duty was paid to the Factor, who also disposed of confiscated goods. The annual customs receipts were considerable, but these were paid out towards officers' salaries and the expenses of the garrison.

All other taxes were paid to their respective officers and Monopoly holders as follows:—

The decimos of the fruits one-tenth of all garden and orchard fruits, cattle, fish, and all other products of land were to be collected for the benefit of the King according to the contract between the Pope and the King of *Portugal.* The King paid out of this fund certain annual or quarterly donation to the clergy. These tithes were hired out yearly for 1,000 to 1,200 crusados, but if the clergy were to collect it themselves, the proceeds would almost be trebled.

The Ground Tax.—All landed properties within and outside the city (excepting church properties which were free from taxation) were subject to a tax of one crusado or less, according to the area. The orchards were also assessed at the rate of one to three crusados. All uncultivated grounds and many properties belonging to the King were either sold or leased out by the Factor on reasonable terms, and the yearly proceeds obtained in this way were considerable. *The excise on Arak*—Each Arak seller paid a crusado a

month as excise. This monopoly was leased out for 600 crusados a year.

The Poll-tax.—The poll-tax was claimed from the *Malays* in different ways. For a boat containing not more than 5 men the tax was ½ a real a head. Boats containing more men had to pay three crusados. *Javanese* and other foreign nationalities, as well as the *Malaccans* and the natives were free from poll-tax. The yearly proceeds from poll-tax amounted to 2,000 crusados.

The Anchorage.—All vessels irrespective of where they came from, had to pay an anchorage of one crusado while prauws with a crew of less than five paid only one tanga. This money had been a perpetual grant by the King of Portugal to the descendants of the Admirante Don *Vasco de Gamo* (who are now the Dukes of Videgeira) the first discoverer of *India*. It was collected here as well as in other ports of India by their Procurator and remitted to *Portugal*.

The pas-cedel.—The Governor granted a permit (which bore his own signature) to all departing vessels, stating that the departure was licenced also its destination and the number of passengers and guns. For the permit two tangas or ¼ real was paid which amounted to a respectable sum each year.

Malacca's domination.—In the beginning the *Portuguese* rule in Malacca was feared so much that all the Indian traders coming to the Southern part of India were obliged to call at *Malacca* for trade. But the tyranical treatment of foreigners by some of the Captains drove these traders away from that port, and they called instead at *Johor, Delhi, Perak, Achin* and other places, avoiding *Malacca* as much as possible. This resulted in a serious reduction of their revenue and trade. To remedy this they brought an Armada da rima of fustas and bantings to patrol the seas and force all *Indian* vessels passing through the Straits of *Malacca* to call at *Malacca* and carry on trade with that port, paying the tolls. Those who offered armed resistance were enslaved and their vessels set on fire. This however was too drastic and gave rise to much discontent (especially owing to the cruel and unreasonable behaviour of some Captains) who began to dread the Straits of Malacca and avoid it altogether. Consequently the King of Portugal very wisely ordered to stop coercion and allow free passage to all. This had its desired effect immediately, because all the traders were again attracted towards Malacca and in a short time the city became an excellent commercial centre. A great number of vessels came regularly from the southern parts of India, and carried on trade without any hindrance except the payment of the usual duties—and exported all kinds of merchandise.

The Population of Malacca.—For the growth and increase of *Malacca's* population the example of *Romulus* (the founder and first King of *Rome*) was followed. Everybody and anybody were

allowed to enter the city as free vassals under the protection of the government, irrespective of nationality or their being criminals provided they were converted to the Christian faith, otherwise they would be deported to *Goa, Macao,* and *Manilla,* where they would be sold as slaves without any consideration or mercy, unless ransomed. The blacks and other *Indian* inhabitants were not burdened with poll-taxes or other payments, but they had to pay one-tenth of their earnings from fruit and fishery.

The Piracy.—The malay salets[1] used to carry away passengers and vessels regularly. In order to stop this treacherous and daring piracy the *Portuguese* sometimes armed a few jelias and bantings and ordered them to patrol the approach of the city, between the adjacent island, Straits canals and rivers. The pirates when entrapped were shot immediately or taken to *Malacca* as prisoners. This put such a great fear into that thiefish nation that piracy practically disappeared and only some smuggling was going on the sly. The cruising vessels also served to warn all the approaching *Portuguese* vessels as to the whereabouts of Dutch cruising yachts.

The Armada de Rima.—A number of fusts and bantings were stationed at *Malacca* for war purposes both offensive and defensive. This Armada da Rima was considerably strengthened when the Netherlanders made their appearance in the Orient, and especially after occupation of the *Straits of Malacca.* A fleet of 8 to 10 jelias was held in readiness for war, better equipped and manned than in the olden times. This Armada could be reinforced at will by 20 to 30 bantings manned by the King's soldiers and the citizens, galley slaves and poor Mestics. These boats were excellent cutters and were capable of holding their own against any European light vessel and could beat any Indian vessel. The crew's pay was a crusado a month for each person, while the soldiers received their ordinary allowance. But these were absolutely inadequate for their food and therefore the Captains themselves had to supply this for which they received written acknowledgments and were duly compensated by the Viceroy.

The Indian Prince and Kings.—Some of the neighbouring potentates were friendly with the Portuguese, while others became their enemies owing to disagreements and some were reconciled again. The neighbouring *Malays* were the most inconsistent of all, so that from the Portuguese settlement at Malacca to its downfall many wars were waged and alliances concluded. A few years before the end of their domination the Kings of *Patani, Quedah, Siam, Cambodia, Palembang, Bantam, Malacca* and many others were allied to them, while on the contrary the King of *Achin* (Malacca's old and sworn enemy) and those of *Perak, Johor, Jambi,* and *Indragiri* were hostile. But just before the dominion of the

[1] Elsewhere named Saletters and Salicetters. Probably from Salsette a coastal place in India.

Netherlands in *India* the Portuguese had intimidated all the Indian Princes to such an extent that for safety's sake, they eagerly sought Portuguese friendship.

Malacca's welfare depended solely upon its traffic.—So far we have given a detailed account of the situation in Malacca in the past. It remains now to explain how and by what means the city had become so wealthy and renowned, and wherein lay its income and welfare. It was only through the traffic that the city had become prosperous, because it had itself no produce of much value except some aguil (wood), tin, ivory, rhinocerous horns, bezoar stones, coir or coconut fibre and rottan, although for fruit the soil was as fertile as anywhere else in *India*. *Malacca's* prosperity therefore depended on its trade, which extended over the whole of the Orient especially the southern part of India. It was the staple town or the emporium of a region about 200 miles in area. We will now mention its principal lines of trade perhaps with less accuracy than is desired by you, because in the first place we have had but little time to investigate closely, and secondly the prominent merchants are either dead or gone to *Negapatam* or *Batavia*. I will note down here what I have been able to investigate now and then from experienced *Portuguese* especially from a certain prominent prisoner by the name of *Francisco da Costa*.

Malacca's trade in the past.—For the good order I will enumerate first briefly but separately the principal places with which trade was carried on:—

These were firstly the adjacent places namely:—*Nanning, Ringi, Rambon, Moar, Rio Formosa, Johor, Pahang, Patani, Camphar, Siahk, Bancalis, Rakkan, Galang, Perak, Borroas ? Quedah, Pulu Lada, Trangga, Oedjong-Salang, Bangary, Tanassary* and other places less noted from which the following goods were brought to *Malacca* by the natives or by the Portuguese themselves and sold at the undermentioned prices:—

		Crusados of ¾ reals.
Pepper, per Malacca bhar of 475 lbs. at the price of		35 to 40
Tin, per bhar		65, 70 to 75
Sand gold (Zandgoud) of 8½ Mah (?) weighing one tael or about 1 oz. 9 drms.		28 to 30
Aguil wood	Cabessa per kati of 1¾ lb.	1¾ to 2¼
	Bariga do.	2/3 to 5/6
	Pee do.	1/3 to 5/12
Pedras de porco spinio Bezoar stones	Prices differed according to size and quality ..	—
Coconut fibre, per bhar		3 to 5

Elephants tusks and Rhinoceros horns, prices were uncertain	—
Birds nests, per kati	2 to 2¼
Rice, per *Malacca* koyang of about 2,700 lbs.	80 to 160
Rottan, per bundle of 50 pieces	½, 1 to 1½, 2
Different provisions which according to the time were sold at high prices.	

In exchange for these goods the above natives bought *Coromandel, Bengal,* and *Surat cloth China ware* and *Spanish* reals, which were imported regularly by the Malacca merchant for that purpose.

Imports from the islands East of *Malacca.*

The following goods were brought to *Malacca* by the natives of *Borneo Succadana, Java, Bima, Macassar* and other Eastern islands, and sold in exchange for all sort of clothing, reals of eight and chinaware.

		Crusados of ¾ real.
Camphor	Cambessa per kati ..	35 to 36
	Bariga do. ..	19 to 20
Bezoar stones	Price according to size	
Rough diamond	and quality	—
Slaves from Borneo and Macassar ..		40 to 100
Javanese cloth of different quality and price		—
Wax, per bhar about		80 to 100
Oil of Coconut and Gerselim ? were sold, per gantang at uncertain prices ..		—
Sandal wood, per bhar		120 to 140
Cloves, per bhar		130 to 250
Nuts and foeli (mace) were rare and were sold at uncertain prices		—
Tortoise-shells, per bhar		400 to 600
Rice and other provisions at uncertain prices.		

Siam and Cambodia.—The products from these places sold in Malacca were the following which were brought by the people themselves and sometimes fetched by the *Portuguese.*

		Crusados of ¾ real.
Benzoin	Boninos—white, per bhar ..	260 to 270
	Mendovada—brownish, per bhar	220 to 230
Gum-lac, per bhar		—
Gold sold according to the alloy		—
Rice and other provisions at different prices		—
Only cloth was purchased in exchange.		

The trade between Manilha and Malacca.

The *Portugese* imported from *Manilha:*

White sugar, per picul	6½ to 7
Brown sugar, per picul	3½ to 4
Cloves, per bhar	130 to 250
Tortoise shell, per bhar	400 to 600
Gold, according to the alloy	—

Only cloth was exported to the above place.

The trade between Macao and Malacca.

The Imports from Macao.—Various fine and coarse chinaware found their way to *Malacca* and were mostly re-exported to India—the principal items were:

	Crusados of ¾ real.
Gold weighing one tael	30 to 32
Silk, materials at different prices	—
Porcelain, price according to its fineness ..	—
White and Brown sugar, price same as Manilha quality	—
Iron pans, different assortments, price ..	—
Gold-thread, according to length	—
Quick-silver, per kati	—
Tutunaga or *Chinese* tin, per bhar ..	40 to 50
Musculiaat ? was sold according to quality, a good ball cost	3 to 5
Pearls in strings, at different prices ..	—

The Exports to Manilha from Malacca were:

Pepper	Sarasse Leyo de China
Elephant tusks	Rassamala (?)
Rhinoceros horns	Camphor
Sandalwood	Roggevellen (rye skins ?)
Incense or Arabian incense	Birds nests
Poetsiok (?)	Prepared leather
Red corals	and other goods of less value.
Amber	

Trade with the Indian Coast.—From the shores of India namely *Goa* and *Coetchin* the Portugese carried the following merchandise to *Malacca* in their pataches galleons and other *"navetas":*

	Crusados of ¾ reals.
Different sorts of *Surat, Cambay* and *Indian* cloths of different prices	—
Arabian incense, per bhar	—
Poetsiok (?), per bhar	—
Amber or Barn stone, per kati	—
Red Corals, per kati	—
Elephant tusks, per bhar	—

Rhinoceros horns, according to size and quality	—
White cummin (?)	—
Portugese wine, per Kannada (slightly larger than *Amsterdam* tankard) price	—
Slaves male and female were sold according to their capabilities, but they were mostly transported to *Manilha* ..	—
Wheat, the kandy of 10 paras or 6 in the koyang	—
Rice and every other provisions, at fluctuating prices	—
Spanish reals, these were mostly taken to China	1½ to 1 2/3

Malacca Export to Goa and Coetchin.—The Portugese exported to the above ports all sorts of fine as well as inferior Chinaware, Gold, Tortoise shell, Cloves, Sandal wood, Sapan (wood), Copper, Tin, Tutunaga, Benzoin, Gum-lac, Coconut fibre Rattan, White and Brown sugar, Diamonds, Besoar stones, Quick silver and many other goods of less value.

There was no trade of importance between *Malacca* and *Ceylon*, the little that went to Ceylon was via *Goa* and *Coetchin*.

Negapatam and St. Thomé.—From the above places the *Portugese* and the Klings imported large quantities of assorted cloth, which were valued in *Malacca* by export merchants. We will mention the principal ones later on. Rice and other provisions as well as *fish-skin* and prepared leather were also taken there for sale.

In exchange they purchased in *Malacca* gold, sandal wood, pepper, cloves, tin and various chinaware.

Bengal and Malacca.—The goods taken from Bengal to Malacca were:

Assorted cloth	—
Alkatifs	—
Fishing nets, per 100 fathom	4 to 5
Hemp and hemp-yarn	—
Wax, per bhar	80 to 100
Wheat, Rice, Butter, Sugar, Oil and many other Provisions	—
Slaves of both sexes from	80 to 100

The return cargo.—This consisted of tin, tutunaga, pepper, cloves, sandal wood, sapan, pearls, silk materials, porcelain, etc.

There was very little or no trade with *Arracan*. The Bengal merchant supplied the little requirements.

Pegu extensive trade was carried on with this port in olden times. The *Peguans* brought themselves to *Malacca* in their own vessels much gold, rubies, musk, martavan-pots, rice and provisions, and in exchange bought cloth, sandal wood, pepper, cloves, silk material, porcelain, iron pans, etc. This important trade has however been dead for some time past owing to prolonged civil war in that country.

We have not been able to find if *Malacca* has had any special trade connection with other countries or not.

The Coinage, measures and weights.—For the facility of traffic and trade, good regulations were observed in respect of coinage, measures and weights.

The current money consisted of coins of different denominations minted in *Goa* and *Malacca.*

Usually the prices were calculated in *Crusados* which were equal to 6 *Tangas* or ¾ *real,* or in our money 36 stuivers (5 cents each). There were silver as well as gold crusados of different denominations. The silver crusado was imprinted with the Coat of Arms of *Portugal* on one side and the Cross on the other, and its value was 6 tanga, ditto half crusados valued at 3 tanga. Silver tangas have on one side the Coat of Arms of *Portugal* and on the other, the mark and were valued at ⅛ real or 6 stuivers. Ditto pieces of 2, 3, and 4 tangas, as imprinted on the respective coins.

Xerapyns, having on one side the Coat of Arms of *Portugal* and on the other the figure of Apostle *St. Thomas.* These coins were not much in demand and were worth as in *Goa* only 5 tanga:

Gold crusados imprinted as the silver ones valued at	6	tanga.
Do. double crusados	12	,,
Gold *St. Thomas* stamped as the Xerafyns these were worth in *Goa* 2½ Xerafyns and in *Malacca*	13	,,
Venetian, Arabic, or *Moorish* ducats were usually valued at	18	,,
The *Spanish* reals of 8° were worth only 8 tangas in *Malacca,* but in the last few years prices have advanced in sympathy with the rise in *Batavia* to	10	,,

Basaroncos or tin imprinted like the crusados. 20 of these were equal to one Vintin and 10 Viatins (being 200 basaroncos) were valued at 1 tanga.

The profits from the mint derived from the faulty alloy contained in the coins were deposited in the King's Treasury. The annual profits were considerable.

The Measures.

These were Paras[1] gantangs, tsioeps, half tsioeps, kales, and kanadas. A *koyang* held 60 paras of 600 gantangs, or 2,700 lbs. rice.

The paras held 10 gantangs. A gantang of about 4½ lbs. held 4 tsioeps or a half tsioeps.

A tsioeps held 4 kales which was the smallest measure. These were used to measure wheat, rice, padi, all grains or corn, butter, sugar, oil, vinegar, and arak, but kanadas were only for the Portugese Wine.

For measuring linen, cloth, or silk materials a regulation EL or cubite of 4 palms length was used.

The Weights.

These were bhars, kattis, and fractions of them, also quintals and aratels.

One bhar was equal to 200 katties or 475 lbs., Dutch.

One katti was equal to 2/5 lbs., Dutch.

One quintal was equal to 100 aratels or about 1 1/5 lbs., Dutch.

These weights were used for weighing pepper, cloves, nutmegs, foeli, sandal-wood, tortoise-shell all the spices and drugs; copper, iron, tin and all sorts of metals, and also meat bacon and all merchandise sold in weight.

This concludes our description of *Malacca's* trade in the past. The above information has been gathered with utmost diligence, and there are still many items wanting, which you may be able to find out from prominent *Portugese* merchants.

We hope you will be pleased with the above information and that it will be of service to the Company.

[1] Vara ? but was used in Portugal for linear measure.

We will conclude here the past history of MALACCA by recording the fall of the city and its principal causes in the briefest possible way, as it is recent history known to all, especially to your Excellency.

THE SIEGE.

Students of history are aware that the Dutch East India Company tried in vain to capture the city in 1605 through Admiral CORNELIS MATELIFF. Since then the Portugese navigation was continually assailed and harassed by many of our war ships (which booked many victories in sea battles against Caraques, galliots, fusts and other Armada da Rima coming from GOA or MACAO) so that Portugal's trade declined considerably. Especially during the last six years, the Commanders COOPER and VEER[1] pressed the enemy so hard that the city gradually fell into a state of famine and the Governor being anxious and fearing the fall of the city by siege, sent messages and missives to the Viceroy in GOA urgently asking for relief. The Viceroy however was unable to send the necessary relief, owing to the Campaigns in CEYLON and DAMAN against ourselves and the Moors—and although the English President WILLEM METHOLT in 1638 offered a few ships, the Viceroy PEDRO DA SILVA was too proud to accept them thinking that his fusts were quite adequate. These boats however were left behind owing to lack of sufficient crew, and a request was made to the English, but in vain—No relief could be sent during the following year owing to the DAMAH war, and the subsequent CEYLON war a year later, during which time more galliots[2] were burnt. When the late Heer Lucas arrived at the roads with his fleet the city had hardly ten days supply of food and it would have easily capitulated in less than twenty days, but this excellent opportunity was lost owing to ignorance of the enemy's actual position.

The Portugese wisely make arrangements for food supply.

The Governor of Malacca seeing that no help was forthcoming from GOA or elsewhere, and our cruising yachts and the vessels of the Johorites (with whose King or LAXAMANA the Portugese were waging an abortive war) were harassing them more and more, cutting off all the food supplies, sent out a number of jelias and bantings to fetch as much rice as possible from the neighbouring rivers of RACCAN, BANCALIS, CAMPAR, SIAK and other places. Also forcibly from MOAR, RIO FORMOSA and other MALAYAN places. With these supplies he hoped the city would be temporarily well provided until the expected help came from GOA, BENGAL, or MACAO.

[1] Cornelis Simmonsz, van der Veer.

[2] 30th September, 1639. See notes No. 7.

The Dutch invest the city of Malacca and lay siege to the fortress.

Meanwhile the city was closely invested by Adrian Anthonisz. with 12 ships and 6 shallops, and all supplies were practically cut off. In the beginning of August 900 NETHERLANDERS assisted by 800 MALAYS landed on the north of the city and successfully occupied the suburbs after a feeble resistance. The enemy was so dejected that if our attack had been followed through the city would have been conquered on the same day. But our army choosing a less dangerous course encamped in the suburb and erecting two batteries (under musket shot) started bombarding the gates of the CURAS and ST. DOMINGO and the towers of the castle so furiously that in a short time very great breaches were made. But the Portugese defended themselves very well by a counter bombardment and as our forces were considered too weak for storming purposes, it was decided to carry on with the siege and reduce the city in that way.

General Adrian Antonisz's Mistakes.

It was a serious omission not to have blockaded the city properly and to have left open the southern entrance and Red island through which the enemy was able to get through so much victuals by land and sea that the siege was prolonged by two months.

Great Mortality in the Army.

The prolonged siege intensified the famine and increased the discomfort of the besiegers, pestilence causing great mortality both inside and outside the city, and carrying away many brave officers and soldiers including the Commander, ADRIAAN ANTHONISZ. His successor, Commander COOPER wisely occupied the Southern entrance, the ST. JUAN hill and the RED island with men and artillery, and the enemy was pressed so hard that thousands of them died of hunger and plague. This forced them to expel all who were more of a burden (useless mouths) and to go out in their own vessels in search of food. Heavy fighting ensued every time and they were prevented from attaining their object, our men usually gaining the victory. In spite of all[1] reverses, they kept on refusing proudly and obstinately all our offers for a settlement, although they could realise that there was no hope of getting assistance from GOA.

The Storming of the City.

After the demise of Commander COOPER[2] the remaining Dutch chiefs together with the newly elected Commander CAERTEKOE realising the enemy's miserable state decided at last to storm the city. This was undertaken with great courage and the renowned

[1] 18th November, 1640.

[2] 3rd January, 1641.

city fell into our hands, in the morning of the 14th January A^d 1641 (after being in PORTUGESE hands for 127 years and 5 months) thus becoming a possession of the state of United Netherlanders. You may read the particulars of this notable event in a special detailed account written by us[1]. We will only mention here that of a total inhabitants of 20,000 before the siege only *3,000* survived in MALACCA, whereas of the Dutch forces numbering 3,000 more than half perished. Many died miserably from both sides even after the victory.

Comparing Malacca with Jerusalem.

The famous and memorable conquest of MALACCA can be compared with the destruction of JERUSALEM. The PORTUGESE can be compared with the unfortunate JEWS and the NETHERLANDERS with the victorious ROMANS. We give glory to Almighty for such a great blessing.

Conclusion of Malacca's Past History.

In concluding the narrative of MALACCA recorded here according to carefully selected data, we hope that the revelations made by us of so many notable events will make up for our verbosity. With this hope we pass on to a brief record of the present state of the city.

Description of the Present State of Malacca.

The demonstrated qualities and characteristics of this renowned and strongly fortified, wealthy and commercially prosperous city are so totally and surprisingly changed after the conquest that from a position of prominence and a pleasant resort it has come down to a commonplace existence, its wealth commerce etc., remaining only a memory, as will be clearly seen from the following description.

The Fortifications.

Of the battered bulwarks and walls of the city only the gates of VICTORIA or ST. DOMINGO have been repaired. The curas of FREDERICK HENDRIK is mostly in ruins, as well as the corner of MAURITIUS. The walls between the VICTORIA and CURASSA gates are seriously damaged, and those between the steps of CASEMIER and the CURAS are so old and rickety that they can be easily destroyed by bombardment; although they are 24 ft. high yet they are 8 ft. lower than the other walls. The old Castle and the Captain's residence are badly shattered, the Northern tower contains a big fracture, so that the two top garrets are fallen down and the two lower ones are in danger of collapse owing to the leakage. The necessary strength is thus half spoiled. The gates of VICTORIA CURASSA and MAURITIUS as well as the steps of CASEMIER and ST. DOMINGO are open from inside. WILHELMUS

[1] Valentyn, Vol. V, chapter I, fol. 339–343.

HENRIETTA and AMELIA are enclosed, but all the bulwarks and the gates are without guards. The officers and soldiers are living in badly accommodated houses and huts, where they are subject to much dampness owing to the leakage. This causes unhealthiness amongst the garrison. The wooden curtain between AMELIA and VICTORIA is too old and it is almost falling to pieces The road to the CURAS alongside the curtain is not passable owing to the ruined houses and the rotten wooden constructions. The quay and the steps outside the river gate are badly damaged, and the beautiful stone bridge somewhat broken: it is temporarily repaired with coconut trees and enclosed with palisades, but the walls from within are threatened by many old houses and huts standing close to each other.

The above mentioned bulwarks are provided with many guns mostly damaged and very heavy as follows:—The gate of FREDERIK HENDRIK with 8 metal and 4 iron pieces.

The corner Mauritius with ..	2	metal and	4	iron pieces.
The circular Wilhelmus ..	5	,,		,,
The gate of Henriette Loise..	11	,,		,,
The circular Amelia ..	11	,,		,,
The gate of Victoria ..	5	,,		,,
The St. Domingo stairs ..	1	,,		,,
The Casimeer stairs ..	1	,,	1	,,
At the old fort ..	1	,,		,,
At the battery of Kijk in de Pet	3	,,		,,
Outside the water port ..		,,	3	,,
Total ..	48	,,	8	pieces.

Whose quality, weight and shots can be seen from the following list.

The Ammunition.

Malacca is well provided with war materials.

The following were found there on the 16th of July—29,191 lbs. gunpowder, contained in about 300 barrels, of which a quantity is distributed among the bulwarks, but the bulk is at ST. JAGO.

5 cases and a quantity of loose fuse
7,200 per bullets of different weights
600 muskets
18 Fire-locks
9 barrels of musket shots
196 whole, 156 half } pikes
20 halberds
6 " partisan "
600 swords
150 hewers
120 uniforms with their ring collars

600 shoulder belts and 3 scassen ?, not counted
300 belts
1 barrel sulphur.

With these ammunition the city is well provided for the time being and need not fear an attack by the enemy.

ALL THE HOUSES ARE BADLY DAMAGED.—The roofs and walls of most of the houses in the city are damaged, not a single house or shop is left undamaged. All the houses have suffered from leakages and many including some very fine buildings will soon come down entirely if they are not repaired quickly,—which will be a great pity. As pointed out in my last, many beautiful new houses have crumbled burying some of the Company's slaves, while some PORTUGESE women have escaped miraculously.

The damaged Churches and Monasteries.

The beautiful church towers and the Monastery of ST. PAULO are damaged in many places. The MISERICORDIA is also somewhat damaged. The church of ST. ANTHONY which is not completed yet is undamaged, but half of the roof (being old) is leaking, and the residence of the AUGUSTYNS is very shaky. Big gaps are shot open at the walls and the roof of the church of ST. DOMINGO, which if not repaired is bound to crumble down soon together with the Monastery itself. The Cathedral, however, has suffered most from the bombardment. The main portion has crumbled and the rest will follow soon, so that only the church and the two chapels can remain standing. Although these will also fall if not repaired. The hospital DEL REY is in ruins and that of the POVEROS is damaged beyond repairs. The corner of MAURITIUS is now used as barracks for the soldiers.

Outside the city our camp and trenches are not cleared yet. The battery is still there, similarly the watch post at the bridge and the camp at the ST. JUAN's hill. The northern gate and the portion of the damaged walls as well as many trees, useless houses and huts in the city have not been cleared yet owing to the lack of labour.

The Franciscan Monastery, all " out " churches and Hermitages are destroyed.

The beautiful Monastery of ST. FRANCISCO and the great Chapel of MADRE DE DEOS are roofless and half ruined. The wall around the garden is practically intact, but the garden has become a jungle. The parish churches of ST. THOME, ST. STEVEN, ST. LORENZO, NOSSA SIGNO. DE PIADADO, NOSSA SIGNO. DE BONAS NOVAS, NOSSA SIGNO. DA GUADALOUPE and NOSSA SIGNO. DO EMPARO are all in ruins owing to the destructive action of the PORTUGESE, our soldiers, the MALAYS and the MANICABERS. The Hermitages of NOSSA SIGNO. DA VICTORIA, ST. GUILHELMO, ST. JUAN and ST. JERONIMO are also mostly destroyed and are beyond

repair. But this is not a disadvantage for the company, provided the exercise of Roman religion is allowed (for political considerations) in one of the above churches, that of ST. LAURENS by the riverside, being the most suitable, but it is in ruins and must be built anew from its foundation.

The suburbs are entirely ruined. There is hardly a house standing. All the dwelling places on both sides of the river are also totally destroyed.

The Damaging action of the Malays.

All the gardens and orchards on both sides of the city and the innumerable beautiful fruit trees have been hacked and chopped down. The timid MALAYS have openly manifested their wicked inclination and evil services, so that not a single garden is left unspoiled. In short the destruction of this city and its resort brought about by the vexations of war, dearth and pestilence has been so acute and so great that it is not only surprising but pitiful. From a well built city, cultivated land, and more than 20,000 inhabitants it has been reduced to a heap of ruins, a desert with very few inhabitants left, as will be seen from the following figures:

Malacca's present population.

The present inhabitants are living mostly outside the city in the suburbs and alongside the river, where they have put up many bamboo houses. The whole population is as follows:

The city garrison.—The Netherlands garrison comprising 220 men, in two companies, is stationed as follows:

In the main guard-house at the Water gate	46 men.	
At the FREDERIK HENDRIK gate	30 „	
„ „ MAURITIUS corner	25 „	
„ „ WILHELMUS circular	28 „	
„ „ HENRIETTE LOISE gate	26 „	
„ „ AMELIA circular	37 „	
„ „ VICTORIA gate	14 „	
„ „ ST. DOMINGO steps	26 „	
„ „ CASIMIER steps	14 „	
„ „ Governor's house	12 „	
In the hospital and elsewhere	32 „	
	——	290 men.
The governor with the merchants and assistants	14	
A parson 2 comforters of the sick and 5 surgeons	8	43 „
Different craftsmen	18	
A gunner with two shooters ..	3	
		——
The whole garrison is not more than		333 men.

The seamen.—The naval force is as follows:

The cruising yacht LIMMEN and Vos with a big shallop	86 men.
The cruising yacht WELSING and RIJSWIJK and the shallop DE MAAN	82 „
The yachts Blijswijk and Veenhuizen whose men must do the rowing, many of whom are ill, altogether	43 „
The old yachts Amsterdam, Draek, and new Malakka, lying ashore without crew.	
So that the total of seamen is	211 men.
The total of our forces in Malakka on land and sea is therefore	544 „

The Company's slaves.

In the MISERICORDIA or slave house for all kinds of service	39 slaves.
Javanese chain slaves	20 „
In service at the gates	10 „
In the hospital	1 „
With the masons	2 „
	72 slaves.

In the MISERICORDIA for different service:

Women slaves	70	women slaves.
In the hospital	4	„ „
With the porter	2	„ „
With the smith and the gunner ..	2	„ „
With the masons	2	„ „
	80	„ „
In all ..	152	slaves.

The number of white and black inhabitants.

The following remaining clergymen, citizens, blacks and slaves are still living in MALACCA and in its resorts.

Inside the walls of the city:

7 clergymen together with their family ..	32 persons.
41 PORTUGESE and MESTISE burghers with their families	220 „
4 MALACCANS with their family	9 „
52 families, making a total of	261 persons.

In the Northern suburb.

To the north, outside the city, at BASAR and a little higher up live a number of free MALACCANS under the Captain JUAN DE SAMPAYO, who are in the service of the Company as daily labourers working in the works of the fortification. They are mostly married. With their wives and few children they would come to .. .. 80 persons.

The number of their slaves is unknown. Also widows and wives whose husbands are absent and have been taken prisoners by the MALAYS.

The people in RACCAN under Captain JACINTO D' ASEVEDO together with those added now and then about .. .. 150 „

it comes to .. 244 persons.

On the South.

Outside the city live many MALACCANS under the Captain PERO FERNANDEZ who work sometimes for the company and have also other occupations. They are mostly married and with their wives and few children would number about .. .. 168 persons.

Alongside the river.—Higher up in the city up to BUA RADJA on the other side of the river there are many MALACCANS under ALEXANDER MENDES Captain Mor. Some of them work for the company at the fortifications, and have other occupations as well. They are mostly married and with their wives would come to .. .. 120 „

Their children and slaves are not included but these will be considerable.

Many fishermen live outside the city on the Southern and the Northern shores. They are natives of the land: according to the census their number with their wives would be .. .. 70 „

The number of the slaves is unknown to us. According to these calculations the number of ..

PORTUGESE remaining is .. .. 863 persons.

It must be noted that the correct figures have not been revealed to us and the number of MALACCANS besides the PORTUGESE household should be at least 800 instead of 602.

According to a certain Malak's POVASON? there are 15 to 20 houses (under ALEXANDER MENDES) on the riverside fully two miles from the city (which has not been declared to us) we presume that there are also many people in other places in the gardens and orchards who have not been enrolled.

The children and the old members have not been declared. These are estimated to be about 100 souls. The number of slaves and their children is undoubtedly considerable a good number of whom are bought from the company. Many are kept secret for fear of being taken away. At a conservative estimate there are .. .. 200 persons.

According to these calculation the MALACCANS with their wives, children and slaves are .. .. 1,100 „

According to these calculation the PORTUGESE citizens mentioned above .. .. 261 „

Total .. 1,361 persons.

Of the Chinese who have come from BATAVIA many are sickly .. .. 33 persons.

The Company's and private slaves are about .. 212 „

and our forces on land and sea .. .. .. 544 „

The total of all the Netherlanders, the PORTUGESE, the slaves and the Chinese is .. .. .. 2,150 persons.

Considerable diminution of Malacca's inhabitants.

The above figure is considerably less than the 20,000 people who resided in and around the city before the siege.

Malacca's refugees in Nanning and Ringy.

There is still quite a number of free Malaccans and Christian slaves in NANNING and RINGY who are expected to return, but this will not help much to populate the city. People must be procured from other districts.

How the inhabitants are governed.

The above PORTUGESE, MALACCANS and other black people as well as the CHINESE inhabitants are governed properly under the following Captains:

The black MALACCANS at the north of the city are under Captain JUAN DA SAMPAYA, who receives a monthly salary of 4 reals of 8°.

The people from RACCAN who are settled also on the northern side are under their Captain JACINTO D'ASEVEDO who does not receive salary.

The PORTUGESE and the MESTICS were under Captain DIEGO KESIO whose place is vacant now on account of his death.

The MALACCANS on the south are under Captain PERO FERNANDES whose salary is 4 reals per month.

The inhabitants on both sides of the river and a little higher up are under ALEXANDER MENDES, Captain MOR of the MALACCANS whose salary is 6 reals per month

The fishermen living on both sides of the city are under the supervision of PERO DA GAMA, who enjoys a salary of 6 reals per month.

The CHINESE living at the BASAR on the north of the city have their own Captain NOTCHIN who lives on small merchandise.

These chiefs hold their people in check and disobedience or other misdeeds are reported to the Governor who advises how to punish the guilty.

The position of Nanning and Ringy.

These two villages are vassals to the Netherland States in the same way as they were subject to the PORTUGESE crown, but they do not show such obedience and respect as they did to the PORTUGESE government under pressure. These cunning MOORS knowing our present weak state do not listen to friendly talk or to threats and refuse to restore the large number of stolen guns, the Christian refugees and the kidnapped slaves. But the arrest of LEBEH MOEDAH and INTJE HITAM following this refusal has put such fear into these timid people that for a long time they have not appeared in MALACCA with their Siri, fruits, cattle and other wares.

The unrest in Nanning.

The people in Nanning were not pleased with the appointment of RADJA MERAH chiefly because he had promised to restore all Christians and guns and they could not come to an agreement over the captured slaves. But serious negotiations followed and at last Captain ALEXANDER MENDES had to be sent there to quell the unrest. This had the result that on the 24th July DATOE BONGSOE and the brother of RADJA MERAH came to MALACCA together with the INTJI's father and the permanent chiefs of NANNING to offer their allegiance to the NETHERLANDS state. DATOE BONGSOE and RADJA MERAH were then appointed regents and promised to confirm their allegiance in writing after my departure. We expect these people to be peaceful hereafter.

RINGY.—The people in RINGY were also reluctant to return Christian captives and stolen weapons, but gradually they began to bring their goods again to the market in MALACCA. The Christian refugees (about 60 in number) sent an urgent appeal to the Governor, requesting him to accept them as free citizens and appoint a certain IGNATIO RODRIGUES, a servant of the Governor MANUEL DA SOUSA COUTINHO, as their Captain. The request for liberty was granted but the appointment of a chief was postponed until full information was gathered about the person in question who was expected in Malacca.

We are of opinion that these villages will remain in peace hereafter if they are treated as the Portugese did. For this purpose an experienced TOMMOGO should be appointed. PERO D'ABREU (alias MUKA MERAH) is competent, but in my opinion

he is not to be trusted. There is a certain local born ANTHONEO PENGERO in Malacca who is more suitable for that office. (He is married to the Shahbandar's sister-in-law). There is another PORTUGESE by the name of ANTHONIO LUCAS PINGERO who would also make a good candidate, as he is known to be honest and has a fair knowledge of the MALAY language.

MOAR and RAMBON are on friendly terms with the states of NETHERLAND and MALACCA although they are vassals of JOHOR.

The MOARITES come daily to MALACCA to sell their goods, but the people in RAMBON keep themselves aloof because they also are guilty of retaining Christian refugees whom they are reluctant to return, following the bad example of NANNING. Besides this they are afraid of INTJI HITAM who is in Rambou. They have been put up not to sell their wares in MALACCA although immediately after the Capture they were enjoying and enriching themselves. They will soon find their mistake in following NANNING, but the best policy is not to take notice of them at present and postpone claims for restitution until MALACCA is in a better position. It will be easier then to bring pressure by closing the river PANAGY.

The description of Malacca's present Government.

MALACCA is governed by a Governor and his Council which is composed of the following persons.

THE GOVERNOR, who presides over the Council and directs all the affairs of the State with efficiency as it must be apparent to you from his letters, and reports from other sources his Council is as follows;

THE COLLECTOR ANTHONY HURDT who has the second place, which in the ordinary way should have been occupied either by the Fiscal or the Senior Merchant. His work is so very limited that he can be missed. After the present Governor this post need not be filled.

THE FISCAL.—The Fiscal MR. GERARD HERBERS occupies the third seat. He is qualified for the office but he is easily bluffed. He is rather timid and given to grumbling, but as I have told the Governor, he may improve.

THE MAJOR.—The Sergeant-Major LAMOTIUS has the fourth seat in the Council. He is a decent fellow quite efficient for his office. He has a better knowledge of things than is usual among Military persons here. He wishes to be released from his office for various reasons, and this can be granted especially as he is rather out of place on account of his title.

THE UPPER MERCHANT.—JOHAN VERPOORTEN occupies the fifth place, which is really too low a rank for him. He is qualified for his office (especially in matters of writing). But it

is desirable that he should have a better knowledge of the MALAY language, and all the merchandise. It is also very important that he should know how to communicate with INDIANS.

CAPTAIN LOURENS FORSENBURGH has the last seat. He is a man who knows his job and serves well. But he is trying to be replaced because it appears that he is very much (unreasonably) hated owing to his firmness. If he is substituted by an honest person it will not be a dis-service to the Company.

THE SHAHBANDAR. JAN MENIE spends most of his time at the Council giving advices. He is qualified for his office and should continue in his service. He is liked by the Governor for his other services.

THE SECRETARY.—The junior merchant ADRIAEN HOFFCAMP is acting as Secretary for want of a more qualified person. He is complained of in Batavia but if he can abstain from drink he will be capable for this or other services.

All the other minor officers are fairly efficient and trust-worthy, with the exception of SAMUEL BONEL who still continues in his old habits.

THE MILITARY OFFICERS make a nice group but by sudden promotions they have become somewhat rough and uncouth. The Lieutenants DAVID VINCQ and CLAES PIETERSZ should be kept on as well as the standard-bearer HANS CRENGER and JAN THEUNISZ VAN AALDORP who has replaced NICHOLAES LANTSKNECHT. The Sergeant must also be retained. The one who came with me is a decent man and is at present at the garrison.

THE NAVAL OFFICERS are likewise efficient and of good demeanour. We will give abrief account of them.

THE SKIPPER-COMMANDER PIETER BAECK is a decent man and an efficient navigator, but he has climbed up too quickly although he deserves his position and salary.

THE SKIPPERS MENDONCK AND HERT FRANSZ.—The Skipper THOMAS MONDONCK is a quick and efficient person for the Straits of Malacca. HERT FRANSZ is the temporary Captain of the yacht Rijswijk.

THE SKIPPER HERMAN AERENTSZ OF LIMMEN is a diligent man who can render good services.

The yachts Vos and VEENHUIZEN are provided with a temporary crew. The two Captains sent will look after them.

The yacht BLYSWIJK is captained by a certain HERMAN SYMONSZ, a foolish youngster who has come over with the WALVISCH as a sail-maker. It seems he has been looking after a tiger for MR. VAN TWIST. He is not qualified. His premature

[1] JAN VAN TWIST Senior merchant. He took a female tiger with him for his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange who rewarded him for the good service. Extract from the minutes of the Society of 17, 1639, 24th September.

promotion and advance in salary from 18 to 36 guilders are due purely to favouritism. His mode of life is very censurable. He illtreats the ships crew and is accused of other dirty behaviour.

Some of the ships mates and the minor officers have also been promoted prematurely. The yacht DE ANNA has a temporary Captain who is totally unqualified for this post.

THE CHURCH AFFAIRS IN MALACCA are on the advice of the Governor, managed by the Reverend JOHANNES LOOSEVELT (parson) according to the prescription of the BATAVIA church Council.

Very few, if any, of the Malaccan Roman Christians are likely to be converted to the true reformed church even by sermons in the Portugese language: so much are these poor people blinded by the superstitious ceremonies.

THE TOLLS AND REVENUES in Malacca are still very small. These are collected by the Collector HURDT and the Shahbandar MENIE for the Company as follows:

IMPORT AND EXPORT DUTY.—It was resolved on the 18th of July to impose a duty of 10% on imported wares and provisions and 5% on all the exported merchandise (although these are more than at the time of the Portugese) subject to your approval.

POLL TAX ON FOREIGNERS.—Each Malay or foreign vessel with a crew of more than 4 has to pay 3 crusados as poll-tax while the smaller vessels with a crew of 4 or less pay for each person 2 tangas or ¼ real.

ANCHORAGE.—All vessels with a crew of 5 or more must pay a crusado as anchorage, while the smaller vessels with a crew of 4 or less pay one tanga or ⅛ real.

PERMIT.—Each vessel has to pay 2 tangas or ¼ real for permits.

THE DECEMOS.—10% of all native fish, cattle and other provisions are sold for the benefit of the Company.

ROEBA-ROEBA.—The customary presents to the Bandara, the Shahbandar and Alcade de Mar are again introduced by the Shahbandar presumably for the benefit of the Company.

The "forus" or assessment of houses, lands or gardens are not enforced yet, as the idea is new to the people. This is evident from the fact that the decree by which 50% of the plucked fruit were to go to the Company, has not worked successfully.

THE MONTHLY REVENUES.—The Company's profits for the month appearing in the books amounted to 434¾ reals of 8° or F. 1,107.13.2 so that the annual profit will not exceed F. 13,219.7.8. It is a very small amount, but anyhow it should be considered a good start.

THE SHAHBANDAR'S ACTUAL BUSINESS.—The Shahbandar has control of all arriving and departing vessels. He acts as a guide and interpreter between the ambassadors and Anachedas[1] and the Governor. He inspects the weights and all other things in respect of foreigners. A certain MALAY MESTIES by the name of LASARO DE COSTA acts as his assistant—as Secretary and customs officer, who gets a monthly salary of 8° reals.

All the Indian Vessels ordered to call at Malacca.

The Governor is certainly in favour of compelling all the passing vessels to call at MALACCA (after the fashion of the Portugese) for trade and for the purpose of receiving poll-taxes and bringing pressure on RAMBOU by closing up the river PANAGI, but these cannot be enforced without an adequate number of Jelias, shallops and bantings. However he has (in conformity with your orders) instructed the commander BAECK and the skipper MENDONG to seize all the Indian vessels they meet, which are sailing without permits, and to send them to MALACCA. The said MENDONG seems to have met a Macassar vessel approaching PERAK. On investigation he finds out that they had no permit and therefore he informed the men that they were to be taken to Malacca where they had to appeal to the Governor for their liberty. This caused such consternation amongst the MACASSAR people that they at once set sail to flee, but they were pursued by one of our shallops, whereupon a hot encounter ensued, during which we had many wounded, and our men had eventually to abandon the pursuit. Two of the MACASSARIANS were however left prisoners in the yacht WELSING as I informed you (by the said MENDONG per BREDAM). This incident demonstrates that the enforcement of law is going to cause much disturbance among the other nations (as at the time of the Portugese).

The Malay Salettes.—Your Excellency's orders in respect of maintaining order among the Portugese deserters will be strictly followed, but the piracy of the MALAY SALETTES continues (to the detriment of MALACCA inhabitants). The Shahbandar was travelling to JOHORE in a prauw with a travado of 6 Malaccans, when the prauw was carried away and eventually smashed to pieces by the Johore islanders from BOERONG and OENGARANG, the goods were plundered and the people divided between the Shahbandar of the island and the pirates. We received this information from OENGARANG and the Shahbandar of the place at first denied everything, but on serious warning he produced 4 of the missing Malaccans on the very same day, promising to return the other two to the Skipper MENDOSQ, who kept the pirates as hostages. Further particulars you will learn from our Journal and also from the letter written to the LAXAMANA of Johor with a view to preventing such piracies. We hope effective measures will be taken in this respect.

[1] Captains of vessels: *nakhodas*.

Malacca's Fleets.—The fleets under the Government of Malacca comprise the following yachts:

Limmen, de Vos } cruising off CABO RACHADO

Rijs Wijk, Welsing } cruising near the Straits of BROUWER

BLIJS WIJK, VENHUIZEN } in the roads, are old and leaking mostly loaded with rice

KLEIN-AMSTERDAM totally burst

NIEUW-MALAKKA, burst but can be repaired

DEN DRAAK, can be properly repaired

(the last two are lying ashore in the mud to the south of the city)

Two Shallops with the yacht on the north and south

One Shallop in the river

Three Shallops ashore, must be repaired

One fly-boat named DEN EZEL used for loading and discharging

One big boat from the ship UTRECHT

One small boat from the yacht LIMMEN

(the last two boats are lying in the river-aground)

THE CAPTURED VESSELS:

2 Portugese pataches or yachts, one big and one small lying in the mud near WILHELMUS gate. They are patched (to avoid bursting) but can be repaired.

2 Royal fustas whose sterns are burnt but they are worth repairing.

2 Jelias big and small lying seaward near the church of ST. THOMAS. They are both quite good but must be repaired.

3 bantings of which one is sent to OEDJONG-SABANG, the other two are on a breast-wall; they need repairs.

1 Portugese shallop which is used by the Governor in the river.

There are many other Portugese vessels which are old, burnt wrecked or beyond repairs.

Malacca's Alliance with the Neighbouring Princes.

Malacca is on friendly terms with all the neighbouring Kings and Princes (God be praised) of whom we will here give a brief account.

THE KING OF JOHOR (at least his Prime Minister (LAXAMANA) has rendered assistance in the capture of the city but he has been richly rewarded by a number of big and small guns and fire arms. In fact these timid selfish MALAYS have received more than they deserved besides the big profit they have made by appropriating

thousands of Christian slaves during and after the siege. Notwithstanding all that, the miserly Laxamana is discontented and shows himself so proud that he has not sent a deputation to Batavia after the capture of Malacca. After the King's arrival from *Patani* (which is now daily expected) we will inform you by the AMBOINA as to the resolution in respect of the Achinese peace. It seems now that the MOORS have fortified BATASAUWER they are inclined to be less respectful of the Netherlands State.

THE QUEEN OF ACHIN shows herself friendly towards MALACCA as is evident from her letter to the Governor. Yet it is certain that she and her Council are extremely jealous of the growing power of the Netherlanders and the conquest of Malacca, fearing lest the allied NETHERLANDERS and the JOHORITES may attack her kingdom some day and humiliate her. This thought appears to have made her humble.

THE QUEEN OF PATANI is undoubtedly a friend of ours.

THE KING OF PERAK is also friendly with Malacca as is evident from the dispatch of Ambassadors although he is dependent on the crown of Achin.

THE KING OF QUEDAH has also expressed his friendly feelings towards us in writing.

THE PETTY KINGS OR GOVERNORS OF AOEJONG-SALANG, BANGARY and the adjacent places (who are the vassals of the King of Siam will be only too anxious to seek our friendship.

THE RADJAS OF SIAK AND RACCAN.—Show themselves as friends. Their prosperity depends on their trade with Malacca.

The Regents of BANCALIS, CAMPHAR and other places of the kingdom of JOHOR are all trying to be on friendly terms with Malacca, but they still continue their usual piracy under.....

THE KINGS OF JAMBY AND INDRAGIRY are also trying to be friendly, as is apparent from various deputations.

OTHER INDIAN PRINCES.—It is unnecessary to speak about the other distant dominions which on account of their alliance with the Netherlands State have become friends of Malacca, such as the King of SIAM, CAMBODIA of the island of ROMEO of PALEMBANG BANTAM, the Prince of COROMANDEL, the NABOBS of BENGAL, and also the Kings of ARRAKAN and PEGU who are the most important in respect of Malacca's situation.

Important Results Expected from the Conquest of Malacca.—There are already indications that the conquest of Malacca will have very far-reaching results in future culminating gradually in the complete domination of the Southern part of the East INDIA (by the grace of God). The queen of Achin (still by far the richest and most powerful among the neighbouring states) is so

terrified at the Netherlands' power that she has immediately fortified all avenues leading to her Capital and is keen to fulfil the obligations of an ally. The other minor Princes feel in the same way and with good reason. We are sure now that the JOHORITES have great respect for the Company's power and will not undertake any action against the Achinese without your Excellency's permission. We conclude by saying that with the conquest of Malacca the second foundation for the domination of the South has been laid. The PORTUGESE had a great advantage by the possession of Malacca but the Netherlands have much greater advantage by possessing both BATAVIA and MALACCA for which praise be to the Supreme Ruler.

Malacca's Disappointing Trade.—The Company's trade after the capture has been very poor as you will see from the books sent to you. We will not enlarge upon it here but will make a few notes.

Stocks of Merchandise.—According to the inventory of Collector HURDT and Senior Merchant VERPOORTEN the stocks of merchandise in Malacca at present are as follows:

17,000 reals of 8° cash of which

4,000 reals in specie from the Achinese cargo

8,000 reals in NETHERLANDS and PORTUGESE coins

5,000 reals SPANISH, PORTUGESE and NETHERLANDS money counted in by the Governor, HURDT LAMOTIUS and FORSENZURG to the Company.

28	Corges	Salempoeris
75	„	Betille (India-muslin)
40	„	Bolatins
22	„	Moeris
6	„	Taper Keljil
20	„	JAVANESE MADURES cloth
38½	„	Ramboetijn
7½	„	Sanen
3	„	Bikker many
2	„	Patas
1½	„	Guinese linnen
5	„	Clothing for women
1	„	Taffacils—BENGAL
58	„	Negro clothing
44	„	Baftas
12	„	JAVANESE gobar or MALAY Sarasse different cloths, radjoes (knitted work ?) coverlets, etc.
1,404	pcs.	Armosigum

225 pcs. Damask
8 cases JAPANESE lacquered work
30 gilt mirrors
90 pcs. iron pans
94 Quitasollen (parasols)
118 Slaves (men and women).

Further some weapons and other sundries altogether amounting to	F.	88,961.9½.0
War materials	,,	12,918.11. 0
Provisions at the magazines	,,	41,294.19. 2
Money with the shop-keeper SCHAEP who has to account for it	,,	20,008.18. 0
	F.	163,183.17. 2

The cloths are mostly saleable and can be sold locally or to the MALAYS when their vassals start appearing again, provided prices are not kept too high. The damask should be distributed among the garrison and the "armosyns" should be sent to Achin.

There is very little to be said about the trade in Malacca, because it is totally disorganised in consequence of the destructive war which has ruined its agriculture as well. Very careful supervision and fair treatment of the inhabitants, especially of all foreigners, is necessary to revive trade which cannot make much progress in the first year. But Malacca will be transformed into a flourishing place as soon as it gets its breath and resumes its normal position. We have no doubt that your Excellency's provident Government will guide the place towards prosperity.

Pepper Purchase.—The pepper which is going forward per FRANEKER has been purchased at a reasonable price. The Governor would not pay too high a price, for fear of adversely affecting BATAVIA's importations of the commodity. He also decreed that the usual duty of 10% should be levied on pepper imported at Malacca. As regards the purchased tin which was resold at a small profit, in our opinion this is idle business. It may benefit MALACCA office but there is no real advantage in it.

The Monopoly of Rice in Malacca.—All eatables including fresh and dried fish are sold in the bazaar at fixed prices under the supervision of the market superintendent. But the sale of rice (whether by the citizens or foreigners) is prohibited, causing great discontentment among the community, and with good reason, because the Company (or at least the Shahbandar by order of the Governor) buys up all rice arriving at the following prices:—

White rice 15 gantangs of 4½ lbs. each for a real of 8° total R° 40
Brown rice 20 gantangs at R° 30
} a koyang of about 2,700 lbs. Dutch

The rice is resold to the inhabitants by the Shahbandar and the PORTUGESE JACINTO D'AZEVEDO or through certain appointed Malaccans at about the following prices:—

The white rice 6 gantangs for a crusado or 8 gantangs per real or r.75 ..
The Brown, 8 gantangs for a crusado or 10⅔ for a real r.56¼ .. .. } per koyang

We are informed that the newly bought rice is stored for the Company and old musty rice is sold at the above prices. This has offended the PORTUGESE and the MALACCANS very much who are also complaining that the eatables are not sold freely to every one but the bazaar Superintendent distributes them as he likes. They say that very often he buys up the whole supply and sells them through a third party at exhorbitant prices.

This evil practice causes the foreigners, who arrive with their rice and eatables, to try and get away without selling anything;—like the JAVANESE vessels which left for Perak during my presence. The Malaccans dare not order rice from outside and so the trade is seriously hampered to the detriment of Malacca's reputation and to the great loss of the Company.

The Valuation of Money.—According to the figures on the notice board the following are the rates of exchange in Malacca for Netherlands and Portugese money:

The rijksdaalder (dollar) a 1¼ real is ..	10	tangas.
The Lion Crown, or Crown 1 real or	8	,,
The Netherlands shilling ⅛ real or	1	,,
Double pennies three of which ⅛ real or ..	1	,,
Single penny six of which ⅛ real or	1	,,
New MALACCAN basaroekos 96 pcs are ..	1	,,
The patakka or Spanish real of 8° of which the export is prohibited valued 1¼ real or	10	,,

The mistake on the notice board.—The patakkas of GOA and MALACCA are stated on the board at 8 tangas but such coins have never been minted or used, but only XERAFIJNS which are worth not more than .. .. 5 tangas.

The crusado or GOA and MALACCA is worth as before	6	,,
The half crusado	3	,,
The tanga minted especially	1	,,
The tangas of 2.3 and 4 are worth at the same rates		
The gold tangas, which at the time of Portugese were worth 6 tangas, have declined to	4½	,,
The doubled do. of 12 tangas	9	,,
The gold ST. THOME of 13 tangas	12	,,
The VENECIAN or Moorish ducats from 18 tangas to	14	,,

Under-Valuation of Gold.—We cannot really understand why gold is so much undervalued (St. Thome by about 7¾%, ducats by 22¼% and crusados by 25%). It is clear that possessors of those coins will lose heavily. In our opinion the notice board explains itself because such notices which are supposed to be for the good of the people merely serve to benefit the Princes.

Measures and Weights are the same as at the time of PORTUGESE, namely paras, gantangs, tseiops, half tseiops cales and cavadas for measures, with the exception of Canada which is replaced by tankards for measuring Spanish wine. And for weights the bhars kattis with its fractions are used.

THE RATIONING.

The present monthly ration is as follows:

4 lbs. meat
4 lbs. bacon
2 muddekins (litres ?) oil
2 „ vinegar
15 „ arak
40 lbs. rice and
¾ real subsidy for refreshments.

The minor officers and workmen 2 pitchers of Arak and 1 real each subsidy.

The allowances in money and wine for the Governor, the Fiscal, the Senior Merchants, the Parson, the Captain, the Junior Merchants, Standard Bearers, the Comforters of the sick, the Surgeons, the Chief Carpenter, the Gunners and Secretaries also Assistants, Sergeants, Surveyors, Clerks, Porters and Barbers was on the same basis as is used in Batavia amounting for the month of July to 332 reals or .. .. F. 821.2

And the distributed meat, bacon, oil, vinegar, arak, rice, SPANISH wine and butter amounted to 1,507.5

Therefore the total amount of allowance for 330 persons in the month of June was .. .. F. 2,328.7

It is a big sum but there is hardly any room for reduction by economy.

The Stock of Provisions.—Malacca is now fairly well provided. According to the Senior Merchant VEERPOORTENS list the following were in stock on the 16th of July:

301¾ tons of brown and white rice
26¼ tons of salt
91 barrels of meat
14 „ bacon

2½	legger?	SPANISH wine
14	„	Arak
6	„	Vinegar
34¾	amen?	Oil
6¾	„	Whale oil
2½	barrels	Butter
70	picols	Black sugar
7	„	White sugar
5¼	„	Wax
10	„	Bengal butter
44	„	Bengal oil

With these and the shipment expected by the flyboat UITGEEST Malacca will be well provided for many months.

Expenditure.—From the reports of VAN TWIST and the journal of commerce you will be fully acquainted with the expenditure in respect of the fortifications, the equipment and the crews of the ships, and the presents given to important guests. These figures would have been much smaller, if there had been better supervision. Means should be devised to reduce expenditure and stabilise trade by careful administration.

Malacca's Unhealthy Climate.—The daily rains have cleared off the infection, and the plague and mortality have very much diminished, but the air is still polluted and sickness is prevalent among our people so that during my stay 5 or 6 deaths occurred weekly which if it continues will wipe off half of the population in a year. The soldiers are badly quartered, being exposed to dampness and rain and infectious air. We are of the same opinion as the most experienced PORTUGESE that Malacca will be a fairly healthy place when it is entirely freed from infection and the dead bodies (which are now half buried) are properly covered. Nevertheless the months of November, December, January, February and March (the dry monsoon) are unhealthy owing to prevailing fever and catarrh caused by the dry winds which bring along with them obnoxious smell from the surrounding swamps. We must follow the PORTUGESE good mode of living which is healthier than the habitual life of our own countrymen, namely morning and evening ablution (this is most important), early morning and evening walks and some sort of exercise, carefully avoiding the hot sun, heating (intoxicating) drinks and immoderate life; and observing a good diet in food and drinks. These are golden rules for keeping healthy in Malacca or anywhere else.

Intermarriages.—Some Netherlanders have married PORTUGESE mesties women, which in our opinion does not augur well because these women are used to a lazy life and spend money lavishly for pleasure and luxury. They lead a shameless life and always manage somehow to procure money for their high life, despite the warnings on the notice board for their correction.

CONCLUSION OF OUR DESCRIPTION OF MALACCA.—We would have liked very much to have given your Excellencies a more detailed account of Malacca but it has been impossible to gather more information in this short time. We have tried to make our statement as accurate as possible and if there are any important omissions, we hope your Excellencies will not ascribe them to lack of energy on our part. We are always ready to give verbal information or explanations about Malacca.

The last part.

Suggestions as to the stabilisation and improvement of Malacca's Administration and Commerce.

Having recorded all that has been achieved after the conquest of MALACCA, and also my share of work in it as Commissary, we now propose to make suggestions for the better government of the place and for the development of the commerce which we hope will be taken into consideration in the interest of the General Company.

THE REPAIRS OF THE FORTIFICATION.—The fortification should be temporarily repaired, the gates or bulwarks closed, and the two city gates provided with the necessary *corps de garde*. The walls between the CASEMIER steps and the Curas must be reinforced and raised, the southern side of the river dug out, the new battery and other works dismantled, the old fortress repaired especially the towers, or after lowering it a bit to make it into a strong redoubt, joining same with the city walls at the Curas so strongly that it will be safe against treachery. The Governor's house which is dilapidated should be rebuilt. All the houses alongside the walls should be pulled down and the road cleared. The bridge on the river must be rebuilt with palisades and the main quay must be raised to its former level. All these repairs are imperative for the safety of the city especially if it is going to be garrisoned by a small force. The military officers should be quartered at the bulwarks and only the Sergeant-major and the Captain could live in the city to see that the posts are well guarded. Hereafter when the trade and population of the city have increased, the towers of ST. PAULUS could be made into a dominating stronghold that would serve as a safe retreat in time of need and could guard the roads and the fields. RED island should be strengthened by a redoubt as well as the hills of TJINA and ST. JUAN, not only for the purpose of keeping observation on the fields and gardens but for preventing the enemy from getting hold of these vantage points, of which the chapel Madre de DIOS on the BUKIT TJINA hill is very important, while the materials of the Convent of ST. FRANCISCUS are very handy. The Northern and Southern

islands could also be enclosed on the seaside with redoubts 1/6 or ⅛ miles distance from the city walls, but all these should be built in such a way that they could be controlled properly by city posts. The river should also be enclosed by a small redoubt within a gun shot from the city to impress the tumultuous MANICABERS.

THE GUNS.—Of the 48 metal and 8 iron guns that are at present in Malacca all those damaged and the heaviest should be dismantled.

In my opinion the city should be provided with 43 guns of 6, 8, 12, 18 and 24 lbs. shells (from those at the fortress and on the ships) to be placed as follows:

At the gate of FREDERIK HENRIK	.. ..	8 pieces.
„ „ corner of MAURITIUS	.. .. ..	2 „
„ „ angle WILHELMUS	.. .. ..	5 „
„ „ gate HENRIETTE LOUISE	.. ..	6 „
„ „ angle AEMELIA	.. ..	7 „
„ „ gate VICTORIA	.. ..	6 „
„ „ steps of ST. DOMINGO	.. .. ..	1 „
„ „ steps of CASIMIER	.. .. ..	2 „
„ „ City gate	.. ..	2 „
„ „ battery which should be placed on top of the church of ST. PAULUS	..	2 „
„ „ towers of the Castle	.. .. ..	2 „
Total	..	43 pieces.

For the handling of these guns a master-at-arms, two guards and 24 marksmen are necessary. Gun carriages are needed for most of the guns, because the SPANISH ones are bulky and too heavy for use. These carriages should be covered with ATAP as a protection from rain.

THE TRANSPORTATION OF USELESS GUNS.—A strong ship with energetic sailors and proper instruments are necessary to transport the heavy and damaged guns to *Batavia*. Lazy and insufficient crew cannot handle these heavy pieces. About 30 or 60 strong sailors are required together with a good pulley, a cover, two strong carts, 8 to 10 tackle beams with metal rollers, a good supply of ropes, 4 to 5 jack screws, a few hand spokes, 4 supports to prop up the masts of the ship. If a well manned ship happens to be passing its crew could be used to load the unserviceable guns and replace them with lighter ones, in which way their shipment to Batavia will be facilitated.

THE NECESSARY GARRISON.—In consideration of the extensive area of Malacca and its numerous watch posts at least 460 men will be necessary for the maintenance of domination on sea and land as before. This force can be stationed as follows:

At the water gate in the Principal Watch ..	60	men.
At the CURAS or Frederik Henrik	40	,,
At the WILHELMINA	40	,,
To the South of Land gate	30	,,
At the HENRIETTE LOUISE	40	,,
At the AMELIA	50	,,
At the VICTORIA	40	,,
Near the ships of ST. DOMINGO	15	,,
On the ships of CASIMIER	20	,,
At the Residence of the Governor, who will occupy the old Fort	25	,,
At the various gates for the purpose of patrolling on land and sea	40	,,
Total ..	400	men.

With this force the city can be safely occupied, but in time of war, siege, sickness and epidemic (to which the inhabitants of Malacca are very liable) the garrison must be reinforced from Batavia. When trade expands and the population of the *Portugese,* the MESTIES, the BLACKS, the CHINESE and the MALAYS increase, the garrison can then be augmented by another 100 men. The principal stores and houses must be temporarily repaired because the Company's goods will be spoilt if not well protected. Moreover the Company's servants, especially those concerned in commerce, must be quartered near the water gate, and consequently a great number of houses must be repaired. This will be to the advantage of the Company in the future.

HOW THE CHURCHES CAN BE UTILIZED.—The cracked parts of the Cathedral must be demolished and the remaining part converted into an arsenal as it is conveniently situated for the Castle, the Curas and the Water gate.

THE MISERICORDIA.—The church can be used for our reformed Christian Religion and it is conveniently situated low near the Castle. The garden of the Misericordia can be made into recreation grounds for the Governor and the Senior Officers.

ST. PAULUS.—This church can be used only on Feast days because it is situated on a hill and it is difficult to hold daily services there.

THE CONVENT OF THE JESUITS is well adapted for school and library as it is in a secluded and quiet place.

ST. DOMINGO.—The church and convent should be converted into a hospital but the church and the best cells must be repaired and roofed. It is the most suitable place for a hospital, because of its extensive level grounds, its spacious gardens, and its proximity to the river. One of the houses near the land gate should be converted into a hospital for the poor MALACCANS and the slaves.

ST. ANTHONIO should be made into a boarding house for the Company's slaves.

THE FRANCISCAN CONVENT.—The best portion of this convent could be repaired and made into a residence and let out with its beautiful COURT YARDS as a pleasure ground, for which it is exceptionally well adapted.

N. S. DE GUADALOUPE and ST. JERONIMO.—Out of all the parish churches only these two can be repaired, because they are built of stone. They are of no use to the Company unless they are made into residences.

THE PORTUGESE and CHINESE INHABITANTS.—The white PORTUGESE and the mestics could be permitted to reside in the city, provided they live apart in a special street, quarter or block.

The 3 to 400 *Chinese shop-keepers* crafts-men and farmers could also be allowed to settle down at their own convenience, provided they cultivate the gardens within their territory. They can hire or occupy those empty houses which can be saved from collapse or destruction. As it is dangerous to allow a great number of foreigners to crowd in a weakly garrisoned place, admission within the city walls should be rigidly refused to all inhabitants and foreigners.

THE NORTHERN SUBURB BANDAR MALACCA.—These places could be cleared up to accommodate all foreign traders, the PORTUGESE, the MALACCANS, the CHINESE fishermen, and farmers, while the ruined gardens and orchards could be replanted.

THE SOUTHERN SUBURB OR BANDAR ILHIR.—Here the black citizens of Malacca, the farmers and the fishermen could be quartered alongside the strand. The gradually rising ground could be cleared, new buildings built and the ruined gardens cultivated.

THE MORASS near ST. JUAN hill (which causes unhealthiness in Malacca) should be lent to CHINESE for the cultivation of rice and fruit trees, on condition that they dig and drain it with an outlet towards the sea. This will fill up all the stinking holes and will undoubtedly purify the air. Such an undertaking is not impossible considering that these marshy grounds have been used mostly as rice fields even at the time of the Portugese.

A CANAL IS NECESSARY.—A canal should be dug round the city about 6 roods wide and of the same depth, not only for

its safety but as a drainage for the surrounding marshy grounds. By the evacuation of the stinking water the morass will dry up and the infectious air will be purified. When the outlet has been closed by a sluice, the rapid flow of water will undoubtedly widen the passage making it very convenient for small vessels to pass through.

CULTIVATION OF RAVAGED LAND BY CHINESE.—The ruined gardens between the river BOEKIT TJINA and the southern suburbs should be lent to NETHERLANDERS, PORTUGESE, MALACCANS and CHINESE to be cultivated and in due time these will become valuable lands for the Company to lease out. The city will be well provided with all kinds of fruit, and the fine agriculture will be saved from further decay. For this some 800 to 1,000 CHINESE settlers would be very useful. The PORTUGESE government (following the example of MANILHA) realised this and tried the experiment, but the selfishness of MALACCA burghers prevented it.

THE ORCHARD, MEADOWS AND THE RICE FIELDS.—On both banks of the river, those bordering the city, and alongside the sea and the rivers PANAGY and KASSANG the land should be lent to MALACCANS on condition that it be replanted and cultivated to prevent further destruction. With the increase of the population these lands can be leased profitably by the Company.

RIGHT OF OWNERSHIP.—The company should retain the right of ownership over all landed properties, houses, gardens, orchards, pasture ground and rice fields, without giving away or selling anything in the first 2 or 3 years, in order to gain experience in the meantime as to the future trade of Malacca and the most advantageous way of utilizing these properties. In our opinion the best policy is to give all the houses, landed properties, and grounds on loan to the inhabitants of Malacca without distinction of nationality for a certain period, after which a rent should be paid at the fa'ir price. In this way the Company would reap good benefit from the conquest of *Malacca*.

NANING and RINGY.—These two villages should be governed exactly as at the time of the PORTUGESE by a decent Tommagon without cancelling any of the old privileges or customs enjoyed by the vassal inhabitants, but rather relieving them of some of their minor obligations by way of privileges in order to win them over and so help the places to become more populated rather than depopulate them by frightening them with punishment for old mistakes. No new style of government should be introduced especially in the initial stage, because according to wise politicians such alterations are harmful. They say it is a fixed rule that when a Prince wishes to change an old manner of government he can only do so slowly, and then the new regime should resemble the old at least in appearance.

MOAR AND ROMBOU.—The usual good relations shauld be retained with these villages, (which have been vassals of the kingdom of JOHORE) and the members well treated,—if possible, even better than at the time of the PORTUGESE without imposing on them any new taxes or obstructing their trade. The neighbouring KALANG, PERAK, RACCAN, BANCALIS, CAMPHAR, SIAK and especially the subjects of the King of JOHORE and generally all the foreigners should be treated with consideration while the RADJA GILA (now the regent of Moar) should be given small gifts now and then.

ROMBOU should not be frightened with threats for its past misdeeds. On the contrary she should be enticed with friendly treatment. When Malacca becomes stronger and more notable, it will, in our opinion, be easier to demand restitution. The old right of closing the river PANAGY should be maintained, in order that MALACCA may derive full benefit from that place and the neighbouring places as at the time of the PORTUGESE.

SUGGESTED IMPROVEMENTS IN MALACCA'S GOVERNMENT.—For the improvement of the government the following points should be considered:

The Members of the Council.—The standing of the members of the Council should be improved. Besides, the Fiscal and the Senior Merchants should be maintained in the offices usual with other governments. A COUNCIL OF JUSTICE should be established consisting of the members of the above Council, qualified officers of the Company and the most prominent citizens. The Governor should act as President and the upper merchant as Vice-President, who in the absence of the Governor could give decisions regarding minor affairs. The Council should hold meetings 2 or 3 times in the week in order to attend to all criminal and civil matters briefly and efficiently (through the ordinary train of justice) and to administer justice within MALACCA with the desired respect and regularity. The sittings should take place at the residence of the Governor or the Fiscal and also in the Camera or Town Hall. When the Castle has been repaired, the prison house can serve as residence for the Mighty ones.

A chief for the Portugese burgher.

A Procurator or chief should be appointed from among the prominent PORTUGESE burghers in place of Captain DIEGO KESIO to govern the remaining PORTUGESE burghers and the MESTICS under the direction of the Governor. To give the person more importance, he could be used at the Council of Justice for special work as for instance in matters of fines. He, Captain ALEXANDER MENDES and the other Captain could appear in Court by turns, whenever there is a trial of the MALACCANS or black burghers.

The Status of the Procuradors.—To obviate all illegal actions, these Captains or Chiefs of the black burghers should serve as mere proctors or attorneys and not as governors. All they should

do is to keep a close watch on the territory and its inhabitants assigned to them and give the necessary information to the Governor, or the Fiscal or the Bailiff.

The Official Assignee.—An office should be established as in Batavia managed by two Netherlanders and a Portugese in order to prevent the prevailing fashion of taking booty out of infected houses. These people can hold their meetings at the Town Hall.

The Office of Bandara should be revised when trade and population increase. For the time being the Shahbandar or somebody else can attend to foreigners.

Security of Property.—To pacify the PORTUGESE and black burghers, placards should be posted in the name of the Governor General declaring that all inhabitants may retain their possessions and properties in safety. Such a declaration will make them more confident and they will start working for their living and the place will prosper.

By way of stopping public and secret search, which is detrimental to the welfare of the place, it could be mentioned in the same placard that as an exception the Company retains her right to all hidden treasure.

We would not point to other corrections which are necessary (as it is outside our province) in Malacca's administration, but we leave matters to your Excellency's provident wisdom and wide experience to remedy.

Church Affairs should be conducted quietly and peacefully on the same lines as hitherto, following the BATAVIA usage, for the glory of God, for the edification of human life and for the salvation of the soul. As to the conversion of stray Roman Christians and other religious questions, we leave this to those who are more competent by reason of their profession. We would only point out that it would be a good thing (useful and necessary) to remove gently all the remaining superstitious relics of the Roman religion which cause annoyance to us, the reformed Christians, and make the Papists persevere in their blindness. But in my opinion some pictures of real miracles etc. could very well remain at their places in the temple.

The Customs Duty which has been customary since the time of the Portugese should be continued for various reasons. The duty should not have been raised (from 9 to 10 per cent.) but now that it is changed should remain, as it will not harm Malacca's trade very much: only rice and all eatables should become free of duty as before.

Owing to the poor trade and small imports the Customs duty could be collected by the Shahbandar for the time being without having a Collector. The Counter-registers could be kept by the Junior Merchant or his assistant, and the weekly receipts could

be handed over to the Cashier. The Shahbandar must stay near the water gate and keep a raft near the bridge at the Northern suburbs to control the traffic of all foreigners (as much as possible) from the city.

Reflection on Policy of Coercion.—It would be a great advantage for MALACCA's trade and revenue and profitable for the Company if all Indian vessels were made to call at that port. Moreover it would cause the whole Orient to respect the Netherland's State, but coercion will create antipathy amongst many nations, wherefore it is questionable if such a policy is at all advisable. It is my opinion that we could make concessions or look through the fingures for countries where the Company has an office, but otherwise we must maintain an Armada de rima for the maintenance of our might and reputation and our dominion on sea must be real. Within a few years all ORIENTAL nations will pay homage to us as they used to do formerly to the Portugese, and in time to come our dominion will be extended over all neighbouring kingdom along the sea coast.

The Portugese Custom in Regard to Deserters.—The example and maxim of the cunning ROMULUS in respect of all deserters or fugitives should be strictly followed in order to increase the population of Malacca.

The Piracy of Salettes.—In order to stop piracy by the MALAYS and MANICABER SALETTES an armada de rima of some shallops, jelias and bantings should be maintained both for offensive and defensive purposes to visit the adjacent coasts, bays, harbours and rivers and also surrounding islands in search of pirates, who when captured should be taken to Malacca and either shot there to cause terror to others or sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for life. Such exemplary punishments will soon stop the daring robbery by these Malays. The king of *Johore* or *Lexamana* should also be warned to put a stop to all robbing by the subjects or otherwise suffer the Netherlands to punish them. Without such measures the people in Malacca will always be subject to this plague.

Fleet for the Defence of Malacca.—To maintain the supremacy of the sea, keep a watch on all Indian vessels and force them to call at Malacca, to close up the river Panagy, to guard the Southern coast of Malaya for the tin trade and to prevent piracy by the Saletters, to hinder, entrap and capture enemy ships passing from GOA, BENGAL, COROMANDEL, MACASSAR, MACAO, MANILLA, etc., to prevent enemy attacks on the city and to resist their approaching forces; also to establish dominion in the Southern part of the Orient, as the PORTUGESE did with smaller forces, and generally to keep in fear Indian Princes (especially those alongside the sea coasts), a fairly strong fleet should be maintained near

Malacca under a vigilant commander and it should comprise the following vessels:

A big Man-of-war having 30 guns and a crew of 70.

2 ordinary good yachts, each provided with 20 guns and a crew of 50.

2 light yachts, each with 16 guns and 40 men.

3 Shallops one of them like the AMBOINA, each carrying 2 Prince guns and 4 stones pieces, manned with 10 Netherlanders and 10 black oarsmen.

2 jelias, each mounted with light guns and 10 " bases," having a crew of 10 Netherlanders and 26 black oarsmen.

3 bantings, each with 6 " bases " and a crew of 6 Netherlanders and 12 black oarsmen.

In all 318 Netherlanders, 130 black oarsmen, 112 cannons, 12 stone guns and 38 light guns—with all necessary war materials and provisions. It is inadvisable to keep a smaller fleet for the present and as long as an enemy attack is anticipated.

Out of the fleet the biggest Shallops, 2 jelias and 2 bantings should remain always in the vicinity of Malacca in order to have vessels passing through and to keep the coasts and the islands clear. In time these vessels should join our ships which should be cruising around Cape of RACHADO or at the mouth of the BROUWERS Straits or near Poeloe TIMOAN (according to the seasons) and other likely places in search of all kinds of vessels, and especially of the richly loaded " navetas " of the enemy.

Peace with the Indian Princes.—Peace and friendship should not only be maintained with all the neighbouring Princes, but these relations should be more consolidated by all respectable means. Always upholding the prestige of the State. The relations should be particularly friendly with the crowns of ACHIN and JOHOR owing to the Company's position in Malacca and for future prosperity in trade. Moreover the treaty of friendship concluded with the King of JOHOR and his Prime Minister. LAXAMANA should be observed sacredly in spite of the fact that these plucky MALAYS sometimes overstep their limits a bit by reason of their inconsistency and untrustworthiness, because their friendship is very much needed in view of Malacca's present weak state and the possibility of an assault by our enemy. We are absolutely convinced that if the PORTUGESE had been on friendly terms with the JOHORITES, MALACCA would never have suffered such a dreadful famine. We need not fear such a possibility, but it is wise to reflect over it. It is not at all our idea that the JOHORITES should be allowed to default when the prestige and reputation of the Netherlands State and its Company are involved, but we think it more advisable to bring pressure on them for the fulfilment of their obligations by tactful administration for which we have great faith in the Governor of Malacca.

Having written fully as to the administration of MALACCA and the policy to be followed, we now turn to the most important item namely the COMMERCE of MALACCA and how it could be revived speedily.

The prosperity of Malacca and the revival of its trade depend on two things.

Firstly, the speedy repopulation of the city and its territory whereby the houses will be occupied and the ravaged land will be cultivated again and the Company will derive the benefit.

Secondly, (and this is the most important factor) the re-organization of trade and traffic will increase the inhabitants, augment revenues, make the city prosper and bring the Company the desired profits.

We will express our opinion briefly in regard to the two principal remedies, pointing out the most advantageous way for the Company to follow:

Repopulation.—To people the city and its resorts speedily and to obtain revenues from residents, cultivation, rents, leases, tithes and other taxes, the following points should be carefully considered:

Open Door for all Indian Nationalities.—The city of Malacca and its territory should be open to all INDIAN nationalities who seek to earn an honest living there. These people should be governed with justice and equity, enjoying freedom of religion (in fact, of conscience) without being taxed in any way more than our own citizens.

Transporting Useless Portugese.—The majority of the remaining Portugese burghers, especially, old people and widows (and those who do not work for an honest living) who are of no advantage should be sent to GOA or other places by the first opportunity or otherwise these lazy wretched people will shortly need looking after.

The Treatment of the Malaccans.—The Malaccans or the black citizens must be governed by civil laws. They should not be made to work on the fortifications, (which they dread) nor should they be forced to join in campaigns (unless for defensive purposes), so that they may give themselves to agriculture and other honest means of living. This policy will induce the fugitives from NANING, RINGY and ROMBOU, who often run away from duty, to return to their homes.

The Exercise of the Roman Religion.—To encourage the present inhabitants to settle down to honest work and to get them attached to the Netherlands State, moreover to entice traders and their consorts and to facilitate the surrender of other hostile places, the public exercise of Roman Catholic religion should be permitted in a chapel or Hermitage, but under certain conditions similar to

those laid down with success in BRAZIL, PARIBA, GUIANA? and other places by the West Indian Company. It can be demonstrated by many examples that the exercise of different religions in a well organized state is feasible, as for instance in GERMANY, BOHEMIA, HUNGARY and other places where it has been practiced for many years successfully, and in FRANCE, and POLAND where it is still being practiced. But in order not to seem presumptuous in my argument on such an important matter (a matter for scholars only) I shall refer your Excellencies to chapters of history where this important point has been discussed politically, of which the Chronicle of SLEYDANUS is not the least important. Our compatriot VAN METEREN has dealt extensively with this subject in his history of the Religious peace (which was concluded under the government of Archduke MATHIAS at ANTWERP and introduced in BRABAND, FLANDERS and other places). However our chief aim in referring to this matter, is to see that MALACCA (captured at great cost of material and men) becomes a profitable asset instead of a white elephant for the Company. We are also of the same opinion as your Excellency that this proposal will have far reaching effect and may prove dangerous for our states but *is* there anything *profitable or useful that could be obtained without trouble or danger?* There is no certainty, that this experiment will bring prosperity to Malacca, but it should be given a good trial for a year or two.

The Monopolies.—All the inhabitants and the foreigners should be absolutely free to deal in merchandise and provisions, provided they pay the customary dues. Further all monopolies and unfair dealings should be cancelled and stopped but the Company should retain the monopoly of trade in piece-goods and the purchase of all spices, tin, sandal-wood, and other profitable goods after the manner of the PORTUGESE Governors.

The Market should be kept in proper order as in BATAVIA, so that foreigners may not be frightened away by monopolies (be ruinous to the City's welfare) but on the contrary should be won over by friendly ways and good treatment. Similarly the people from NANING, RINGY, and ROMBOU should be induced to import their fruits.

These are the chief points to be considered in respect of MALACCA'S quick repopulation and its prosperity in the interest of the Company. Further it is imperative that all the surrounding nations such as the MALAYS from JOHORE the people of PERAK, QUEDAH, ACHIN, INDRAGERY, JAMBY, PALEMBANG, SUCCADANA, BORNEO, PAHANG, PATANY, and LIGOR and also those from CORROMANDEL, BENGAL, ARRACAN, PEGU, TANNASARY, SIAM and CAMBODIA should call at this port with all the merchandise. With good treatment these people should be attached to the place.

The Chinese junks.—It would be advisable to impose small, or no, poll tax on the one or two Chinese junks expected to arrive

during this year with all sorts of coarse wares. In short all means should be studied diligently to enlarge the trade of Malacca.

Batavia and Malacca.—By the expansion of trade in Malacca, Batavia will hardly be affected at all, because the people living between these two places will make their voyage according to the monsoons and consequently the diversion of trade to MALACCA will hardly be felt. On the contrary trade in Batavia will henceforth prosper more on account of the Javanese and MALACCAN traders

Investigations for the purpose of re-establishing at least a part of the former trade. Experienced merchants should be consulted and the Company's residents in MALACCA should make careful investigations and observations as to the purchase of the best exportable products. There are no reliable data, as to transactions in the past. What Mr. VAN TWIST has done is unknown to us, but from his letter of the 9th June we can see that he has requested your Excellency to send him orders for the purchase of rice, tin, pepper, cloth and other goods. Again in his letter of the 13th July he asks for a special transport ship to be stationed in the roads to serve as a warehouse. So far there are no instructions, but should it be decided to effect the purchases, arrangements should be made by your Excellency for the payment in cash or by exchange of goods. Particulars of the marketable goods with their approximate prices should be provided. Further it should be carefully considered whether this business will pay enough to cover the expenses of a special transport-ship.

Goods to be Imported.—With the advice of the Portugese merchants a quantity of the most useful and profitable goods could be imported (together with some cash) preferably such assortment of COROMANDEL cloth as is recommended by the KLINGS, who assure us that if all foreigners are allowed free trade, yearly a thousand packets of these goods could be consumed by MALACCA. But for the present we would recommend the following COROMANDEL goods to be ordered as a trial.

	Crusados of ¾ reals.
200 corge inferior saressa width 8 astan, breadth 6 palma usual price in Malacca	65 to 70
160 corge do. of 9 asta and 6 span breadth	120 „ 130
160 corge eurolades or ramboetins of 24 asta and 6 spans	100 „ 105
300 corge or rambutyn mejoors of same width and length	75 „ 80
460 corge coarse rambutins at 24 asta and 6 spans	40 „ 50
200 corge cassa puteh of 32 asta and 5 span	55 „ 60
160 corge cassa merah of 32 asta and 5 span	98 „ 100

		Crusados of ¾ reals.
200	corge white bethiles of 40 asta and 5 span	48 „ 50
160	corge white bethiles of 42 asta and 5 span	25 „ 30
160	corge red bethiles of 40 asta and 5 span	70 „ 80
160	corge olangs preto or salalon item of 8 asta and 5 palma coarse and fine	20 „ 30
120	corge grosso of 8 asta and 5 span	20 „ 25
80	corge rough mouris for turbans of 8 asta and 5 palma	29 „ 30
100	corge fine bolatins of 32 asta and 5 span	55 „ 60
400	corge coarse bolatins of 32 asta and 5 span	40 „ 45
80	corge white bolatins of 24 asta and 5 span	30 „ 35
60	corge patas fine of 8 asta and 5 span	48 „ 50
80	corge mouris preto or Kain Chelupan ..	29 „ 30
60	corge dupetys gandons? black and white and white and red squares of 8 asta and 8 span	50 „ 55
	Nota the course ones cost only	28 „ 30
60	corge oljes perdijs or mataphons? white and black of 8 asta and 5 palma wide	25 „ 30
60	corge chelas brancos with black stripe of 8 asta and 5 span wide	25 „ 30
80	corge buraljes or seamless cloth for women of 5 asta and 5 span	20 „ 25
80	corge chelas regatos of 8 asta and 5 span	25 „ 30

The above goods would cost about 80 thousand reals of 8″ or 204,000 guilders and according to the quoted prices they should realize 50, 60, 70, 80, 90 or even cent per cent. profit. The KLINGS assure us that they have had even bigger profits after deducting 18 per cent. for freight and duty. For various reasons the Company will not expect such huge profit but the above cargo can safely realize about 360,000 guilders considering that the charges will be less than 18% or about 75 per cent. which would mean annually the handsome profit of 156,000 guilders. But before ordering these goods enquiries should be made from experienced PORTUGESE if the proposal is sound.

Goods to be Purchased.—No product should be purchased in MALACCA without your Excellency's orders and export should be only to Batavia. In my opinion the following goods could be exported from Malacca;

Pepper at the price of 25 to 30 reals of 8 per bhaar of 475 lbs. which is about 4¼ to 7½ r° in specie per picol. Higher prices should not be paid, as otherwise the Batavia imports will be adversely effected. Tin at about 70 crusados the bhaar or 13 ordinary reals per picol.

Gold dust from CAMPHAR, sometimes in bars, usually with an alloy of 8½ mat at the price of about 28 crusados per tael weighing about an ounce and 9 drachms or about 18 crusados or 11 reals an ounce.

Aquil wood, which is divided into three assortments as in other places, ordinary CABESSA is worth 2 crusados, the BARIGA 4 to 5 tanga and the PEE 2 to 2½ tanga per katti of 1¾ lbs.

Bezoar stone, which is imported from BORNEO in large quantities. Price varies according to size and quality so that it must be bought cautiously.

Pedras de porca spinjo come from SIAK and RACCAN, but in small number, they are sold at 20 to 100, 150 and even 200 crusados if they are of exceptionally rare quality. Elephant tusks, and Rhinoceros horns, but in small quantities. Prices are uncertain but they could be exported to MACAO or CHINA and sold there profitably.

Rice, if the crops of the adjacent lands are good and the imports in MALACCA exceed consumption.

We do not think that for the present there are any articles that could be handled profitably except some cloves and sandal wood imported here from MACASSAR. Time the great teacher will reveal that soon.

Following the example of the PORTUGESE Governors the Company should hold the monopoly of such articles as pepper, spices, sandal wood and tin, and also the principal lines in cloth and other profitable imported goods, but these should be handled at reasonable prices allowing the community to get their share of profit.

Tin.—The tin trade of PERAK, QUEDAH, OEDJONGSALANG, BANGARY and the whole of the MALAYAN South west coast could be directed from MALACCA as the PORTUGESE used to do with only one factory in PERAK, whose King had contracted to deliver all tin that was dug out in that country. It would be a good thing if the Company's territory could be cleared of MOORS, GENTYOS, and PORTUGESE because not only would more tin be secured but also large quantities of cloth could be marketed. It would be easy to bring pressure on the King of that land to follow this course, but it is feared that it would create ill feeling on the COROMANDEL coast and in BENGAL.

We cannot write more about the reorganization of Malacca's trade. What is lacking in this report can be investigated by experienced men and the Company's servants.

The Measures and Weight which have been and are still in use in MALACCA should be continued.

The Currency.—The values of the Netherlands and PORTUGESE currencies as publicly notified should be maintained with the exception of the XERAFIJNS which (according to their intrinsic value) should be valued at 8 to 5 tangas. The Gold currency should be readjusted because it is fixed unreasonably low and out of all proportions, the cause of which is easier conjectured than said. It is good that the gold crusado is valued slightly lower than the old parity (owing to lower alloy) in order to prevent its exportation to Coromandel as was ordered before by General LOUIS MARTINS DE SOUZA for the benefit of the King. When the scheme of lowering the alloy has materialized all old crusados should be withdrawn as otherwise it is certain that some greedy people will export the gold from MALACCA by the first opportunity to COROMANDEL or other places. The same is to be feared as regards the ST. THOMAS coins and the ducats, as their valuation is hardly above their intrinsic value.

The Basaroucos stamped with the Company's mark, should continue in circulation for the convenience of the poorer class and slaves and if necessary new ones should be minted. This coin of inferior quality and small value cannot prejudice the Sovereignty of the United Provinces nor harm it because the conquest of MALACCA is new and its old laws and customs are not withdrawn yet.

Some Important Suggestions.—Before concluding, we should like to make a few more suggestions to your Excellencies for the welfare of MALACCA, hoping that these will be duly considered.

The Yachts Blijswijk, Veenhuizen, Vos, Den Draak and Niew-Malacca which need repairs, should be sent to Batavia in the beginning of the West monsoon and be replaced by other yachts. A number of carpenters should be sent here to repair Shallops and Jelias and to patch up the PORTUGESE yachts, in order that they may be sent to BATAVIA at the end of the monsoon to be repaired.

The Garrison should be reinforced as suggested above.

Workmen.—In order to repair the fortifications, houses and churches, and for other necessary works and for the purpose of maintaining a corps de garde a good number of masons and carpenters, 2 or 3 Stone-cutters and at least 20 to 40 pairs of chained convicts are required in Malacca. Further a good quantity of lime is necessary without which the fortifications cannot be repaired in a year. Many houses will collapse and churches will go into ruins, and the garrison will suffer sickness and mortality on account of unhealthy accommodation.

Provisions and Outfit.—MALACCA should be provided by the first opportunity with such provisions, medicines, implements and tools for smiths, carpenters, masons, furnishers, and gun makers and also such outfit for the cruising yachts as can be seen from

the list prepared at our suggestions. What may have been shipped by the flyboat UITGEEST is excluded. If more things may be wanted, it is advisable to refer to the Governor JOHAN VAN TWIST first.

Conclusion of Our Suggestions.—We have had to make many suggestions in regard to the consolidation and improvement of the government, the increasing trade and other urgent matters for the welfare of MALACCA and for the benefit of the Company. And if we have been bold in our expression here and there, or if we have made any useless proposals, we humbly request you to put it down to our over-enthusiasm and zeal.

General Conclusion of Our Report.—Our narrative is ended. We have related deduced and explained in detail everything we have been able to investigate and discover and also what we could foresee, in respect of the past, present and future of MALACCA. We wish we had been more concise in our account but it was impossible. Further we hope that your Council will not be displeased with our mission, in which case we shall not mind malicious censors (time may reform them) but pray to the Almighty that what we have written here may conduce to His Glory, to the propagation of the true religion, to the service of our fatherland, to the profit of the Company and to the satisfaction of your honourable persons, who are seated at the helm of the INDIAN republic.

Grant this O Holy Eternity.

Written on board the yacht of war FRANEKER on the voyage to BATAVIA from MALACCA.

By your gentlemen's and the Company's servant,

Sd. J. Schouten.

Presented at the meeting of the Council of INDIA on the 7th September A° 1641.

NOTES.

1. J. HAGEMAN, Jz. History of the capture of MALACCA and the wars between the PORTUGESE and the MALAYS. Treatise on the Batavia Society of Arts and Science, volume XXIV, 1852, page 4.
2. Ibidem, page 21.
3. Essay on the United Netherlands State in different parts of East Indies by J. PIETERSZ COEN.

   CHRONICLE Histor. Society in UTRECHT, 1853, page 98.
4. Description of MALACCA, p. 338, Valentijn Old and New East India, Volume V, chapter I.
5. Ibid, page 339.
6. INTERCEPTED PORTUGESE letters. CHRONICLE Histor. Society in UTRECHT, 1853, page 34.
7. CORNELIS SEMONSZ VAN DER VEER born probably at VEERE in ZEELAND, came to INDIA as skipper on the ship UTRECHT on the 14th July, 1632. He fought the Portugese at the important battle of GOA on the 30th September, 1639, setting on fire three of their biggest galeots. He was killed in the same year on the 6th of December on the river CARLY, while pursuing the enemy. Year Book ZEELAND, 1856.
8. He died on the 3rd of April, 1640. He was born at Middelburgh.
9. Missive by the Governor-General and Council of India on 21st July, 1636 to Barent Pietersz, Director in SURATTE.
10. From the latter to the former d. 17th February, 1637.
11. Battle off GOA under ADAM WESTERWOLD on the 4th January, 1638.
12. Missive, by the Governor-General and Council of India d. 21st August, 1637, to the Director in SURATTE, BARENT PIETERSZ.
13. As above dated on the 18th September, 1637.
14. Missive by CORNELIUS SYMONSZ. VAN DER VEER, dated 12th December, 1637, to the Governor-General. See Appendix I.
15. See 12.
16. Missive by Governor-General and Council of India d. 8th November, 1638, to ANTHONY CEEN, Commander of the offensive fleet at GOA.
17. As above.
18. Missive by Governor-General and Council of India d. 1st March, 1639, to the Director in SURATTE, BARENT PIETERSZ.
19. He had the command of the offensive fleet at GOA in the year 1636.

20. See 7.

21. Missive by the Governor-General and Council of India, dated 25th August, 1639, to the Directors in SURATTE, BARENT PIETERSZ.

22. Missive by PHILIP LUCASZ, Director-General d. 9th January, 1640, to the Council of the Seventeen at AMSTERDAM.

23. Instructions by PHILIP LUCASZ. to the Commander JACOB COOPER d. 21st October, 1639.

24. As President of CEYLON killed on the 21st August, 1640.

25. NICOLAES MOLINEUS was at his request placed in the fleet under the command of the Director-General PHILIP LUCASZ. He died on his return voyage to Batavia on board the yacht ZANTVOORT in May, 1640.

26. Missive by the Director-General PHILIP LUCASZ, on 22nd October, 1639, to the Governor-General and Council of INDIA.

27. See 23.

28. See 7.

29. See the Year Book ZEELAND 1855 about this meritorious Zeeuw.

30. This highly meritorious Warior was present already as Captain, at the second siege of BATAVIA where he was wounded on the 20th September, 1629.

Lectures on the language, Country and People of Netherlands India, Vol. III, p. 289.

31. See the second part of his narrative about the past and present state of MALACCA, page 288, published separately.

32. Missive by ADRIAEN ANTHONISZ and PIETER VAN DER BROOKE, d. the 15th October, 1640, to the Commander DOMINICUS BOUWENS at GOA.

33. See about their second sojourn in INDIA some particulars in the NIEUWENHUIS Dictionary new Edition 1854, 2nd Volume, page 189.

34. He was sent to ACHIN on the 10th April, 1640, to negotiate with the Prince for auxiliaries which he had promised to the Company.

35. Missive by the Governor-General and the Council of India, d. 4th August, 1640, to ADRIAEN ANTONISZ. and the Council of Malacca.

36. As above d. 13th September, 1640.

37. See the Missives in Appendix III.

38. Missive by the Governor-General and Council of India, d. 11th October, 1640, to ADRIAEN ANTONISZ. and the Council of MALACCA.

39. Missive by ADRIAEN ANTONISZ. and the Council of MALACCA to the Governor-General and Council of India, dated 1st October, 1640.

40. NEGOMBO was captured by the Director-General PHILIP LUCASZ, on the 9th February, 1640, and PUNTO DE GALE, on the 13th March of same year by WILLEM JACOBSZ. COSTER for the Company.

41. The old BON JESUS was set on fire by CORNELIS SYMONSZ, on the 30th of September, 1639, near GOA.

42. This shows that the praise accorded to him generally should be discounted. This is also to be seen in the book entitled "NETHERLANDERS at JACATRA," page 98, by Dr. J. A. VAN DER CHIJS, Amsterdam, by FREDERIK MULLEN, 1860.

43. Missive by the Governor-General and Council of India, d. 30th October, 1640, to ADRIAEN ANTONISZ. and the Council of Malacca.

44. Missive by ADRIAEN ANTONISZ. and the Council of Malacca, d. 20th October, 1640, to the Governor-General and the Council of India.

45. As above d. 9th November, 1640.

46. Missive by the Commander JACOB COOPER, dated 9th November, 1640, to the Governor-General.

47. Missive by the Governor-General and Council of India to the Council of the Seventeen, dated 8th January, 1641.

48. As above dated 31st January, 1641.

49. Same as above.

50. Missive by the Governor JOHAN VAN TWIST and the Commissary JUSTUS SCHOUTEN, dated 17th February, 1641.

51. Private Missive by the Commissary JUSTUS SCHOUTEN, dated 19th February, 1641, to the Governor-General.

52. Missive by the Governor-General and Council of India, dated 12th December, 1641, to the Council of the Seventeen.

53. This meritorious servant of the Company returned the following year as Vice-Commander of the returning fleet and died in AMSTERDAM in 1644.

He came to India as marksman on the ship GOUDA in 1623. On the 22nd of March, 1627 he was appointed skipper. He returned home again and afterwards came out to India on the 16th of September, 1632 as Commander of the LEEUWIN. He joined in many important expeditions and was present at the great battle of GOA against the PORTUGESE on the 4th January, 1638 (a glorious day for the Hollanders) as the Commander of the ship's GRAVENHAGE.

APPENDICES.

I. Missive by CORNELIS SIMONSZ. VAN DER VEER to the Governor-General ANTONIE VAN DIEMEN, dated the 12th December, 1637.

II. Commission for Major ADRIAEN ANTONISZ., dated the 19th May, 1640.

III. Instructions for same.

IV. Deed for the Commander PIETER VAN DEN BROEKE as 3rd person, dated 4th August, 1640.

V. Intercepted Portuguese Letters.

VI. Missive by the Governor-General and Council of India to the EX-COMMANDER JACOB COOPER, dated 11th October, 1640.

VII. Idem. to the Commissary JOHAN DE MEER of the same date.

VIII. Idem. to PIETER VAN DEN BROEKE, same date.

IX. Muster-rol of the Army and Navy at MALACCA, on the 20th October, 1640.

X. Proclamation by order of Commander CAERTEKOE, dated the 13th January, 1641.

XI. List of guns at the fortress of MALACCA.

a. According to another list.

XII. Decree, dated the 14th January, 1641 by which everything found in the city was declared as booty with the exception of the guns and ammunition.

XIII. An account of expended booty money, by Commander CAERTEKOE.

XIV. Statement of cash money, gold, silver bars, etc. found in the city of MALACCA after the capture, and partly sent to Batavia.

Appendix I.

Noble, Valiant, Wise, most provident Honourable ANTONIO VAN DIEMEN Governor-General and His Excellency's Council of INDIA.

Honourable Sir,

I beg to state respectfully the following: After completing my mission on the 2nd instant to the King (of Johor), excepting the missive which we were to hand over on the third. I was asked by the King to make merry with him on that day, and although I tried to be excused, yet I was obliged to attend a banquet, dances and performances by his wives who were quite experienced in such matters. Meanwhile the King assured us that next to God he placed his trust in His Excellency the Governor-General and the Gentlemen of the Council of INDIA to re-establish the declined kingdom of JOHOR or BATASOUWER[1] as they call it. To which we replied that he could rest assured that His Excellency and the Council would give him every assistance against the PORTUGESE even at the sacrifice of their last gun and ship, in consideration of former friendship shown by his forefathers towards our people when they first came out to INDIA and also in the war along with MATELIEFF against MALACCA. He was very pleased to hear this and he showed us a son of RADJA BONSU who was about 16 or 17 years of age. RADJA BONSU had fought alongside MATELIEFF until at last he died on TAMBELAN islands where the present King aged 22 was then proclaimed JANG DI PERTOEAN. The present King is the son of RADJA RAJU, who was killed in Achin for not helping the ACHINESE to fight the PORTUGESE. After his death the above mentioned RADJA BONSU succeeded to the throne marrying a sister of the late King of Achin: he affronted the Achinese by sending her back to Achin and was persecuted until finally he died in the Tambelan islands.

The present King has inherited the Kingdom of his Uncle and after his death the son of RADJA BONSU who was shown us will succeed him. RADJA MOEDAH and RADJA SIA are step brothers, both sons of BONSU TOUP....., and the mother of the present King are sister and brothers' children. And the MAHARADJA who is ruler of KAMPAR is Toop....'s brother-in-law (wife's brother). DATOE BANDANA, King of OENGARANG, PADOEKA RADJA of BOELANGH, the RADJA TOEAH..... and the present King of ACHIN are real brothers and sisters' children, while the newly elected King of PERAK is the King of Achin's nephew (brother's son) whose forefather was king of PAHANG.

The above mentioned King of SIA and the present King in PATANI are likewise sister and brother's children, with whose daughters (the latter's?) the present King of JOHOR is married. So the above mentioned are all blood relations and have combined

[1] Also written Batoesouwer and Batoe Sabar.

to stand up against the PORTUGESE if the Netherlanders will assist them. (This is very important and will mean profitable business, if Malacca is ruined). So I did not hesitate to distribute all the small things, got from our enemies, among prominent persons as well as the humble people. This action warmed their hearts towards us especially as the DATU LAXAMANA had also advised them to be friendly with us. He has always been an instrument against the PORTUGESE and a TRUE FRIEND OF HOLLAND, and should therefore be treated with consideration, as I have written before, because it would be to our advantage. Any doubtful servants and vessels in Johore belong to LAXAMANA and even the King of Johore has got to ask LAXAMANA for the use of vessels he may require.

LAXAMANA assisted the late King BONSU (in his flight to TAMBELAN islands, where he died) as well as the present King who was crowned in the same islands. It should not be forgotten, that during the last campaign of the ACHINESE with their Armada, the present King took refuge in MALACCA and for three months enjoyed the hospitality of that place, until later he was found out by us, but we must entice him with gifts and friendliness which usually serve to make people forget old grievances. We can trust in LAXAMANA, and this prey cannot escape falling into our hands sooner or later. We pray that you will consider their reasonable demands, especially that of LAXAMANA who fears he will have many enemies.

We courteously asked leave to depart and His Majesty kindly promised to view the ship the next morning. We had therefore to stay there for the day although each day was like a year for us. I was then presented with a kris with a gold handle to the value of 30 or 40 reals according to their estimate, and a ring worth 3 or 4 reals and another one of 2 or 3 reals. In the morning we went ashore in order to accompany His Majesty to the ship and although it was raining hard like the two previous days (which they considered to be very good) we accompanied him on board, when according to custom we presented him with the following— one gold ring set with ruby worth 30 reals, which was mine; a roll of damask, which was meant for my own clothing; a quantity of sandal-wood with some musk, which I had kept for a long time, 200 shots, 200 lbs. of gun powder, 2 broad swords, 3 renewed pikes, 1 fire-lock (costing 9 reals) and a jack screw which is still in use in the fleet. Further we offered the young Monarch a golden ring set with sapphire, which had been presented to me in Achin, valued at 40 to 50 reals, and to the other dignatories some sandal wood and musk as we had done on landing when we gave them each some SARASSE Malay, Gobart and Tapans cloth according to their rank. To LAXAMANA we gave a small cabinet and a mirror costing 9 reals and to the King's Mother a small Japanese cabinet costing 20 reals. All these offerings have been made in the hope that before long the Company will reap benefit and we

trust our action will be appreciated by your Excellency. We have no doubt that the Ambassador will go back quite pleased and will speak highly of the treatment received at your Excellency's hands. I have given out as my opinion that his reception will be the same as if the king were present personally. We trust your Excellency will send him back with one or two yachts together with such instructions as your Excellency may think fit.

While we were sailing with the King, an Ambassador of SIAM came to him, with whom His Majesty spoke. He told us that his Ambassador to Achin, also the newly elected King of PERAK and an Ambassador of Achin together with the others, were on their way, coming with 9 armed "gorab's"; the six fusts from Malacca were also passing the same way and it was feared that they must have been attacked on account of the delay. He also said that many people had fled from PERAK overland to QUEDAH for fear of the Achinese. For this reason, we must send them two yachts as soon as possible as directed before. Yes, it is true that in MALACCA four gantangs Amsterdam lbs. rice is sold for a real. They do not hesitate to attack the JAVANESE, like Cheribon's Ambassador to the King of Pahang, who not knowing that the King was in BINTAM was taken on the island of KOBAN with about 20 koyang of rice. Similar incidents have happened also in the neighbourhood of PERAK, QUEDAH, BANKALIS and other places. Consequently the JAVANESE are very much perturbed and we are of the opinion that they will soon turn towards us. They are unanimous in saying that they will not befriend MALACCA because it is forsaken by God on account of its wickedness. As to attracting the JAVANESE, it should be considered that if MALACCA is blockaded they can expect better trade than they were promised by the Portugese and which came to nought.

After going ashore in company with the King and all the grandees of the place, we drunk to his health and the prosperity of BATASOUWER. He was very touched and said that if by the Grace of God he regained his kingdom the HOLLANDERS would have more freedom than before. If they wanted 3 or 4 houses to be built, he would supply all the material, stone, wood and the necessary workmen, if only a civil Engineer could be sent to him by your Excellency to fortify the above mentioned BATASOUWER. We hope this request will not be refused. They consider me a suitable person, but I am not and must be excluded.

In the evening we went on board with the intention of sailing but owing to unfavourable wind and current we had to stay till the next morning, when (on the 5th instant) we set off early with a Northerly wind against us but with a favourable current and rolling and piloting we arrived off Bintam in the evening where we anchored for the night. We set sail on the 6th and at noon anchored at PONJOSOK or BERBEKET near the yacht of the Vice-Commander. These yachts had just been cleaned up and they were now doing up the first new shallop. They could make but

little progress on account of the stormy and rainy weather until on the 9th instant the shallop was fetched from the shore and without masts or sails was taken to PERAK with the ZEEBURG and KLEINNASSAU under the command of the Vice-Commander. May God give them good success.

A few days after that they started doing up the second shallop. Meantime we went to some jelias keeping watch till 11 and 12 at night but to no purpose until the above ambassador appeared. We were told that the Ambassador had come from CAMBODIA with letters of contract against the PORTUGESE. It has come to our knowledge that there has been a ship there destined for JAPAN and another small yacht to load rice. Although rice was dear the community was nevertheless obliged to supply the required cargo. They related how a PORTUGESE vessel had been captured by our men, and how a second one had escaped to COCHIN. The above ambassador informed us that their ambassadors from ACHIN were at BOELANGH, and the Achinese had taken the King of PERAK to that place with 40 vessels; and most of the people had fled, saying that the fusts had returned again to MALACCA, but that they had seen the Armada of the ACHINESE. For further news please refer to other people, as we do not think that we can leave here before the 16th inst. to touch the island of TIMAY because a gale has kept on blowing here for the last month.

By the way DATO LAXAMANA is asking for a good telescope. Will your Excellency favour him with one if possible?

And now

Noble, Honourable, Wise, Provident and very discreet Gentlemen, we commend you and your families to God the Almighty to spare you in good health for many long years, and to grant us and the Company victory over the enemy.

Your Excellency's humble and indebted servant,

Sd. Cornelis Simonsz. van der Veer.

Written in the yacht Blijswijk; on
the 12th of December Anno 1637.
Lying at anchor at *Barbeket*.

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a. Translation of the missive by JANG di per tuan of JOHOR[1] to the Captain Mor (Chief Captain) of Jacatra.

This letter is written with a good heart by JANG de per tuan of JOHOR and PAHANG to the Captain Mor of Jacatra, General ANTONIO VAN DIEMEN the great man, the brave warrior, who, under my brother the King of Holland rules over all the land from the castle of JACATRA budiman lagi bidjak sana.[2]

[1] He who commands.

[2] Wisely and sagaciously.

Further be it known to Sr. Captain Mor that Captain Mor Cornelis Symonsz. van der Veer has come to me here in BINTAM to negotiate with me about treaties as has been done before. For that reason I have ordered TUAN INDRA CHARNA and TUAN PALAWAN to go to Captain Mor in BATAVIA and help concluding a treaty as has been done formerly.

Meanwhile if by the grace of God the Almighty. TUAN INDRA CHARNA and TUAN PALAWAN arrive at JACATRA, please send them back with all haste so that I may learn from them in time about the Captain Mor of JACATRA and praise God the Almighty.

I intend building a city or Castle and whom shall I ask if not the Captain Mor of JACATRA, who I trust will help me to build the Castle.

I am sending the Captain Mor a kris with a gold handle and a bezoar stone, together with three pots of salted fish roe.

b. Translation of the missive by the Orang Kaja LAXAMANA to the General ANTONIO VAN DIEMEN.

This letter is from Orang Kaja LAXAMANA to the General ANTONIO VAN DIEMEN who has the government of the castle of JACATRA, the great Gentleman GAGAH berani jang mashhur[1] from above the wind to below the wind BUDIMAN BIDJAKSANA, for doing everything.

Further, let me inform the Chief General about the Captain Mor CORNELIS SIMONSZ. VAN DER VEER who has come to BINTAM to carry on negotiations as has been done before. For this purpose JANG di per tuan has sent TUAN INDRA CHARNA and TUAN PALAWAN to JACATRA to the Chief General of JACATRA to come to a mutual agreement as has been in the past. And if God Almighty grants that TUAN INDRA CHARNA and TUAN PALAWAN arrive, it is requested that they may be sent back again speedily so that JANG DI PER TUAN may get news of the Chief General quickly.

I am sending to the Chief General 60 katties of TJINA tin.

Appendix II.

(*See page 11*).

[1] Mighty, brave, and famous.

Appendix III.

Instructions for the Commander and Sergeant-Major Adriaen Anthonisz.

Instructions to be followed by the Commander and Sergeant-Major Adriaen Antonisz. and his Council, who are proceeding with the ship Utrecht, the yacht Waterloozeverve and the galleon De Jager to the enemy's fortress—the city of Malacca to conquer the same by the grace of God.

By way of harassing our hereditary enemies who are under the crown of SPAIN and of increasing and improving the Company's trade in BATAVIA, we have constantly blockaded the city of MALACCA by sea, obstructing as much as possible the entrance of all traders. This has created a scarcity of eatables in the city especially of rice, the weakening of the garrison and general confusion in the government, facilitating for us the conquest of the city. Moreover the prolonged negotiations with the King of ACHIN in regard to assistance against MALACCA have ended very successfully, because according to our own investigations and the written reports received by us, which are confirmed by his Majesty's own missive, the ACHINESE Armada and army are now ready to sack MALACCA any day. Further according to the advisers of Commander JACOB COOPER we can absolutely rely on the assistance of the King of JOHOR, according to the treaty concluded in October last between the late Director LUCASZ. and LAXAMANA the Prime Minister of the King of JOHOR. The later is ready with a strong force of men and fleet awaiting our orders. Taking into account the forces and means at the disposal of the Company at present, and how they could be augmented in the future without affecting ordinary trade, we are confident of achieving something great against our common enemy. And whereas the state of United Netherlands here, following our principals in *Europe*, is disposed to destroy or conquer our enemy's seat, the Council of India has passed and confirmed a resolution of the 20th August to conquer the city and Castle of MALACCA and to bring it under our domination.

The late Director LUCASZ. was instructed to lead the expedition on his return from CEYLON but on account of his demise the command was transferred to Commander CORNELIS SYMONSZ. VAN DER VEER, who was killed by the enemy on the coast of INDIA on the river CARLY. In pursuance of our object, namely the capture of MALACCA, we have commissioned Sergeant-Major ADRIAEN ANTONISZ. Field Marshal of the CEYLON campaign who has just returned from there via ACHIN and MALACCA, to lead the expedition for the capture of that city and to arrange all matters in connection thereof together with his Council, which will be composed of the following persons.

In the first place Commander ADRIAEN ANTONISZ. as permanent President. JOCOB COOPER as the second person during his presence,

and Vice-Commander ORLANDO THIBAULT, Rear-Admiral MINNE WILLEMSZ. and Upper Merchant and Fiscal GERARD HERBERG. Further all capable Skippers or Merchants from the Navy may assume membership of the Council with the approval of the Commander. The Commander JOHAN DE MEERE however on his return from his mission to the King of ACHIN will occupy the second place in the Council and will help to promote the services of the Company until further orders.

For this expedition we have ordered the ships UTRECHT the yacht WATERLOOZE-WERVE and the galleon DE JAGER to be prepared and enough rice, arak, wine, oil, vinegar, etc. and also lunt, gun-shots, pikes, bandoleers, hewers, gun carriages, ladders, shutters, gabbions, etc. have been loaded (as you will see from the enclosed invoice) together with provisions for eight months for 312 men transported as follows:

By the UTRECHT ..	160	sailors.	40	soldiers.	200	men.
„ WELSING ..	40	„	15	„	55	„
„ WATERLOOZE-WERVE	30	„	10	„	40	„
„ Galleon the JAGER	12	„	5	„	17	„
	242	sailors.	70	soldiers.	312	men.

As everything is now arranged and the fleet is ready for sailing you will embark to-morrow on the UTRECHT and after proper inspection you will sail through the Straits of PALEMBANG to the Straits of MALACCA. Arriving there you will disclose your mission to Commander COOPER in Council and relieving him of his charge you will take over the entire command of the ships, yachts and men there. The Fiscal and Senior Merchant HERBERS has been instructed to announce your mission and authority to the people and will accept your oath of allegiance.

Should Commander COOPER be disposed to come to BATAVIA and he can be spared, then you may comply with his request. But if you think he can be useful, you may retain him. We are not satisfied with his recent commandership.

Arriving in MALACCA in health and good spirits you will promptly put things in order, taking care specially that MALACCA should not get relief from GOA and that no rice be received from the land of MATARAM. In consultation with the most experienced skippers and sea officers all the avenues in the Straits should be occupied.

With "pantjalang" from JOHOR and lately with the yacht-of-war LIMMEN the Commander has been informed that the JAVANESE from the East coast intend supplying MALACCA with 100 prauws of rice and that some of these prauws have already left CHERIBON. We would earnestly urge you to take measures

to frustrate this plan and deprive MALACCA of this supply diverting it to our own fleet. From the enclosed copies of relevant letters you will learn full particulars.

CABO RACHADO and other passages should be well occupied with vigilant officers in order to cut off supplies from GOA. The enemy has no galleons on the coast of India to frighten our present forces, but let it be understood that MALACCA will not fall an easy prey, but the enemy will do all in their power to assist and protect it against us with their small provision ships and Armada de rimas. Moreover judging by various intercepted letters the importance of the fortress is valued so much that one of the great personages in GOA has expressed himself to the Viceroy in these words—"*If we lose Malacca we lose India.*" These words are significant and should move you to vigilance.

We instructed Commander COOPER, to order Vice-Commander ORLANDO THIBAULT (who is enjoying himself in OEDJONG-SALANG, BANGARY and other places in search of Tin) to join to the Fleet where we understand, he may be useful. If he does not do it, you may summon him under our orders. We are not at all pleased that both the Commanders of the fleet are wasting their time, one at OEDJONG SALANG and the other in the JOHOR river, leaving MALACCA open.

We trust that on your arrival you will meet the auxiliaries of ACHIN and JOHOR about MALACCA. In the absence of these, Commander COOPER or any other person should be despatched quickly to the LAXAMANA of JOHOR to inform him of your arrival at the Straits and of your intention to attack MALACCA, meantime urging him to hasten with his auxiliary forces in accordance with the treaty concluded with the late Mr. LUCASZ.

Similarly you will send Upper-Merchant JACOB COMPOSTEL to ACHIN to fill the vacancy of the factor there in response to his Majesty's missive to us brought by you. If on your arrival the commissary DE MEERE or the ACHINESE Armada do not meet you in the neighbourhood of MALACCA then our deligate must request his Majesty to send the promised assistance without further delay, as otherwise we should be compelled to begin operations against MALACCA with the help of the JOHORITES and with all available means granted to us by God.

Commander COOPER has been instructed by a previous advice to inform the people in the East, West and South, of our plans in regard to MALACCA and to urge one and all to assist us with men, weapons and provisions, notifying them in the meantime that those failing in their support will be considered enemies of the NETHERLANDS, ACHIN and JOHOR. If this instruction has not yet been carried out then you will have to commission other people to do it, not forgetting the Under Merchant JAN JANSZ. MENIE who is familiar with this country and the language. Every effort

should be made to prevent MOAR, RAMBOU and NANING from helping MALACCA, because without their aid the city will be reduced to a miserable state. The ACHINESE and the JOHORITES should be tackled in this affairs.

The present ships, together with those ordered to proceed to MALACCA from CEYLON, excluding the ZANDVOORT which is due to arrive from ACHIN, make up an Armada of 17 sails as follows:— the ships UTRECHT, EGMOND, VALKENBURG, RIJNSBURG, BREDAM, OUDEWATER, LIMMEN, VEENHUIZEN, DE VOS, RIJSWIJK, ROEMERSWAAL, WELSING, KLEIN-ZUTPHEN, WATERLOOZE-WERVE, LANGERAK, DEN DRAAK, and the galleon DE JAGER.

We cannot give exact figures as regards our forces sailing by the above ships and yacht, but on a rough estimate the Armada comprises fully 1,350 Netherlanders including 500 soldiers. There are also about 130 MARDYKERS, JAVANESE and BANDANESE, making altogether a respectable total. Further you may rely on reinforcements arriving daily from Netherland, the East and other places which will be despatched to you without delay. Meanwhile on the arrival of the Achinese or Johorites or any of them you may start operations with the advice of the Council, leaving the consequences to God.

We do not propose to prescribe to you and your Council any fixed orders for the capture of MALACCA, but we leave it to you to act according to circumstances, trying to obtain reliable information as to the exact position of the enemy the strength of the garrison, and their stock of war materials and rice, in order to determine whether it will be a short or a long siege, and whether the fortress should be stormed or starved out, always prefering the way of least bloodshed. The besieged should be offered liberal terms even to the extent of religious liberty and the transport of their garrison by our ships. They should be warned, however, that if they remain obdurate they can expect a worse treatment than at ST. CRUZ DE GALE. For this purpose we are sending three clergymen and two PORTUGESE youngsters whom in opportune time you will send inside the walls of MALACCA to spread the news of our intention to capture it and to inform the people of what has taken place at GALE. Further we commend our project to you to be executed with might and means according to time and circumstances.

We hand you herewith a sketch of the city and Castle of MALACCA sent to us in October last by the late Mr. LUCASZ. The skippers LAMBERT, JERONSZ. and THEUNIS JANSZ. WEYLOP of the grounded ships EMELIA and ZIERIKZEE are also going along at their own request in order to amend their faults, by rendering good services and to gain honours. You shall give them Commissions as opportunity arises. They are wide awake people and can render valuable services.

We have also sent you the PORTUGESE DIEGO KEESIOI TRIGO. You may utilize him to the best advantage. He has a thorough knowledge of MALACCA'S situation.

As regards gun powder the fleet is not properly provided for this expedition, but there is enough to begin with. We are expecting hourly new shipments from COROMANDEL and from Patria which will be forwarded to you immediately. We trust there will be no shortage.

The Army should be particularly well provided with provisions and therefore should be sent to suitable places where there is abundance of cattle.

You must continually keep us in touch with events at your end and ask our advice when necessary. For your dispatches you can use the galleons DE JAGER and DEN DRAAK or the JOHOR or ACHINESE bantings.

You shall make a good estimate of our Naval strength and the places that are to be occupied, and if you can spare any ships especially the EGMOND, you may send them to us. In any case the last named ship should be sent back with as small a crew as possible to be in BATAVIA about the middle of July. We would like to have the VALKENBURG and the RIJNSBURG also, if they could be spared but if you need them you may use them. Only keep us continually posted as to the ships' requirements and which of them can be spared for Ceylon or elsewhere.

We do not doubt that the Achinese as well as the JOHORITES will appear with their auxiliary forces, as each of them is anxious to be in our good books and will not dare to back out. These states are against each other and you should be very circumspect towards them, not treating one with more favour than the other, but keeping them apart. You should however, continually give preference in rank to the ACHINESE assuring them of our intention to give every support to them after the fall of MALACCA and to maintain the legitimate rights of the crown, while the JOHORITES should be promised protection against all undue oppression. In this way both these states will remain contented.

Further let it be understood that no stipulation should be made at any time to ACHINESE or JOHORITES in respect of MALACCA'S conquest. We gave similar instructions to the Commissary DE MEERE and in case proposals are made by these states the matter should be referred to the General. In any case the Castle with its guns, ammunition, etc. together with all the Christian prisoners should be safely kept in our sovereign possession. The booty in the city could be divided *pro rata* and some guns could be allowed to be carried away only at our good will. But as mentioned above no stipulation should be made by us, and in the event of capture (may God grant it) the fortress should

be occupied by our own garrison under your personal supervision until further orders from us, efforts being made to avert jealousies between ACHINESE and JOHORITES.

We will conclude by praying the Almighty to grant you wisdom, courage and prudence for the successful execution of our plans and victory over our enemies in the interest of the United Company, for the reputation of our country and for your own honour. Amen.

By special deed we have promised that the above mentioned three clergymen and two PORTUGESE youngsters will be granted liberty of life as soon as MALACCA is captured by us, which please note.

We hand you herewith translations of two Portugese letters addressed to the Governor and the Council of MALACCA which speak for themselves. You may send the originals through the above mentioned persons at the opportune moment. You will note the terms we offer them in the event of voluntary capitulation and you are to act accordingly in such an eventuality.

Although as you are aware our garrison here is weak yet we have increased the numbers of able soldiers from 70 to 90 who are being transported as follows:

50 men including the Lieutenant and the petty officers in UTRECHT

20 men including a Sergeant on board WELSING

15 men including a Sergeant on board WATERLOOZE WERVE

5 on the galleon DE JAGER

Total 90 men as mentioned above. The enclosed inventory will show you how the said ships and yachts have been armed with guns and ammunition.

Sd. Antonio van Diemen
Cornelis van der Lijn

Done in the Castle of Batavia on the 19th of May A° 1640.

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a. Translation of the missive to the Governor of MALACCA sent through the Major.

Two reasons move us to write these few lines to your Excellency. Firstly because we are Christians and secondly because your Excellency is also the same. We ask you, Sir, to consider in what state MALACCA is, the great strength of our offensive against it and the weakness of your defence. You would do well to come to terms with us, for disagreement can result in much

bloodshed and loss of valuables, according to the custom of war well-known to your Excellency. In that event we are not responsible for any bloodshed, but on the contrary your Excellency must give an account to the Almighty.

Sd. Antonio van Diemen

In the Castle of Batavia, on the
19th of May A° 1640.

b. To the Commander and Councillors of MALACCA and the Officers of the Council.

Care of the Major, delivered by three Padres and two Portugese.

It has been the will of the Almighty to bless the righteous war we are waging in these ORIENTAL lands against the subjects of the King of SPAIN, with victories of which we trust you are aware, and further you can learn from the bearers of this letter. And now we have resolved to attack the Castle and the city in which you are staying, and by the help of the same good God to conquer them. Our present might and further reinforcements you will soon realize. On the other hand you know what a poor resistance you can offer and what little chance you have of obtaining any relief. However moved by Christian compassion and with the object of averting bloodshed and sparing you losses as much as possible, we have thought it advisable to address this to you in order to induce you to deliver the Castle and the city of MALACCA into our hands with all the cannons, guns and war material belonging to his Majesty, in which case we undertake herewith in the name of His Highness the Prince of ORANGE and our rulers in the NETHERLAND to grant you not only security of life, wife, children and property, but permission to live in MALACCA as citizens and merchants free to exercise your own religion without any hindrance and to navigate wherever you like, under our protection, on condition that you show obedience to the NETHERLANDS state and pay tribute in the same way as you used to do to the King of SPAIN. We trust that you will realize the seriousness of this matter, and will take to heart our liberal proposals, as otherwise we cannot be held responsible for the bloodshed which has to follow, because we have ordered that in event of your refusal no one shall be spared but all shall fall by the sword (although in Ceylon we have been merciful). Therefore take good council and choose the lesser of the two evils.

Sd. Antonio van Diemen

In the Castle of Batavia, the
19th May A° 1640.

Appendix IV.

Deed appointing the Commander PIETER VAN BROEKE as 3rd person.

We, ANTHONIO VAN DIEMEN Governor-General, and the Council of INDIA representing the United Netherland in the ORIENT have appointed and authorized Mr. PIETER VAN DEN BROEKE not only to be in command of DE WASSENAAR, GRIJPSKERKE and the frigate HET QUELPAARD which are carrying two hundred and fifty men to the Portugese city of MALACCA to augment our forces there for the capture of that fortress by the Grace of God, but on his arrival to act as the third person of the whole naval force there and to be an honourable member of the Council. We hereby command all the above mentioned ships and those under the authority of the General East India Company in the said place, to follow our instructions and to acknowledge the said VAN DEN BROEKE accordingly.

Sd. Anthonio van Diemen

Given in the Castle of Batavia the
4th of August A° 1640.

Appendix V.

The intercepted Portugese letters.

a. ANTONIO TELLES, Governor of GOA, dated 24th April A° 1640, to MANUEL DE SOUZA, Coutinho, Captain of the Castle of MALACCA.

I am very happy that by the Grace of His Majesty I am placed here where I have opportunity to be of service to your Excellency, although not to the extent I should have wished.

It is written to me and confirmed that a frigate arrived there from MASCATE, bringing news that a port had arrived safely in BASSORA from PORTUGAL and that the ship OLIVEIRA and the yacht from COETCHIN had arrived in PORTUGAL.

God willing we hope to have the reinforcement (of which there is sure news) in September. The galleon of RUY DIAZ is lying at anchor in PANGLIM. It is a beautiful piece of work, like the one that I am building now, which will be ready for navigation in the coming summer. When it is completed the loss of Bon Jesu[1] will not be felt much, because the new is being built so carefully.

In any case give orders that the two yachts proceed to CHINA because it is very important for us. I do not recommend this matter with more words as I know your willingness and I am sure you will understand the importance of the affairs.

[1] See notes 41.

b. RUY DIAZ DO CUNHA, viadoor da Fazenda, GOA, dated 25th April A° 1640 to the Viadoor da Fazenda in MALACCA.

A yacht has been despatched from here direct for MALACCA under the command and good care of GASPER PEREIRA with whom has also left DIEGO DE SOUZA DE MENEZES as Ambassador to JAPAN, the trip and the embassy costing over thirty thousand (?).

AMBROSIO VELOSO has been appointed by the Governor as Captain Mor of the galleons carrying provisions of rice, wheat and soldiers according to the attached list. *No Sailor wants to go South.* We have had utmost difficulty in arranging this relief.

You will handle the purchases very carefully, offering such prices that large consignments may find their way here. The enemy left here in disorder sustaining losses of men, and therefore we do not think they are strong enough to lay siege to the fortress of MALACCA.

The little we have goes with these galleons. If God willing we get further replenishments by September we will help you as much as possible. In any case we will send you the four or five galleons lying here ready. You may rest assured that it is not due to our unwillingness that bigger forces are not sent to you, but that these have been lacking, owing to the dangerous sea voyage.

c. ANTONIO TELLES, GOA, dated the 27th April A° 1640 to the MATARAM, Emperor of JAVA.

I have thought it right to let your Highness know that His Majesty my Lord had appointed me Governor of this State in which capacity you will always find me ready to respond to your good will.

I was very pleased to learn that the Captain of MALACCA sent to your Highness a heavy gun, the best in the fortress. Please let me know if you require more and I will order them to be made with pleasure and will bring them along with me to your Highness, in spite of the fact that the HOLLANDERS have burnt three galleons lying in the river here unarmed and powerless. We hope to God that in a short time we shall have many others sailing the sea, with which we will not only help your Highness to conquer JACATRA, but we will use them with very great effect against those pirates who have already experienced the little that we have done to them in the war, burning their ships, chasing them away and killing many. As it is inconvenient for us to undertake the voyage to you, we have instructed the Captain of Malacca to assist your Highness in all your legitimate dealings.

d. ANTONIO TELLES, GOA, dated 24th April A° 1640 to MANUEL DE SOUZA COUTINHO, Captain of the Castle within MALACCA.

We are so short of sea-faring men here that with utmost difficulty we have at last succeeded in obtaining the necessary crew

(of whom some have been taken on board forcibly) for these three galleons. In the present state of affairs it is necessary to seek the friendship of our neighbours, particularly of the King of JOHOR and PAHANG, because our differences with the MALAYS have not originated from them but from the LAXAMANA, who wanted to stand up against our Government. For this reason I have thought it advisable to write the attached letter which your Excellency will send by a respectable person together with a gift that need not be expensive but will be well appreciated, requesting him at the same time very earnestly to come over to MALACCA and assuring him that he will be treated well and that those who offend him will be punished. You will take such measures that hereafter no one shall dare to cause trouble to our friends, the MALAYS, because it is certain that they intend forsaking us on account of the small trouble.

The gifts intended for the King of JOHOR and MACASSAR should not be delayed. We approve of your treatment of the Ambassador of MATARAM, whose friendship must be preserved. You are quite right in offering them the two heavy guns which you had captured from the Achinese some time ago. It is good that Pr. FELIX MANUEL has left with the said Ambassadors for the reason that your Excellency has thought of.

e. ANTONIO TELLES, GOA, dated 24th April A° 1640 written to the city of MALACCA.

The letter that I have received in this monsoon from the city of MALACCA is very depressing. In view of the great importance of defending it and preserving it from the present famine, I should have liked very much to have sent the relief solicited. People from Malacca are more agitated than ever before in INDIA, and the city is in dire need and misery as those who go there will observe, because it is now four years since any relief was obtained from PORTUGAL, either cash or reinforcements. When I arrived here from the North, I found the galleons in ashes, the treasury without a real and the State in debt to the extent of over fifty thousand reals. But the war material had to be provided and to avert discouragement and dejection I did my utmost to raise the necessary funds (as a loan) in the city for the equipment of eight galleons for the relief of MALACCA. Meanwhile news was received of the war in CEYLON, the destruction of the Castle of NEGUMBO and the siege of COLOMBO. We had to do what we could and therefore sent to their relief all we had here. In view of Malacca's urgent need we have with great effort equipped these three galleons as best we could. I know very well that the provisions going forward are not adequate but what shall I do ? These cannot be shipped by yachts, and the galleons are not suitable to carry them. The inhabitants of the city may rest assured that my heart is there and if I have not sent a bigger Armada it is because it has not been possible to do so. But in any case a large part of it

will go in September and we will give all possible assistance to supply the most urgent wants of the inhabitants and to keep up their spirits.

f. A report by the Padre ANTONIO SARAWA of the Society of JEZU as provider of the city of MALACCA presented to the Council of His Majesty at GOA, dated 1st August A° 1639 (in order to send the necessary relief by September) containing various information as to the siege of Malacca.

We expect that by September MALACCA will be besieged by HOLLANDERS and ACHINESE. We understand from the English that the HOLLANDERS in SURAT have decided to send a fleet of 14 ships to MALACCA. FRANCISCO DE SOUZA CASTRO advises from ACHIN that the HOLLANDERS have promised the ACHINESE to lay siege to the Castle of MALACCA with 15 ships and that the King of ACHIN intends leading his own Armada to that place.

If the relief forces for MALACCA from GOA were such as to allow us to send assistance to the MATARAM who is so well disposed for the capture of JACATRA, the HOLLANDERS would be diverted from GOA, CEYLON and the whole of the North.

The 27th April 1640.

Appendix VI.

To the ex-Commander Jacob Cooper, written per GOES.

Valiant, wise provident Gentleman and Friend,

Since our last letter (a copy of which we consider unnecessary to send) we have received your welcome letter of the 1st September by HET QUELPAARD together with the packet of amber weighing 9½ lbs. which we have made over to the Company. Two small things make a big but our superiors have heavy burdens and it is meet that they should have some consolation. Would to God that MALACCA fall soon (if it has not surrendered before the receipt of this letter) because we are having great trouble on account of the river and many other obstacles and the siege lasts too long for our liking. We wish the JOHORITES would send stronger forces, as promised, to help in storming the city from both sides, in which case we will soon settle with the "Signor." However you should not neglect anything, for fear of our being overtaken by sickness and other unexpected misfortunes, which God forbid. It is our desire that you should remain in charge of the navel force. Watch carefully and see that no relief reaches the enemy and if you are short of Shallops, ask the JOHORITES LAXAMANA for them.

It is regrettable (but for the enemy great consolation) that of the three fusts sailing from GOA on the 1st of May two have reached their destination. Further the navet with the Ambassador

for JAPAN has arrived at that place via MACAO, and again leaving on the 1st of July it has reached MACAO safely. Besides 15 JAVANESE tingangs have run away from us and taken refuge in MALACCA.

The enemy cannot look for any relief either from GOA or MACAO. It is possible that in September, 2 or 3 fust will sail to MALACCA from GOA with the hope of their escaping us. Relief from MACAO is also likely to arrive and therefore you must watch them with eagle eyes.

We will not write longer as we have written fully in our general missive, but we wish to say that we are highly pleased with your good courage for the capture of MALACCA, and hope you will go on co-operating with the Major and the other members of the Council and that with unity our ultimate object will be attained. May the Great God in whose tender mercy and protection we leave you with all friends present, grant it. Greeting from your friends.

Sd. ANTHONIO VAN DIEMEN
CORNELIS VAN DER LIJN
JOHAN VAN TWIST
FUSTUS SCHOUTEN.

In the Castle of Batavia on the
11th October A° 1640.

Appendix VII.

To the Commissary Johan de Meere written per Goes.

Honourable, Wise, provident Sir,

We wrote you last by the ship EGMOND (copy of which letter is sent herewith again among the general papers) and we commend the contents to your notice. We have since received by QUELPAARD your private letter of 5 September (together with other advices) from which we understand that you would prefer to return here rather than join the MALACCA campaign. We note further that you are chiefly apprehensive of being obliged as second person to take charge of the campaign in case of the Field-Marshal ADRIAEN ANTONIOS's death (which God in His mercy forbid), and so you wish to withdraw as you are not trained in war manoeuvers. It has never been our intention, however, to burden you with this charge, but as our commissary and second man you were to assist the military with good advice and to help in all negotiations with foreign Princes for the settlement of disputes and questions, in the despatch of ships, and to put in order all shipping books and to conduct everything in the best possible manner as mentioned in our general missive, which we hope will be to your satisfaction. The Council will not hear of your returning as your presence there is considered absolutely

indispensable because by your even temperament and wise counsels you can settle differences and disputes arising now and then between the principals through their hot headedness or rather overzeal. Your Excellency is strongly recommended to carry on, as otherwise our plans may be destroyed by quarrels and jealousy. Try always to bind the members of the Council together with good-will and unity. The Major who is of a rough temperament, although he is an energetic and brave soldier, should be particularly warned against the caning of his officers. Their mistakes should be corrected with justice which will help to promote his personal and official authority and gain him more willing and energetic service. In respect of minor officers when their faults are pointed out, they should be reminded of the energy of the Field Marshal which is so great that something great is bound to be achieved. You must have seen our instructions for the government of MALACCA in the event of conquest (which may the Almighty grant) and we trust you will carry out these fair terms energetically, always giving the Major preference. Be careful in your choice of another Commander in the event of the demise of the Field Marshal. The Commander COOPER does not lack vigilance and we are confident that he will command the most respect. We wish we could send capable persons from here to assist you but it is impossible at present. God grant that shortness of powder and epidemic may not obstruct us. We should not like to have to abandon the place without having effected our object. We have written fully about this in our general missive from which your Excellency will fully realize how important it is for you to remain in office. We will not enlarge upon it here again, but we are anxiously awaiting a successful issue by the Grace of God. The affairs in ACHIN cause us much anxiety: we must never get estranged from that King. When the Major was in ACHIN, the King asked him "*Now that I have helped the Hollanders to conquer Malacca will they not attack me.*" From this it is to be concluded that their refusal to assist us is more out of fear of our becoming too strong for them than over negotiations with JOHOR. Should MALACCA persist in its resistance we must ask him respectfully to come to our aid, flattering him that it is impossible for us to conquer MALACCA without his help. If this be refused, then we are to ask him to help us with a good quantity of gun-powder against reasonable compensation. Otherwise we shall have to abandon the siege in discharge. You must give this matter your consideration and let us know your plans for the approval of the Council. Further we refer you to our general missive. We are sending clothes for 60 men for which we will debit you.

Herewith

Honoured, wise, provident Sir, we commend you to the merciful protection of the Most High after our salutation to your Excellency.

Sd. as above.

Appendix VIII.

To Sr. Pieter van der Broeke
written per GOES.

Honourable, provident Gentleman and Friend,

We have received your letter of the 4th of September last by the galleon HET QUELPAARD and are pleased to know that you have arrived safely together with the GRIJPSKERKE and the RAMA. We hope that the subsequent relief sent by the ANNA, the BANDA and the EGMOND and the other ships despatched to Ceylon to fetch reinforcement have reached you. We will send you more relief as soon as the home boats arrive. We trust the Almighty will allow this important city to fall into our hands. You must be courageous and may rely on us to support you as much as possible, provided there is no shortage of gun powder here, in which case COROMANDEL should supply your requirements. As we have given full instructions in our general missive and have explained our intention in regard to the siege of MALACCA, we will conclude with an earnest appeal to all friends there to be courageous and to help each other unanimously in word and deed and trust to God's mercy for the execution of our design. Your request for payment of your salary to your friends, in case of your death (which God forbid) will be complied with. You can rely on it. But we do not doubt that we will meet you again healthy and victorious as it is our constant prayer to the Almighty. May the same Great God help us to succeed in our designs for the glory of His name, for the prosperity of our principals and for the reputation of our Country. We greet you, Captain MINNE WILLEMSZ. and all friends and commend you to the care of the Supreme Director.

Your friend,

Sd. as above.

Appendix IX.

Dated 20th October, 1640.

List of healthy and sick soldiers at present in the NETHERLANDS Army for MALACCA.

Under the command of LAMOTIUS:

		Healthy.	Sick men.	
Lieutenant	BARENT JANSZ. VAN KUILENBURG	40	14	
„	GERRIT CASPERSE	46	20	
„	PIETER VAN NES	29	24	
„	GERRIT RIJCX	32	27	
„	JAN JANSZ. VAN MENEN ? ..	45	2	
		192	87	279

	Healthy.	Sick men.	
Under Captain FORSENBURG:			
Lieutenant JACOB JANSZ.	34	18	
„ HARDERWIJCK	34	15	
„ MAERTON BAEKER	34	12	
„ BLOEM	29	18	
	131	63	194
Under Captain MAX. BONTEMPS:			
Lieutenant DAVID VINCK	28	18	
„ JEURAEN LESEMAN	31	20	
„ CHRISTIAN CUBERM	29	22	
„ VINCENT SCHOORDER	36	14	
	124	74	198
Under Captain DOBBERTYN:			
Lieutenant LA FORCE	21	33	
„ VAN DE WEESTIJNE	21	30	
„ COCH	26	29	
„ BRUYN	27	21	
„ STRAETSBURG	46	9	
„ GERART WOLFHAGE	25	23	
	166	145	311
At the river for cruising South	12	—	
The three cruising yachts at CABO RACHADO	33	—	
On the shallops	42	19	
At the RED ISLAND	30	10	
Total Whites ..	730	398	1,128
The MARDIJKERS OF DIEGO KESIO	24	27	51
The JAVANESE and the BANDANESE	14	19	33
	768	444	1,212
Sailors.			
Navvies	164	—	
In the ships and vessels	560	—	
Wounded and sick	137	—	861
Total ..			2,073

Appendix X.

Proclamation.

By MINNE WILLIAMSZ. CAERTEKOE, Commander and Field Marshal of the NETHERLANDS Army for MALACCA and the fleet for the offensive in the Straits and his Council.

To all who will see this or hear it read greetings.

In accordance with our resolution of the 11th inst. we intend making an attack on our beleagured enemies in MALACCA within short. We therefore declare as war booty everything belonging to the inhabitants, excepting guns, ammunition and all war materials. Experience has however taught us that our sailors and soldiers cause a lot of trouble by their untimely and irregular plundering. As a matter of fact they endanger the whole plan of campaign by leaving their companies and running after booty before complete victory is secured. In order to avoid such calamities and by way of a timely precautionary measure we have thought it necessary to give a special warning to all, that it is strictly forbidden for everybody be it officer, soldier or sailor irrespective of his rank quality or condition, to leave his company with or without the consent of his officers under any pretext whatsoever before the public beating of the drum sanctioning the plunder. Offenders will be treated as enemies and are liable to be shot by members of our Council or their body guards, or to be arrested to pay a death penalty with confiscation of their goods and monthly salaries.

We bid you all to pay every respect to our Fiscal here, to follow strictly our orders, and to do all in your power for its execution.

Given in the Netherlands Army for MALACCA on the 11th January A° 1641.

Sd. MINNE WILLEMSZ CAERTEKOE
HENDRICK SIEUWERZ. SPAANHEIM
ANTONY HURDT
NICOLAES JANSZ
JOHANNES LAMOTIUS
PIETER BAECK.

Appendix XI.

Inventory of guns around the forts of MALACCA.

At the *Curas*.	At *St. Domingo*.
3 wide mouths	2 metal "bas"es
1 piece at 48 lbs. metal called the Dog	1 metal at 36 lbs.
2 pieces at 36 lbs.	1 „ 24 „
1 „ 18 „ metal	3 „ 12 „
	1 „ 24 „

At the *Curas*.

4 „ 12 „
1 „ 15 „
1 „ 9 „ iron
1 „ 9 „ metal
1 „ 8 „ iron
1 „ 3 „ „
1 „ 6 „ „
1 „ 4 „ „
1 metal bas
Between *St. Domingo* and *Madre de Dios*
5 metal "bas"es
At the Point *Madre de Deos*
4 wide mouths
1 piece at 50 lbs.
2 „ 48 „
2 „ 24 „
1 „ 12 „
1 „ 15 „ 9 cracked
At the point of 11,000 *Virgins*
2 wide mouths
6 half hooks
1 piece at 48 lbs.
1 „ 24 „
2 „ 18 „
1 „ 15 „
1 „ 12 „
2 „ 7 „

At *St. Domingo*.

with three barrels gun powder
on the *Tower*
2 pieces at 4 lbs.
1 „ 1½ lbs.
3 "bas"es
at the *Cordon*
2 metal guns
21 half hooks
near the *Hospital*
3 wide mouths
2 metal guns at 12 lbs.
1 „ „ 6 „
1 „ „ 1 „
1 iron „ 5 „
By the *Hospital de Poveros*
1 piece at 30 lbs.
1 „ 6 „
near the *Church*
1 piece at 24 lbs.
2 „ 12 „
At the point *St. Jago*
2 wide mouths
4 half hooks
1 piece at 48 lbs. metal
3 „ 24 „ „
1 „ 18 „ „

a[1] List of Cannons which have been found at the different Points and other places within MALACCA.

At the point of ELEVEN THOUSAND Virgins
2 metal pieces at 4 lbs.
1 French gun (Cartouw) at 36 lbs.
1 metal gun at 16 lbs.
1 long „ 29 „
1 small „ 20 „
1 metal „ 12 „
3 wide mouths
—
10 pieces
—

At ST. JAGO
1 long gun at 24 lbs.
1 „ „ 26 „
1 small French gun 18 lbs.
1 small long „ 18 „
2 wide mouths
1 cartouw at 24 lbs.
—
7 pieces
—

At *Payment* Point
1 long gun at 38 lbs.
1 metal „ 6 „
—
2 pieces
—

[1] According to another list.

At the CURAS
3 big wide mouths
1 long gun of 16 lbs.
1 iron „ 8 „
1 „ „ 6 „
1 „ „ 9 „
1 Prince „ 12 „
1 metal gun of 15 lbs.
1 small „ 25 „
1 trench „ 38 „
1 Cartouw „ 24 „
—
12 including 3 iron pcs.
—

Under the TOWER near the CURAS
1 small gun of 26 lbs.
1 metal „ 9 „
—
2 pieces
—

In front of the TOWER
1 metal gun of 4 lbs.
1 metal on the tower of 4 lbs.
—
2 pieces
—

Above the bells at the CURAS
1 small French gun of 16 lbs.
1 Prince (clock wise) 12 „
1 metal gun of 13 „
—
3 pieces
—

Near the Warehouses
3 pieces of 4 lbs. iron
2 „ 3 „
4 iron falcons
—
9 pieces
—

Below the Cordon
1 metal gun of 6 lbs. with the ear off

At the CORDON
1 wide mouth
2 „ „
1 iron gun of 8 lbs.
1 copper „ 8 „
—
5 pieces
—

At ST. DOMINGO
1 metal long gun of 24 lbs.
1 clock wise „ 13 „
1 „ „ 12 „
1 metal „ 19 „
1 „ „ 12 „
1 big wide mouth useless
—
6 pieces
—

At the MADRE DE DEOS
1 French Cartouw of 36 lbs.
1 small „ 24 „
1 „ „ 24 „
1 French gun
1 piece clock wise 12 „
4 wide mouths
1 German gun
1 piece of 17 lbs. useless
1 metal gun of 4 lbs.
—
12 pieces
—

Total 72 pieces

These are the " bas "es
2 pcs. lying in front of the Governor's house
2 pcs. in the house of the Fiscal
1 pcs. at St. Jago
6 iron falcons in the warehouses
2 iron pcs. at the spireless tower
4 iron pcs. at the big tower
—
17 pieces
—

Appendix XII.

(See Appendix X).

Appendix XIII.

Statement of the cash, gold, silverware and merchandise appropriated by the Commander MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE and the Council out of the booty captured in MALACCA.

With Commander MINNE WILLEMSZ. CAERTEKOE.

Money in Cash	F. 8,413	0	0
50 lbs silver ware valued at	2,000	0	0
2 lbs. gold valued at	1,500	0	0
A musk necklace valued at	563	8	0
Mined diamond rings, pins, earrings and pearls valued	825	12	0
	F. 13,302	0	0

The above mentioned Commander declares that the above chain of F. 563.8 is in box No. 1 and that it is divided into two, the other half being presented to the JOHORITES.

With Senior Merchant ANTHONY HURDT.

Cash	F. 5,816	0	0
25 lbs. silver valued at	1,000	0	0
3 lbs. gold valued at	1,500	0	0
Cloth valued at	528	0	0
A mined diamond ring valued at	108	0	0
	F. 8,952	0	0

With Sergeant-Major JOHANNES LAMOTIUS.

Cash	F. 5,784	0	0
31 lbs. silver ware valued at	1,240	0	0
3 lbs. gold valued at	1,500	0	0
Cloth valued at	528	0	0
Mined diamond rings, pins, earrings together with some pearls	636	0	0
	F. 9,688	0	0

With Captain LOURENS FORSENBURG.

Cash	F. 5,816	0	0
13½ lbs. silver ware valued at	540	0	0
3 lbs. gold valued at	1,500	0	0
Cloth valued at	528	0	0
Mined diamond rings, also a "MUNNIK" with diamonds and some pearls valued at ..	523	0	0
	F. 8,907	0	0

With Skipper PIETER BAECK.

Cash	F. 5,816	0	0
18 lbs. silver ware valued at	720	0	0
2 lbs. gold valued at	1,000	0	0
Cloth valued at	504	0	0
32 lbs. Amber valued at	1,392	0	0
	F. 9,432	0	0

With the Commissary HENDR. SIEVERSZ. SPAANHEIM.

25 lbs. silver ware valued at	F. 1,000	0	0
Cash	4,856	0	0
	F. 5,856	0	0

With Jor. Schilderhuyzen, Fiscal.

Cash	F. 1,000	0	0
With the parson JOHANNES SCHOULEN ..	1,000	0	0
Total ..	F. 58,137	0	0

According to another List there should be also F. 5,856 with NICOLAES JANSZ. HOUDCOPER so that the total amounts to F. 63,993.

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a. Resolution dated 10th April A° 1641.

In lieu of the promised six months salary to the conquerors of MALACCA .. .. F. 35,580 0 0 was granted to the Chief Officers as follows:

To Commander CAERTEKOE	F. 9,500	0	0
„ Commissary SPAANHEMS	5,000	0	0
„ Sergeant-Major LAMOTIUS	4,500	0	0
„ Captain FORSENBURG	4,000	0	0
„ Skipper Cowen PIETER BAECK ..	4,000	0	0
„ Senior Merchant ANTHONY HURDT ..	3,500	0	0
„ Senior Merchant HOUTCOPER (deceased)	3,000	0	0
„ Parson SCHOTANUS	1,080	0	0
Under a different heading F. 1,000			
To Fiscal SCHILDERHUIZER	1,000	0	0
	F. 35,580	0	0

Appendix XIV.

List of the cash, gold, unminted silver, cloth and other goods captured in the city of MALACCA of which a portion has been received here in BATAVIA by the ships EGMOND. TER GOES and WASSENAAR and the yacht KLEIN ZUTPHEN and BREDAM, and another lot is kept in MALACCA for the trade.

Gold received here weighing 368¾ reals as follows:

285¾ 7° reals weight at 10 silver reals is		r° 2,857½
83 7° mostly Amber at 8		„ 664
		r° 3,521½
at 50 stuivers[1]		F. 8,803 15 0

CASH—

Received here ..	F. 20,041 14 8	
Kept in MALACCA ..	30,990 0 0	
		F. 51,031 14 8

1,159½ lbs. uncoined silver melted here into bars	
1,123¾ lbs. at 40 guilders per lb.	44,950 0 0
Jewellery to the value of F. 2,126.17.8 as follows:	
13 coral necklace with some gold clasps, weighing altogether 16 r° at 4 reals silver r. 64	
One hat band with gold clasps 15	
3 earrings set with 3 diamonds at reals each 12	
A number of gilt silver buttons altogether 32	
Diamond set in gold, earrings, pearls, etc. 344	
r° 467	

Two gold necklaces	15⅜ reals	
One gold paternoster		
Eleven bracelets	16½ „	
2 gold necklaces	6½ „	
	38⅜ reals	
at 10 r° silver		r° 383¾
		r° 850¾

at 50 stuivers per real	F. 2,126 17 8
916½ lbs. uncut Amber at 13 guilders per lb. ..	12,890 10 0
Red corals weighing 84 r° at 6½ reals p. r° ..	1,365 0 0
15,755 lbs. Sandal wood at 20 guilders per 100 lb.	3,151 0 0
25,951 lbs. Cloves at 7 cents per lb.	9,082 17 0
74,705 lbs. gum Arabic at 10 guilders per 100 lbs.	7,470 10 0
45,360 lbs. tin at 30 guilders per 100 lbs. ..	13,608 0 0
1,625 lbs. " Spiauter " (mixture of lead and tin) at 20 guilders per 100 lbs. ..	325 0 0

[1] Smallest Dutch silver coin equal to 5 cents.

2,450 lbs. Elephants' tusks at 10 cents per lb. . .			F. 1,225	0 0
6,618 lbs. poetsiok (?) at 20 glds. per 100 lbs.			1,323	10 0
2,415 lbs. Tortoise shell at 20 cents per lb. . .			2,415	0 0
263 pcs. Rhinoceros horns as follows:				
183 pcs. at 20 cents each . .	F. 183			
10 „ 10 guilders each . .	100			
70 „ 5 guilders each . .	350			
			633	0 0
1,101 lbs. myrrh at 40 guilders per 100 lbs. . .			440	0 0
374 „ Sievings of newly plucked red coral at 10 Stuivers per lb.			187	0 0
5,649 „ rassa mala at 2 guilders per lb. . .			11,298	0 0
32,150 pcs. rogge vellem (?) as follows:				
29,000 pcs. at 22 glds. per 100	F. 6,380			
			7,010	0 0
140 lbs. Opium at 3 guilders per lb.			420	0 0
320 „ Galnuts at 20 guilders per 100 lbs. . .			64	0 0
1,800 „ Ceylon cinamon at 6 cents per lb. . .			540	0 0
125 lbs. inferior aquil wood at 10 cts. per lb.			62	10 0
a quantity of gilt lacquered work sold here by auction			62	10 0

The following piece goods retained in MALACCA for the trade and valued as follows:

825 p. bolatins valued at			F. 1,701	11 8
820 p. Cambodian cloth			2,613	15 0
660 p. Salem poeris at 22 r° per corge . .			1,893	7 8
2,360 p. tapi sarasses of which				
2,160 p. at 8 r° per corge	F. 2,203	4 0		
209 p. and 3 p. Sar. Maley } altogether	532	19 0		
			2,736	3 0
955 p. ramboetijn			1,911	4 8
2,030 p. assorted betilles			4,468	4 12
320 p. different quality sarasses			1,315	16 0
425 p. various inferior cloth			428	10 0
64 p. cassa Bengal at 36 r° per corge . .			293	15 3
40 p. percales at 38 r° per corge			193	6 0
80 p. samen at 25 r° per corge			255	0 0
45 p. petas Malay at 20 r° per corge . .			114	15 0
1,335 p. tapi Kitjil at 5 r° per corge			851	1 1
540 p. Moeris			503	7 6
180 p. negro cloth			96	18 0
320 p. Sarass ley de COCHIN at F. 6.12 . .			2,112	0 0
210 Slaves of whom 60 male, 150 female at 10 r°			5,355	0 0
3 p. cracked bells			682	2 8
Total . .			F. 208,011	11 9

52	p. metal and iron pieces	Kept in Malacca not valued.
2,805	p. round bullets	
247	p. whole and half granades ..	
56	p. muskets	
8	p. halberds	
90	p. pikes	
6	p. assagay	
4	p. " pertisan " alberds	
4	Soap knives	
55	barrels gunpowder	
	A quantity lunt	
1,878	lbs. spoilt comijn (?)	Received here, not valued.
1,770	„ Ceylon cinnamon	
100	„ aquil wood	
4	barrels soap	
230	lbs. inferior costuur ? wood ..	
10	pcs. metal	
5	pcs. iron	
A	square marble table, damaged ..	
A	small organ	
13	pcs. bad paintings	
3	cases with used vestments	
7	metal bells	

Done in the Castle of Batavia on the 28th November A° 1641.

The Map of Malacca.

We have searched in vain in the old Colonial archief for the map[1] of Malacca which was sent there from Batavia and the one that was sent from Batavia to Malacca during the siege[2].

There are two maps which have been sent to the Supreme Council in Batavia for their approval in respect of the proposed contraction in the area of the fortress. These are of the years 1656 and 1663.

Both of them are drawn on almost the same scale, only that of 1656 is more detailed.

As it is necessary for our purpose to be acquainted with the defence works as well as the principal buildings, we have adopted the map of 1663 and have added to it any missing details from that of 1656.

To my regret it is impossible for us to state exactly where the offensive works were situated. From the above maps it appears however.

---

[1] See page 28. [2] See page 32.

That the landing took place on a big field to the North of the city outside the range of enemy guns[1].

That a new battery was put up (so that there has been an old one already) to serve against the bulwark of St. Domingo and that the guns from the ships or the old battery had seriously damaged the Curas and Tower of the old fort[2].

That these batteries worked havoc with the sea points and the walls[3].

That a bridge was laid across the river in order to harass the enemy at the North East of the city where we were in proper control of the Monastery of Madre de Dios[4].

That the besiegers had placed some guns at the Red island within range of the fortress, so that they could bombard the city[5] and that the storming took place at the bulwark of St. Domingo while simultaneous false attacks were made on the Curas and also to the South of the city by the Malays[6].

The following letters and figures indicate on the map the bulwarks or points and all the principal places and warehouses within the city and fortress of Malacca, as well as the outline of the new smaller fort.

A. Frederick Hendrick formerly Curas.

B. Middelburg not mentioned when re-naming.

C. Ernst Casimir formerly Mora.

D. Amsterdam formerly Hospital Del Rey.

E. Victoria or storming point St. Domingo.

F. Aemelia formerly Madre de Dios.

G. Henriette Louise formerly Onze Mille Virgines.

H. Wilhelm formerly St. Jago.

I. Mauritius formerly Hospital de Poverens.

K. Fortalessa Velho also called Misericordia and the house of slaves.

L. The Governor's house and the Secretariat.

M. The Hospital.

N. The church of St. Paulo with its tower, situated on the highest point of the hill.

O. See D.

P. See I.

Q. Warehouses.

[1] Page 13, 14. [2] Page 19. [3] Page 25. [4] Page 28. [5] Page 31. [6] Page 42.

Q. Warehouses, office for payments and resident.

R. Public Street.

S. The outline of the hill.

No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, a, b, c — Projected works for the reduction of the area of the fortress.

It is through the kindness of the Royal Archivist BAKHUIZEN VAN DEN BRINK and Jonk Heer (nobleman) Doctor DE JONGE that we have been able to use the above map and all the various documents for our purpose. They have been ever ready to assist us in our investigations which we have taken the liberty to make in the old Colonial Archief in the interest of history.

Our sincere thanks are due to them for their assistance.

Vol. XIV. Part II

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of the

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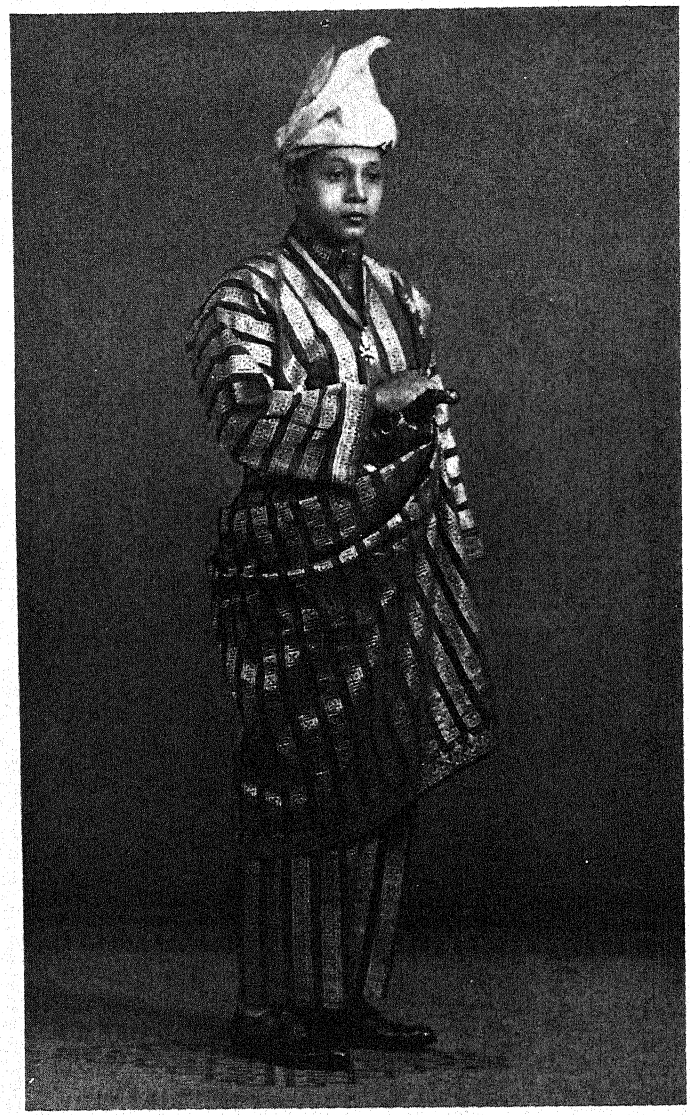


His Highness Sultan Abu-Bakar, K.C.M.G.

A

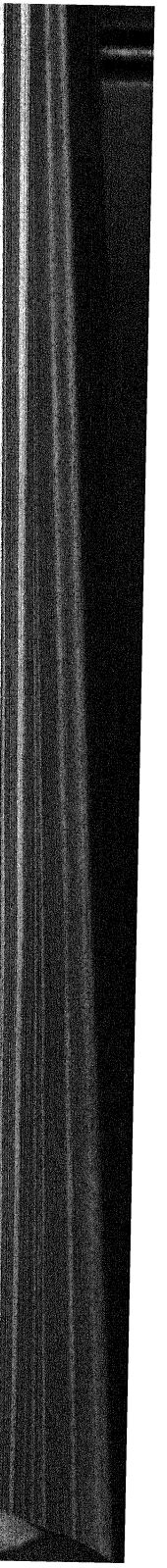
HISTORY

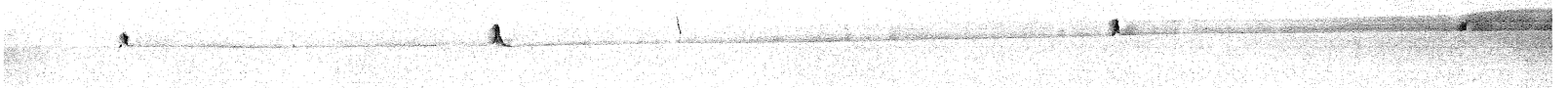
OF

PAHANG

BY

W. LINEHAN, M.A., M.C.S.





PREFACE.

In the preparation of this history I have had the benefit of assistance from many quarters. My thanks are due to Their Highnesses Sultan Abu-Bakar of Pahang and Tengku Meriam, the dowager Tengku Empuan Besar, for supplying photographs of Rulers. I am indebted to Dr. C. O. Blagden for searching for certain references to Pahang in the Maxwell MSS. in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, and for advice on the pre-Malaccan period. Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels, O.B.E., has helped with criticisms on pre-history. Mr. T. D. Hughes, M.C.S., supplied extracts from his translation of Castanheda, and let me see his translation of Tavares' " Jornada de Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho " before publication. The Rev. Fr. Cardon provided some references to Pahang from Portuguese sources. Mr. H. G. R. Leonard, late British Resident of Pahang, allowed me access to the minutes of the meetings of the State Council. Tengku Sulaiman, Tengku Besar of Pahang, has helped me in local details. Engku 'Abdu'l-Hamid bin 'Abdu'l-Majid of Johore has assisted in the translation of the inscriptions on ancient tomb-stones. Dato' Sĕtia Jaya, Haji Abu-Bakar, Secretary to the late Sultan Abdullah of Pahang, (a *laudator temporis acti*), provided me with the material for several of the notes on matters of local tradition. Engku Abdullah al-Haji, Orang Kaya Indĕra Pahlawan of Chĕnor, has supplied a list of descent of his family, and has been of help in other respects. Dato' Husain, M.C.S., Orang Kaya Indĕra Shahbandar, and Che Mahmud bin Mat, M.C.S., have made available, genealogies of the Shahbandar family. The maps here reproduced were prepared by Mr. L. D. Meyer of the Survey Department. Mr. F. W. Douglas provided some information from Brunai records.

My thanks are due above all to Sir Richard Winstedt who supplied me with material from the archives of the Colonial Secretariat, Singapore, and elsewhere. I gratefully acknowledge his unfailing assistance and advice. Where the histories of Pahang and Johore over-lap his " History of Johore " has been a mine of information which I have freely used, though original authorities, where available, have been studied, and I have not always accepted his conclusions.

W. L.

1936,
Muar, Johore.

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INTRODUCTION

Pahang, the largest of the Malay States, has an area of 14,000 square miles with a long sea-board on the China Sea. It is bounded on the north by Trengganu and Kelantan, on the west by Perak, Selangor and Negri Sembilan, and on the south by Johore. Before the rise of Malacca the kingdom of Pahang embraced the whole of the southern part of the Peninsula. Majapahit used the name Pahang to designate the Malay Peninsula—an indication of the importance of this ancient State. In the 16th century the southern boundaries of the country extended to Sedili Besar, and on the west it touched Rembau and Selangor.

To the north and west Pahang is encircled by hills. Its main water-systems, the high-ways of communication in the past, are the river Pahang and its tributaries, and the Kuantan, the Bĕbar, the Rompin, and the Endau. The country to the south-west between the head-waters of the Bĕra and the Muar, where the ancient over-land route between the east and the west of the Peninsula passed, is only 180 feet above sea-level. The low-lying nature of the land at this point and the breadth and sluggishness of the Bĕra, over part of its course an elongated marsh, have led to the conjecture[1] that at one time this stream formed the bed of the Pahang river which then flowed, not, as now, east into the China sea but west into the Straits of Malacca. It has been pointed out that the sharp bend in the Pahang river near Kuala Bĕra suggests river-capture by a stream flowing into the China sea. Colour is lent to the conjecture by old maps of the 16th and 17th centuries which show a river flowing between Muar and Pahang.

Pahang was linked up with adjoining states by river-routes as well as by sea. The Sungai Tanum, a tributary of the Jĕlai, and the Sat and Sĕpia, affluents of the Tembeling, led into Kelantan. The Sĕpia was also used as a means of communication with Trengganu. Perak was connected with Pahang by the difficult routes which followed the Bertam and the Lipis, tributaries of the Jelai. Travellers to Selangor followed the Semantan (a tributary of the Pahang river) and its feeders. But one of the most important trade-routes was that which connected Pahang with Muar and Malacca: this ran from the Pahang river into the Bĕra, thence into its tributary the Serting, from the source of which stream boats and goods were portaged at Penarekan (or Penarek)[2] into a tributary of the Muar, and thence down the Muar river. In one of d'Eredia's maps, produced about 1590, in which this route is shown, is a note :

" By the ' Panarikan ' they travel from Malacca to Pam in six days' journeying."

---

[1]Scrivenor's " Geology of Malaya," pp. 12-13.

[2]"The Portage."

The ancient practice of defining territorial divisions and apportioning lands by water-sheds was due, no doubt, to the fact that the Malays had an intimate knowledge of the courses of rivers and their tributaries.

There were many variations of the name Pahang. The Chinese chronicler Chau Ju-Kua knew it as Pöng-fông. According to the continuation of Ma Tuan lin's Cyclopedia. Pahang was called Siĕm-lao thási. By Arabs and Europeans the country was styled Pam, Pan, Paam, Paon, Phaan, Phang, Paham, Pahan, Pahaun, Phaung or Pahangh. Camoens, the "Lusitanian Vergil," wrote in the 16th century:

"See Pam, Patane, and in length obscure,

Siam, that ruleth all with royal sway."[1]

Pahang is the Khmer word for "tin": the tin mines at Sungai Lembing were worked in prehistoric times; it is possible that the name of the country was derived therefrom. Berthelot identifies the river Pahang with Ptolemy's *Attabas*. The proto—Malay Jakun of the Bebar say that their fore-fathers called the country *Mahang*. According to Malay legend, across the river at Kampong Kembahang where the present stream of the Pahang parts company with the Pahang Tua, in ancient times stretched a huge *mahang* tree from which the river and country derived their name.

The old court-name for Pahang was Indĕrapura. The capital of the country has always been known as "The Town," the Pre-Malaccans[2] calling it by the Sanskrit name *Pura*, the Malays, *Pekan*, the Portuguese, *a Cidade*. The people of Endau, Rompin, and Bĕbar describe the capital as *Pĕkan Pahang*, "the Town of Pahang." Pura may have covered a much larger area than the town which we know as Pĕkan; in addition to the modern Pĕkan it appears to have comprised the land on the banks of the Pahang and Pahang Tua rivers as far as Tanjong Langgar.

Pĕkan is divided into "Old Pĕkan," (*Pĕkan Lama*), and "New Pĕkan," (*Pĕkan Baharu*). Pĕkan Lama has been the exclusive abode of the Malay nobility at least as far back as the date of Admiral Matelief's visit in 1607.[3] The older name for *Pĕkan Baharu*, dating not later than the beginning of the 17th century, was *Kampong China*—"China-town."

---

[1]Burton's translation.

[2]The term "pre-Malaccan" refers to the period prior to the conquest of Pahang by the Malays of Malacca about 1454 A.D.

[3]*Infra*, p. 30.

CHAPTER I.

PREHISTORIC PAHANG AND THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

Nowhere in Malaya are there traces of a true palaeolithic culture. At Gunong Sennyum have been found relics of a mesolithic civilization using palaeolithic implements. At Sungai Lembing, Kuantan, have been discovered palaeolithic artefacts chipped and without trace of polishing, the remains of a Papua-Melanesoid civilization perhaps six thousand years old, the oldest known prehistoric migration to the Peninsula.

Late neolithic relics are abundant: polished tools of West Indonesian types, such as occur in Sumatra, Java and Bali, "quoit-discs," stone ear-pendants, stone bracelets, and cross-hatched bark-pounders. By 1500 B.C. quadrangular adzes of varying forms, coming probably from China through Indo-China, had arrived in Pahang. The advent of the beaked ("pointed") types found in Pahang, as elsewhere in Malaya, belongs to the same period.

Bronze relics are few; fragments of bowls have been found in the Tembĕling and at Tresang. In the former place, too, the bronze tympanum of a war-drum dating, perhaps, from a period prior to the later H'an dynasty (1st century A.D.) has been picked up. It appears that bronze-age culture, such as it was, did not reach the Peninsula till about 400 B.C.

Often, side by side with neoliths, are found the primitive efforts of the early iron age which prehistorians associate with Munda influence after the beginning of the Christian era: iron spear-heads, and poor, ineffective iron implements, mining tools, sickles and the like. It seems that the late neolithic culture lasted for some time in association with early iron civilization. These pre-historic relics, found along the rivers throughout the country, are particularly numerous in the valley of the Tembĕling, the old main northern high-way of communication.

On the Tembĕling, in ancient gold workings at Tresang, and elsewhere have been found primitive iron implements of the type known as *tulang mawas*, the "ape's bone," the relics, according to Malay tradition, of prehistoric cannibalistic inhabitants of the country. At Selinsing on the Jelai are ancient gold-workings thought to date back to the early iron age.

We know little about the representatives of these early cultures. They developed the working of stone into a fine art,[1] made

[1]Heine-Geldern's comment on the wonderful perfection of stone cutting displayed by the late neolithic people of Java and Sumatra and the artistic nature of the adze blades produced by them is applicable to the neolithic culture found in Pahang ("Sumatra" by E. M. Loeb and R. Heine-Geldern, Vienna, 1935).

artistic bracelets, ear-drops, war-like weapons and other stone objects. In the late neolithic period they became acquainted with the working of gold, tin and iron.

Malays, when they discovered neoliths (*batu lintar*), ancient ornaments or implements, used them as sharpeners, touch stones for testing precious metals (*batu uji*), or as charms to be used in sickness or war. Ancient iron implements were re-smelted and used in the manufacture of creese blades to give their owners invulnerability and bring them luck. In fact no creese was really lucky (*bertuah*) unless it was, in part, composed of a prehistoric iron implement.

The primitive tribes of which the Sĕmang, Sakai and Jakun are the representatives appear to have been unacquainted with the use of stone implements or weapons.

The woolly-haired negrito Sĕmang or Pangan, few in numbers in Pahang, are found as far south as the Cheka. They mixed slightly with the Sakai of the Tĕlom. The Sakai, wavy-haired Indonesians, speaking a language with Mon-Khmer affinities, are found in many of the undeveloped parts of the interior. In the jungles of the coastal plains are encountered the proto-Malay Jakun and the sea-faring gypsies (*Orang Laut*) both of the same stock. Few *Orang Laut*, as such, remain though their vanishing tracks are perceptible in the islands, and at Kuala Pahang. They have disappeared off the sea-board, taken to the rivers, and amalgamated with their Jakun kinsmen in one people. The Jakun have mixed with Sakai, and their language has been affected accordingly. At their points of contact with Malays, a process of absorption, slow but perceptible, of the Sakai and Jakun by Malays may be observed. This transition stage may best be studied in the upper reaches of the Rompin, Bĕbar, and Endau rivers.

The aborigines readily adopted the traditions of their rulers; the Krau people, fugitives from the Semantan during the Rawa rebellion of 1862, claimed descent from Menangkabaus of Pagar Ruyong,[1] while the Jakun head-men of Ulu Bebar asserted that they were the descendants of the pre-Malaccan "men of Siam." This claim calls to mind the opinion held by some writers, such as De Quatrefages, that in the Malay Peninsula conquest has destroyed States that were considerable and flourishing at one time but of which even recollection has been lost, driving back to the jungles and mountains the races which had founded them.

[1]Journal F.M.S. Museums, Vol. XII, 1925, p. 64.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRE-MALACCAN PEOPLE.

In the seventh century A.D. a kingdom called by Chinese chroniclers San Fo-ts'i which has been identified by Dr. Coedès with the Malay Sĕri-Vijaya with a capital, at one period, situated in Palembang, became predominant in the Malay Archipelago and the Peninsula. This empire has been thought to be the contemporary *Zabug* or *Zabag* of Arab geographers. In 1225 A.D. the Chinese writer Chau Ju-Kua, apparently describing conditions in the preceding century, records that Pong-fong (Pahang) was one of the dependencies of San Fo-ts'i. Another vassal state of San Fo-ts'i was Tan-ma-ling, to which place we shall return presently. The *Tao i chik lio* written by Wang Ta-Yuan in 1349 makes mention of P'eng K'eng (Pahang) and Pa-tu-ma (?Pulau Tioman) among other regions.

According to the Nagarakrtagama, composed in 1365, Pahang, Ujong Medini (Johore), Muar, Langkasuka, Kelantan, Trengganu, Paka and Dungun, Tumasik (Singapore), Sang Yang Ujong (Sungai Ujong), Kĕlang and Kĕdah were tributary states of Majapahit. To this list of the Javanese empire's dependencies the " Chronicles of Pasai " add various islands off the east coast of the Peninsula including Pulau Tioman, Pulau Tinggi, Pulau Pĕmanggil and Pulau Laut.

The History of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1643)[1] presents a picture of Pahang in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries :

> " Pahang is situated at the west of Siam. In the year 1378 the king, Maharaja Tajau, sent envoys with a letter on a gold leaf, and bringing as tribute six foreign slaves, and products of the country. They were received according to the established rules.
>
> " In the year 1411 the king, Pa-la-mi-so-la-ta-lo-si-ni sent envoys carrying tribute. In 1412 Cheng Ho went as an envoy to their country, and in the year 1414 they sent tribute again.
>
> " In the year 1416 they sent tribute together with Kalikut and Java, and Cheng Ho was again ordered to go there.
>
> " The soil of this country is fertile ; the climate is always warm, and rice is abundant there ; they make salt by boiling sea water, and wine by fermenting the sap of the coconut tree.
>
> " The higher and lower classes are on a very intimate footing, and there are no thieves ; they are very superstitious

[1]Book 325, quoted in " Notes on the Malay Archipelago " by W. P. Groeneveldt : Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China, 2nd Series, Vol. I, London, 1887, p. 256.

regarding demons and spirits, making their images of fragrant wood, and sacrificing men to them, in order to avert calamities or to pray for happiness.

"Amongst the articles which they brought as tribute were elephant-teeth, camphor baros, olibanum, lignum aloes, sandal wood, pepper, sapan-wood, and such more...."

Tajau of the Chinese chronicler may be *Tanjong*, and the reference may be to the northern head-land of the estuary of the river Pahang which was known to sea-farers as Tanjong Pahang, "Cape Pahang."

Pa-la-mi-so-la-ta-lo-si-ni was almost certainly the Chinese rendering of *Parameswara Telok*[1] *Chini*, "the prince of Chini Haven." Chini, which, in Siamese, means *gibbon*, gives its name to a mountain, a lake, a stream and a village situated about forty miles from the mouth of the river Pahang. There pre-Malaccan remains have been found.[2] In the same locality is Luit, with a village Singgora called after the capital of Patani, where, too, there are traces of pre-Malaccan habitation.[3] Except on the banks of the river, Chini is still jungle-clad, and little investigation has yet been done. For the Malays, Lake Chini has associations with the past: in their eyes the lake and its adjoining mountain are sacred, and they credit the place with the possession of a white crocodile styled *Sĕri Pahang*: "the glory of Pahang." It is possible that the lake did not always exist in its present form and that it covers the site of an ancient town. Only when the jungle gives up its secrets will the truth be known.

Assuming the correctness of these identifications, we then have, in 1378 A.D., a king at Tanjong Pahang known by the designation of Maharaja, and, in 1411 A.D., at Chini, a ruler with the style of Parameswara[4], a title also used by the founder of Malacca. Did these two kingships exist contemporaneously or do both titles refer to the same undivided line of rulers with merely a change of residence, or is it to be supposed that between 1378 and 1411 the king at Tanjong Pahang was displaced by the Chini potentate? These are questions which cannot, at present, be answered. We are told by d'Eredia that the kings of Pahang ruled only the coastal region. We know that the ruler of Pahang, at the date of its conquest by the Malacca Malays about 1454, bore the title of Maharaja. There is reason

[1]Menangkabau: *talok*, a bay, or a bend in the river, commonly used in the expression *telok rantau* "the bends and the reaches" of a river.

[2]J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI, Pt. IV, 1928, p. 79.

[3]Journal, F.M.S. Museums, Vol. IX, Pt. 2, 1920, p. 152.

[4]Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels points out that the term *Parameswara* seems to have been, in mediaeval times, in Majapahit and Bali, the special title of the non-royal husband of a ruling princess, and that the word, where it occurs in old inscriptions, designates the consort of a queen.

to believe that, at least as far as the people were concerned, apart from their rulers, the region of Kampong Melayu near Chini was at one time the boundary between the Malays and another race.[1]

The *Hsing-ch'a Sheng-lan*, written in 1436 by Fei Hsin, a Chinese Moslem and an Arabic scholar, gives the following interesting account of Pahang and its people :

> " This country is situated at the west of Siam ; it is surrounded by rocky ridges of mountains, which, seen from a distance, have the appearance of a table-land. The ground is fertile, and they have abundance of rice. The weather is often very warm.
>
> " Their customs cannot be much praised ; they make human images of fragrant wood, and kill people in order to make a sacrifice of the blood, when they pray for luck or try to ward off evil.
>
> " Men and women have their hair in a knot, and are clad with a single piece of cloth. Girls of rich families wear four or five golden circles on their foreheads, and the daughters of the common people use strings of coloured glass beads instead.
>
> " They boil salt out of sea-water, and make wine by fermenting rice-gruel.
>
> " Products of the country are lignum-aloes, camphor, tin and a kind of wood used in dyeing. Articles of import are gold, silver, coloured silks, Java-cloth, copper and iron-ware, gongs, boards, etc."

According to d'Eredia, Pahang was the second Malay kingdom in the Peninsula, in succession to Patani, and flourished before the founding of Malacca ; the ruler of Pahang in the latter part of the fourteenth century, a relative (by marriage) of Parameswara, first ruler of Malacca, was Lord of Ujong Tanah (the southerly part of the peninsula including Singapore).
d'Eredia[2] records that :

> " Pan was the second seat of the Empire of the Malaios ; its site lies on the eastern coast of the Peninsula in three degrees of North latitude ; the port is just as much frequented by merchants, because of the gold from its auriferous mines : it contains the best and largest gold-mines in the whole Peninsula : it was from here, one presumes, that there came the gold which formed the subject of the ancient trade with Alexandria...."

[1] J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI, Pt. IV, 1928, p. 81.

[2] " Report on the Golden Chersonese," translation by J. V. Mills (J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII, Pt. I, p. 233).

The same chronicler writes :[1]

> " It is to be noted that the eastern coast of Ujontana was peopled and frequented before the other or western coast : thus the histories relate that Malayos inhabited Pattane and Pam before the foundation of Malacca.
>
> " At that time the ruler of Pam governed Syncapura : and the monarch who resided in Pathane, the metropolis of the Malayos, was tributary to the empire of Syam, for right down to the present day the Malayos regard the latter as their master : while the head of the principal empire and administration was the Emperor of Attay...."

He adds :

> " Permicuri,[2] by birth a Jáo of Palimban in Samatta or the Golden Chersonese allied himself in marriage with the lords and monarchs of Patane and Pam who belonged to the family of the Malaios...."[3]

This first Malaccan potentate chose Malacca as his headquarters about the end of the 14th century. d'Eredia relates that :

> " Permicuri selected this spot in the interests of his own safety, for he stood in fear of the ruler of Pam, over-lord of the countries of Ujontana, who was making warlike preparations to capture him, in consequence of the treachery which Permicuri had perpetrated in Sincapura, when he assassinated the ' Xabandar ' who was related to the lord of Pam, despite the kindness which the ' Xabandar' had shown at his house in Syncapura, when Permicuri took refuge there in his flight from his father-in-law the Emperor of Java Major...."[4]

In the same chapter d'Eredia calls Permicuri the " first king of the Malayos." According to d'Albuquerque's " Commentaries," it was the ruler of Patani of whom Permicuri stood in fear, and the murdered chief's name was Tamagi.

d'Eredia[5] states that the religion of Islam was introduced into Patani and Pahang before it was accepted by " Permicuri at Malacca in the year 1411." That statement is certainly true of Trengganu (which at that time appears to have formed a province of Patani), and is probably true of Pahang, though we have no other evidence to show that Islam was practised in the country before 1454. Mahayana Buddhism, on which were superimposed

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[1] d'Eredia's " Description of Malacca," translation by J. V. Mills, *loc. cit.*, p. 37.

[2] An incorrect rendering of *Parameswara*.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 49.

Tantric orgies involving human sacrifice, had reached the Malay Peninsula about the 8th century. Its influence in Pahang, though it waned with the introduction of Islam as the State religion about 1454, may be traced up to the beginning of the 17th century.

In the 12th century the kingdom of San Fo-ts'i began to decline, and by the 14th century, in the south, the east-Java state of Majapahit had become predominant, while, in the north, by 1292, the Siamese (Thai) kingdom, with its capital at Sukhodaya, had emerged.

A vassal of San Fo-ts'i, according to Chau Ju-Kua, was Tan-ma-ling. Gerini[1] identified this country with Kuantan, a district of Pahang, on the ground that the north promontory of the Kuantan river was called *Tanjong Tembĕling*, "Cape Tembĕling."

Candrabhanu a king of Ligor who, according to the Jaiya inscription (which has now been discovered to have come from Ligor and not from Jaiya or Chaiya), styled himself Sĕri Dharmaraja and Lord of Tambralinga, the Ceylonese "Mahavamsa" tells us, led two hostile expeditions against Ceylon about the middle of the 13th century with *Javaka* (Malay) forces.[2] By 1292, Ligor had become the extreme southern limit of the Thai kingdom of Sukhodaya (Sukhothai). Now Ligor has been widely accepted as being the Tan-ma-ling of Chau Ju-Kua[3] and the Tambralinga of the Jaiya inscription. There are two localities in Pahang which are suggestive of the name given by the Chinese chronicler : the river Tembĕling which, the discovery of numerous neolithic and early iron-age implements there indicates, was at one time a thickly populated district, and Tanjong Tembĕling the northern head-land of the Kuantan river. Was there a connection between these places and Ligor ? The history of the Ming Dynasty states that the Pahang ruler who sent envoys to China in 1378 was called Maharaja, the same style as that affected by the king of Ligor. When the Malacca forces conquered Pahang about 1454, according to the "Malay Annals"[4] they found there a "Siamese" prince with the title of Maharaja Dewa Sura. The term "Siamese," it is to be remembered, was used by the Malacca Malays to denote their forerunners in Pahang, whether of Thai stock or otherwise. About the year 1500, less than fifty years after the Malacca invasion, the Malay chronicler records[5] that a

[1] J. R. A. S. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society), 1905, 498.

[2] Ligor, it appears, was a State of mixed population but under Malay rule.

[3] "Le Royaume de Crivijaya" by Dr. G. Coedès in B. E. F. E. O. (Bulletin de L'Ecole Française d'Extreme-Orient), Tome XVIII, No. 6, 1918, especially pp. 4-5, 15-18, 32-33 ; and "The Struggle between the Sailendras and the Cholas" by Dr. R. C. Majumdar (Journal of the Greater India Society, Vol. I, No. 2, 1934, pp. 71 ff.).

[4] p. 82 of Shellabear's 2nd edition (reprinted), Methodist Publishing House, Singapore, 1915.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 196.

Maharaja Dewa Sura, king of Ligor (who bore the same title as that of the prince who ruled in Pahang about 1454), on the instructions of the king of Siam invaded Pahang, following the route by the Tembĕling. It is not unlikely that this invasion by a once-powerful State was in re-assertion of a pre-Thai suzerainty, that it is to Ligor, the Tan-ma-ling of the Chinese and the Tambralinga of the Jaiya inscription, that we must look, at least during one period, for the origin of the pre-Malaccan rulers of Pahang, and that it was the men of Ligor who gave the name of their country Tan-ma-ling to the river Tembĕling,[1] a high-way of communication between Pahang and the north, and to Tanjong Tembĕling at Kuantan, the only safe anchorage for their fleet on the Pahang coast during the season of the north-east monsoon,[2] and the port of access to the rich tin mines of Sungai Lembing. To Ligor, a State powerful enough to invade Ceylon twice during the 13th century, the conquest of Pahang must have presented no great difficulty.

With the subjugation of Ligor by Sukhothai about 1280 A.D. the suzerainty over Pahang fell to the Thais in the 14th century. In the same century Pahang suffered an invasion from Majapahit which thereafter claimed that State as one of its conquests. This raid may have had no lasting effects,[3] though it appears that it resulted in inter-marriage between members of the ruling family of Majapahit and the princes of Pahang. The Thai over-lords of Ligor apparently did not interfere with the Ligor dynasty in Pahang but they, too, may have contracted marriage alliances with the Pahang royal family. The new empire which had arisen

[1]The " Malay Annals " mention a place on the Tembĕling but do not name the river. The first mention, in Malay records, of the Tembĕling by that appellation appears in Perak MSS. which relate events that occurred about 1600 (*infra* p. 29).

[2]It was not uncommon to name places in Pahang in commemoration of the advent of foreigners. Thus, near Kuala Pahang Tua, we get Tanjong Selangor " the Promontory of the Selangor men," in memory of a Sultan of Selangor who visited the country in the 18th century (*infra*, p. 51). On the Pahang river is a Tanjong Brunai, to recall the visit of forces from Borneo in the 16th and 17th centuries ; a Bĕlukar Acheh " the Over-grown Ground of the Achinese " who invaded Pahang in the 17th century ; and a Tanjong Johor " the Promontory of the Johore men " who appeared in the country during the 17th and 19th centuries.

[3]A reference in the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* to the language spoken by the Pahang people in the latter part of the 15th century indicates the absence, then at least, of Majapahit influence. Ladies of the Pahang court are represented as saying : "...The songs of our country Indĕrapura are not Malay songs ; we are Malays indeed but speak a mongrel tongue, not the true Malay of Malacca " ; to which the Laksamana Hang Tuah smilingly replied : " It may well be that we Malaccans speak impure Malay, mixed, as it is, with the Javanese of Majapahit." The Indĕrapura of the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* was Pahang, not, as some scholars have thought, Siak. Apart from the tradition that Pahang was anciently known by that name and the fact that in the " Malay Annals " the country about the estuary of the Pahang river was called Pura, there is abundant internal evidence in the *Hikayat* to prove beyond doubt the identification of Indĕrapura with Pahang.

in the north contented itself with exacting tribute from Pahang, and establishing settlements in that country.

The pre-Malaccan people of Pahang lived by mining gold, tin, and iron and planting rice. They left many traces : irrigation works, mine workings, remains of brick buildings, specimens of Sawankalok pottery, and probably the pottery industry at Kuala Tembĕling which has survived through the years to the present day. The pre-Malaccans occupied the Tembĕling. They can be traced as far south as the Merchong. They extended into the Pahang and the Jelai ; their tracks can be found along lake Chini up to the head-waters of the Rompin ; in the old Selinsing mines scoops of *palas* wood used by them have been discovered. They left numerous relics in gold-workings at Tresang and Sempore. They made their way to the Bĕbar. They established settlements at Jeram Kuai (Koi) and Jong Berlaboh on the Tembĕling, at Lubok Pĕlang, Lubok Paku, at Chini, at Langgar, at Pengkalan Durian in Ulu Bĕbar, at Pura, and elsewhere. Their occupation is commemorated by the nomenclature of places such as Chini, Parit Siam, Tambak Siam, Lubang Siam (or Lumbong Siam), Parit Siam, and Sungai Lego (Ligor) a tributary of the Tekam in the vicinity of Kota Gĕlanggi.[1]

[1] *Cf. infra*, pp. 241-247.

CHAPTER III.

THE MALACCA RULERS OF PAHANG TO 1590 A.D.

Sultan Muzaffar of Malacca, who reigned *ca.* 1445 to 1458 A.D., refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of Siam over his country. The Siamese, in assertion of their claim, sent an invading army, led by Awi Chakri, over-land to Malacca. The invaders, who were no doubt aided by Pahang auxiliaries, followed the old route by the Tembĕling, Pahang and Bĕra rivers. They were easily defeated and fled back by the same way. Subsequently they attempted an invasion by sea, but were again beaten. Sultan Muzaffar then conceived the idea of checking Siamese pretensions by attacking the Siamese vassal State of Pahang. An expedition was organized by Muzaffar's son, Sultan Mansur Shah, and sailed for Pahang about 1454 A.D.

The *Sejarah Melayu* relates the history of the Malaccan invasion :

> " In Pahang was a settlement called Pura.[1] The river of the country was shallow, its strands pleasant ; the waters of the river ran fresh right into the sea. Alluvial gold was to be found there, broad plains, and jungles stocked with elephants, bison, (said to be not very much smaller than elephants), deer and monkeys....In olden days Pahang was a great kingdom ; it was subject to Siam, and was ruled by Maharaja Dewa Sura of the family of Paduka Bubunnya.
>
> " When Sultan Mansur Shah heard of Pahang he longed to capture it, and commanded Bendahara Paduka Raja to attack it. The Bendahara, with two hundred sail, big and small, accordingly proceeded to Pahang with Tun Pikrama, Tun Bijaya Maha-Mantĕri, Sĕri Bija'diraja...After a voyage of some days they arrived in Pahang and the men of Malacca fought with the men of Pahang. By the will of the Almighty and All-Powerful God the country was easily conquered."

The " Siamese " prince, Maharaja Dewa Sura, fled to the interior, while his daughter Putĕri Wanang Sĕri was captured. The victors, anxious to gain the good-will of the Bendahara, hastened in pursuit of the fugitive prince ; one, however, Sĕri Bija 'diraja loitered on the way, amusing himself by hunting wild buffaloes, spearing bison, trapping jungle fowl, and fishing. When Maharaja Dewa Sura reached certain rapids in the Tembĕling, thinking himself secure from pursuit, he shouted to his boat-men : " Koi ! Koi ! " And from that day, the " Malay Annals " tell us, the rapids became known as *Jeram*

[1]Pekan and the surrounding locality.

Koi.[1] But the Malacca men followed so quickly that the fugitive prince had to abandon his boat and take to the jungle where he remained for several days without food. The pursuers, in their eagerness, hastened up-stream, and it was the good fortune of the dilatory Sĕri Bija 'diraja to capture Maharaja Dewa Sura whose whereabouts were betrayed by an old woman of whom he had begged food. The captive prince and his daughter were carried to Malacca by the victorious Malays.

The prince of Malacca appointed Sĕri Bija 'diraja governor of Pahang, and permitted him the privilege, once he was out of Malacca waters, of using six of the eight instruments that made up a kingly band, and of having a pair of fringed umbrellas borne over him; the use of the royal kettle-drums (*nĕgara*) was withheld.

Sĕri Bija 'diraja accordingly proceeded to Pahang which country he governed for some years. Once a year he visited Malacca to do obeisance to his sovereign.

In the year that Pahang was conquered, or shortly afterwards, Mansur Shah married Puteri Onang (Wanang) Sĕri, the daughter of the captive prince, whose name had been changed, probably on conversion to Islam, to Putĕri Lela Wangsa. By her he had two sons Raja Ahmad and Raja Muhammad.

Sultan Muzaffar died about 1458 A.D., and was succeeded by Mansur Shah. The new ruler, as his sons grew up, paid especial favour to Raja Muhammad and designated him as his successor, but when this youth was about fifteen years of age, there happened an event which deprived him of all prospects of ruling over Malacca. One day, while riding past a group of boys who were engaged in a game of foot-ball (*sepak raga*), the young prince's head-dress was displaced by a ball kicked by Tun Besar, the Bendahara's son. The infuriated youth, with an angry imprecation, drew his creese and killed the innocent author of the accident.

The Bendahara's people flew to arms to avenge Tun Besar's death, but were restrained by the Bendahara who warned them against any measures that might be construed as treason against the Sultan. However, the dead boy's father and his people vowed that the guilty prince should never rule over them. Sultan Mansur, after hearing their complaint, agreed that Muhammad should be exiled from Malacca. He recalled Sĕri Bija 'diraja from Pahang and commanded him to escort Muhammad to that country and instal him as Sultan there.

Accompanied by Tun Hamzah, son of Bendahara Sĕri Amar 'diraja of Malacca, appointed Bendahara for the new kingdom, by Sĕri Akar Raja, son of Sĕri Bija 'diraja as his chief Captain, by

[1]At Jeram Koi have been discovered the moulds of primitive cannon (J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI, Pt. IV, p. 66 *sq*.).

a treasurer (*Penghulu Bendahari*), and a Temenggong, and by one hundred youths and one hundred maidens of noble family, Raja Muhammad proceeded to Pahang where he was duly installed Sultan about the year 1470 A.D. with the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah. The boundaries of his kingdom extended from Sedili Besar to Trengganu. This first Malaccan ruler of Pahang, appears to have settled at Tanjong Langgar, the old seat of the former Siamese-Pahang princes.

The events of this period are obscure.[1] There is reason to believe that Raja Ahmad, the elder full brother of the newly appointed Sultan of Pahang, who also had been passed over for the succession to the Malacca throne, as a consolation was installed heir to the Pahang Sultanate by his father in Malacca and proceeded to that country between the years 1470-1475.

On 17 September 1475 Sultan Muhammad died and was buried at Langgar[2] on the Pahang Tua. The inscription on his tomb gives his name, descent and the date of his death.[3] His grave, long forgotten, has only recently been discovered.

According to the "Commentaries" of the younger d'Albuquerque, Sultan Mansur of Malacca had, by a daughter of the "King of Pahang," (Puteri Wanang Sĕri) a son who was poisoned. Is the reference to a third son not mentioned by the "Annals" or to Sultan Muhammad? The second conjecture is the more likely.

It appears that Muhammad was succeeded by his full brother Raja Ahmad who took the title of Sultan Ahmad Shah, (he, too, has sometimes been called Sultan Muhammad Shah, or Sultan Mahmud Shah). Sultan Ahmad married a daughter of Tun Hamzah, the Bendahara Sĕri Amar 'diraja and by her had a son Raja Mansur.

The new ruler was a disgruntled man: he had been passed over for the succession to the Sultanate of Malacca by a younger half-brother Raja Husain who, with the title of Sultan Alauddin, succeeded his father Mansur in 1477. Hearing that Tun Telanai the hereditary chief of Trengganu, without his knowledge, had visited Malacca and paid obeisance to Sultan Alauddin, Ahmad sent the complacent Sĕri Akar Raja to kill him. Sĕri Akar Raja successfully accomplished his murderous mission. and was given his victim's place as feudal chief. The relatives of Tun Telanai appealed to Malacca for redress. Sultan Alauddin, furious at Tun Telanai's murder, an insult aimed at himself,

[1]Appendix I, *infra*, deals with the descent of the early rulers.

[2]The name *Langgar* in Pahang, as well as in Kelantan and Kedah, was applied to the locality where royalty was buried. In Pahang the origin of the name has been completely lost, and a mistaken tradition derives the appellation from the "clashing" of armies.

[3]Appendix I, *infra*.

wished to go to war with Pahang but was dissuaded by his ministers who pointed out the folly of a fratricidal struggle. Ultimately the Laksamana was sent to Pahang to exact reprisals. On his arrival he was courteously received by Sultan Ahmad, and the letter which he bore from his master was, in accordance with custom, received with royal honours and read out in the presence of the Court. When the ceremony was over, one of the Laksamana's followers, according to a pre-arranged plan, attacked and killed a cousin of Sĕri Akar Raja, the murderer of the Trengganu chief. The Laksamana was asked to try his follower on the spot. The man pleaded guilty but the Laksamana declined to punish him as the killing was by way of reprisals for Tun Telanai's murder. Sultan Ahmad smiled and said :

"We ordered Tun Telanai of Trengganu to be slain because of his evil tongue ; he boasted that Malacca was under his domination. You may settle the matter of the present murder with Sĕri Akar Raja for you and he are relatives." The Laksamana, after assisting at the obsequies of the murdered man, returned to Malacca.

In 1488 A.D., Sultan Alauddin of Malacca died at Pagoh on the Muar river, poisoned, it was said, by the rulers of Pahang and Inderagiri. He was known posthumously as *Marhum Berdarah Puteh* : "the late Ruler of the Royal White Blood." Nobody could have desired Alauddin's death more eagerly than his elder brother Sultan Ahmad of Pahang who had been passed over for the succession to the Malacca throne by Alauddin. The ruler of Inderagiri implicated in the poisoning must have been Raja Merlang who had married Alauddin's half-sister Raja Bakal and settled in Malacca where he died.

Sultan Alauddin was succeeded by his son Sultan Mahumd (*Marhum Kampar*) with whom his royal uncle of Pahang continued his quarrels. The author of the *Sejarah Malayu* confuses Ahmad with his nephew 'Abdu'l-Jamil, and several of the events which our Malay writer ascribes to 'Abdu'l-Jamil's reign appear to have occurred in Sultan Ahmad's time.

Tun Teja, a daughter of the Bendahara of Pahang, famed for her beauty, was destined to play the part of Helen of Troy, on a small scale, on the Malayan stage. There are two conflicting versions of her elopement. According to the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, she was betrothed to Mĕgat Panji Alam, son of the ruler of Trengganu. After her abduction by the Sultan of Malacca the Trengganu prince brought a large army to Pahang with the intention of invading Malacca overland. The Malacca ruler forestalled the attack by sending a force under Hang Tuah, by boat, to Pĕkan where the Malacca Chief fought and killed Mĕgat Panji Alam. If the story is true, is the ancient grave at Genting

on the Pahang river opposite Lubok Paku, which is known as *Makam Mĕgat Elok*, "the tomb of the handsome Mĕgat," the resting place of the Trengganu prince?

The *Sejarah Melayu* tells a different tale. A Malacca envoy to Pahang, on his return to his own country, spread the fame of Tun Teja's beauty. Sultan Mahmud of Malacca, enamoured of the picture of Tun Teja as presented to him by his Chief, promised any reward, however great, to the man who would abduct the Pahang girl and bring her to Malacca.

Hang Nadim, who had given offence to the Sultan, seized the opportunity of expiating his fault and undertook to carry off Tun Teja who was betrothed to the Pahang prince. He went to Pahang and ingratiated himself with an old female retainer of the Bendahara's household whom he bribed with money and presents. The woman whispered praises of the Malacca ruler and disparaging remarks about the Pahang raja into her mistress' ear: "What a pity to see my lady, beautiful as she is, marrying this Raja! Far better to wed a great ruler!.....The prince of Malacca is greater than the Pahang Sultan, and of a goodly presence....If you go to Malacca assuredly the Raja there will marry you for he has not got a royal wife, and you will become the principal consort (*raja perempuan*). If you marry the Pahang prince you will have to share his affections with his chief consort, but if you wed the Sultan of Malacca you will have precedence over the royal consort of Pahang."

Tun Teja was won over, and fled by night from Pekan in a boat with Hang Nadim. On arriving at the barrier which blocked the Pahang river Hang Nadim filled his coat-sleeve with sand which he then cast into the water, the noise made resembling that of a net being cast by a fisherman. The guards at the barrier, deceived by the sound into thinking that the vessel was an ordinary fishing boat, opened the barrier and let the fugitives pass. On their arrival at the estuary of the Pahang the fugitives boarded a Malacca junk which, by arrangement, awaited them there, and set sail for Malacca.

When Tun Teja's flight was discovered, the Sultan himself started in pursuit with a fleet of boats. He came up with the fugitives at Pulau Kĕban, but the Malacca junk succeeded in beating off the attackers, and escaped. On her arrival at Malacca Tun Teja was duly wedded to Sultan Mahmud.[1]

The Pahang potentate, enraged and humiliated at the slight which had been put upon him, prepared to attack Malacca. In the heat of his anger he mounted his elephant *I Kepenyang*

[1]If the "Malay Annals" are correct in saying that 'Abdu'l-Jamil was the Pahang prince who figured in the episode, and that it was he who married Raja Fatimah, Sultan Alauddin's daughter, then Tun Teja's elopement occurred before July, 1495, the date of Raja Fatimah's death.

and charged his council-hall, shouting as he did so: "Look you all, this is how I shall treat the palace of the Raja of Malacca!" Sultan Mahmud, hearing of this incident, and of the projected attack, sent his Laksamana Khoja Hassan with a letter to Pahang. The ruler of the eastern State had calmed down in the meantime and, having a wholesome dread of Malacca, received the envoy civilly and denied that he contemplated hostile action. But, the "Malay Annals" tell us, his anger flared up again when Khoja Hassan signalized his departure by stealing the elephant *I Kepenyang*.

The insults put upon the Pahang Raja and his inability to avenge them brought him into disgrace with his people, and made his position untenable. He abdicated in favour of his young son Raja Mansur who assumed the title of Sultan Mansur Shah. The new Sultan was placed under the guardianship of his "uncles."

According to the *Sejarah Melayu*, Sultan Mansur's father retired to the interior:

> "His Highness went up-stream for so long as the royal drums (*nobat*) could be heard; when he came to Lubok Pĕlang there he resided, and the sound of the drums was no longer heard. He went into religious seclusion; he it is whom people call *Marhum Shaikh*."

These events took place about 1494 A.D. The *Sejarah Melayu* records that 'Adu'l-Jamil was the Pahang ruler concerned, but it may be that the "Annals" are mistaken, that some of the happenings occurred during the reign of his uncle the second ruler of Pahang, Sultan Ahmad, and that Ahmad was the Raja who abdicated in favour of his son Mansur, retired to Lubok Pĕlang, and was known as *Marhum Shaikh*.[1]

Between the years 1488 and 1493 Raja Fatimah, a royal daughter of Alauddin of Malacca and a full sister of Sultan Mahmud (*Marhum Kampar*), had married a Pahang prince. The "Annals" state that her husband was 'Abdu'l-Jamil (Raja Jamil); according to the *Bustan-al-Salatin* he was Mansur. She died, childless, on 7 July, 1495 and was buried at Pĕkan Lama in the grave-yard which was known as *Ziarat Raja Raden*. After Ahmad's abdication it appears that Raja Jamil, the eldest son of the first ruler (who had died in 1475), under the style of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamil, reigned jointly with Ahmad's son, Sultan Mansur. This prince was the younger, and Jamil and his brothers seem to have exercised some measure of guardianship over him in the early years of his reign.

In 1500, the ruler of Ligor,[2] on the instructions of the King of Ayuthia (Siam), with a large army invaded Pahang through

[1] Appendix I, *infra*.

[2] This State had been conquered by Siam before 1292 A.D. (Coedès: "Inscriptions de Sukhodaya," 1924, pp. 37-48).

Kelantan and the Tembĕling. The common danger made the Pahang people forget their squabbles with Malacca. Sultan Mahmud sent a Malacca force, under the Bendahara Sĕri Maharaja, to help Pahang. Among the leaders of the expedition were Laksamana Khoja Hasssan, and the warriors Sang Sĕtia, Sang Naya, Sang Guna, Sang Jaya Pikrama, and Tun Biajid. The forts at Pekan were strengthened, the people mobilized, and arms got ready. There was delay in completing the main fortification called the "Fort of Pahang," (perhaps the fort also known as *Kota Biram* which stood on the site of the modern Residency). The people composed a song, the first line of which ran: "The fort of Pahang, the flames devour." The Malacca men under Laksamana Khoja Hassan, who worked "hand, foot and mouth," repaired the fort in three days. The invaders made only a half-hearted attempt on Pahang, and were soon put to flight with severe losses. They returned by the route by which they had come. This was the last Siamese invasion of Pahang.

In 1511, when Malacca fell to the Portuguese, Sultan Mahmud fled to Pahang by the Bĕra route. There he was welcomed by 'Abdu'l-Jamil. The dispossessed ruler stayed a year in the country during which time he married one of his daughters (whose mother was a Kelantan princess) to Sultan Mansur. The name of this daughter is unknown. It was not Fatimah, as has sometimes been thought: Marhum Kampar's daughter of that name ("Putĕri Mah") married a son of Raja Abdullah of Siak.[1]

In 1511-1512 A.D. while Mahmud was in Pahang, 'Abdu'l-Jamil died and was buried at Pekan Lama in the grave-yard *Ziarat Raja Raden*. He was posthumously known as *Marhum Ziarat*. In the inscription on his tomb his name is given as 'Abdu'l-Jalil and the date of his death as 917 A.H. (1511-1512 A.D.). It is recorded in d'Albuquerque's "Commentaries" that Sultan Mahmud died of grief in Pahang after his expulsion from Malacca. We know that Sultan Mahmud was in that country in 1511-1512, that he did not die there, and that his death did not occur till 1528 A.D. The Portuguese must have mistaken 'Abdu'l-Jamil (who died exactly at that date) for Sultan Mahmud.[2]

Until recently 'Abdu'l-Jamil's grave was erroneously thought by the Pahang people to be that of the Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil of Johore (*Marhum Kuala Pahang*) who was killed at Kuala Pahang in 1720 A.D.

After 'Abdu'l-Jamil's death Sultan Mansur I was the sole ruler. It seems that he was slain between the years 1512 and 1519 for adultery with one of the wives of his father ex-Sultan Ahmad.[3] It is probable that he was the ruler of that name who

[1] *Bustan-al-Salatin*, J. S. B. R. A. S., No. 81, p. 43; and *Sejarah Melayu*, a Variant Version, J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 28.

[2] *Infra*, Appendix I.

[3] *Sejarah Melayu*, a Variant Version, *loc. cit.*, p. 21.

was said to have been slain by "all his warriors."[1] Mansur's widow then married another cousin Raja Nara Singa (Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil of Inderagiri) whose maternal grand-father was Sultan Mansur of Malacca.[2] The ex-Sultan Ahmad, the father of Mansur, must have died shortly after these events. It may have been he who was buried at Lubok Pĕlang, and became known to posterity as *Marhum Shaikh.*

Mansur I was succeeded by his first cousin, Raja Mahmud (a son of Muhammad the first Sultan), who may be the prince who is described as "the son of the original ruler of Pahang (*anak Raja Pahang raja yang asal*)".[3] The new Sultan's first royal wife was his first cousin Raja Olah (or Wati, or Awi). After his accession to the throne he married (about 1519) a second wife, Raja Hatijah, one of the daughters of his cousin *Marhum Kampar.* This marriage which took place at Bentan was designed to strengthen *Marhum Kampar's* position in his fight against the Portuguese. Mahmud was installed Sultan by his new father-in-law who "drummed" him (had the royal drum of installation beaten) only once.[4]

Duarte Coelho was sent to Ayuthia as an ambassador, in 1518, by Aleixo de Menezes, Captain of Malacca. He remained there till November 1519:

> "He took a circuitous route, in returning, to avoid the ships of the King of Bintam, the ex-King of Malacca. In attempting to cross from the coast of Camboja to the point of Singapore, he was driven ashore on the coast of Pam and fell into the hands of the son-in-law of that monarch who fortunately was on bad terms with his father-in-law, and sent Duarte Coelho safely to Malacca where he arrived in February, 1520."[5]

According to *Os Portugueses em Africa, America e Oceania,*[6] in the year 1518 Duarte Coelho, after concluding a treaty with the King of Siam at the Court of Ayuthia, "then went to the Kingdom of Pam whose King made himself a tributary of Portugal as he was formerly of the King of Malacca." The Portuguese records state that the King of Pahang agreed to pay a cup of gold as an annual tribute to Portugal, but "this was done more from hatred to the King of Bintang than from love to the Portuguese."

Faria Y Sousa relates[7] that until 1522 the king of Pahang had sided with the Portuguese; but seeing that the tide of fortune

[1] *Bustan-al-Salatin, loc. cit.*, pp. 44-46.

[2] *Sejarah Melayu* Shellabear, p. 103; and a Variant Version, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Sejarah Melayu,* a Variant Version, *loc. cit.*, p. 39.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

[5] "The Book of Duarte Barbosa"—Hakluyt Society—p. 169.

[6] Vol. I, p. 86,—Anon.

[7] "Portuguese History of Malacca," J. S. B. R. A S., No. 17, p. 128.

had turned against them, he, too, became their enemy. Ignorant of this change, Albuquerque sent three ships to the port of Pahang for provisions, where two of his captains and thirty men were killed. The third made his escape, but was slain with all his men at Java. Simon Abreu and his crew were slain on another occasion.

Valentyn[1] records that in 1522 several Portuguese who had landed at Pahang, in ignorance that the king there was son-in-law to the king of Johore, were murdered; many others were compelled by the king of Johore to embrace the Muhammadan faith, while those who refused to do so were tied to the mouth of a cannon and blown to pieces.

The Portuguese, who apparently up to that time had made no attack on Pahang, exacted a stern reckoning in 1523. In that year, the Sultan of Johore again invested Malacca with the ruler of Pahang as his ally, and gained a victory over the Portuguese in the river Muar. The Laksamana attacked the shipping in the roads of Malacca, burnt one vessel and captured two others. At this crisis Alfonso de Souza arrived with succours, relieved the city, and pursued the Laksamana into the Muar. Thence he proceeded to Pahang, destroyed all the vessels in the river, and slew over five thousand, (six hundred according to Castanheda), of the people of Pahang in retaliation for the assistance given by their ruler to the Sultan of Johore in his attack on Malacca. Numbers were carried into slavery. A detailed account of Portuguese operations in Pahang during the years 1522-1523 is given by Castanheda.[2]

In 1525, Mascarenhas attacked Bintang. Pahang sent a fleet with two thousand men to help the defenders. The force arrived at the mouth of the river on the very day on which the bridge was destroyed. Mascarenhas despatched a vessel with Francisco Vasconcellos and others to attack the Pahang force which was speedily put to flight.

Sultan Mahmud Shah appears to have ruled in Pahang all through these events. His name-sake of Malacca-Bintang (*Marhum Kampar*) died in 1528, and was succeeded by a son Sultan Alauddin II, a youth fifteen years of age. The young prince visited Pahang about 1529 and married a relative of the Pahang ruler.[3]

While Alauddin was in Pahang, according to the *Sejarah Melayu*,[4] the time came for Sultan Mahmud to send the customary tribute of gold and silver " flowers " to Siam. In his draft letter which was to accompany the gift, Mahmud used the term ' loyal

[1]" Description of Malacca," J. S. B. R. A S., No. 15, p. 124.
[2]Translation by Mr. T. D. Hughes, Appendix VII, *infra*.
[3]*Sejarah Melayu*, aVariant Version, *loc. cit.*, p. 42.
[4]*Op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

salutations' (*sembah*). The Bendahara Paduka Raja of Johore, who happened to be in Pahang with his master, demurred at the use of this term saying that even he, if he were sending a letter to the king of Siam, used merely the words ' affectionate salutations ' (*kaseh*). Mahmud changed the words accordingly from *sembah* to *kaseh*, and his epistle, with offerings, was sent together with a letter from the Bendahara. When the despatches reached Ayuthia, Phra Khlang received the Bendahara's epistle, though in it was used the word *kaseh*, but declined to accept the Pahang ruler's letter until *kaseh* was altered to *sembah*. The story is an attempt by the Bendahara—author of the "Annals" to glorify his ancestors at the expense of Pahang royalty. But, untrue though the tale may be, we glean from it the information that in the early half of the sixteenth century Pahang was still paying tribute to Siam.

Sultan Mahmud of Pahang died, it appeared, about 1530, and was posthumously named *Marhum di-hilir*: " the late Sultan who was buried down-stream." According to the *Bustan-al-Salatin*, Mahmud left two sons Muzaffar and Zainal, the former of whom succeeded him.[1]

Not long after the new ruler had come to the throne, one Pateh Ludang (or Luding) of " Sang Pura " (? Singapore) gave offence to a Johore Chief Sang Sĕtia and fled with his tribe to Pahang where Muzaffar gave him sanctuary. When Muzaffar went to Johore for his installation by Alauddin II, he took with him the fugitive aboriginal headman. But the protection of the Pahang prince did not avail Pateh Ludang on his arrival, and he was slain by his enemy. In face of Muzaffar's threats to return forthwith to Pahang, Sultan Alauddin ordered his Laksamana to arrest the murderer Sang Sĕtia. When the Laksamana, in pursuance of his instructions, arrived at Sang Sĕtia's house, the offender resisted arrest declaring that if he were to be killed by the Laksamana he would offer no resistance, but that he declined to allow this Chief to arrest him as " it was not the practice for warrior to arrest warrior," and they were both great warriors ! Alauddin then sent his Bendahara to whom, as his over-lord, Sang Sĕtia submitted—another effort by the author of the *Sejarah Melayu*[2] to exalt his ancestors.

Muzaffar made a poor showing against the Bendahara when Sang Sĕtia was produced before him, and agreed that the culprit should be released. The Bendahara then admonished the murderer : " Do not act thus again, for His Highness of Pahang and His Highness of Perak are the same to us as our own Sultan—that

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[1]The *Sejarah Melayu*, (a Variant Version, *loc. cit.*, p. 50) says that the deceased ruler was succeeded by a relative—*saudara*—named Raja Jainad (Raja Zainal) who was entitled Sultan Muzaffar Shah.

[2]*Op. cit.*, pp. 50-52.

is, when times are auspicious. When times are not auspicious, then our Ruler is our only master."

Muzaffar had to be content with the people of the murdered man's tribe whom Alauddin handed over to him as compensation.

It was, it appears, during the reign of Sultan Muzaffar, that Fernand Mendez Pinto journeyed to Pahang. He gives the following interesting account of his voyage and experiences in that country in 1540: "After I had been cured of the illness for which my captivity in Siaca was responsible, Pedro de Faria, desirous of an opportunity to advance me and to put me in the way of some profit, sent me in a *lanchar* to the Kingdom of Pam with ten thousand ducats of his own property to put them in the hands of a factor of his, named Tome Lobo, who lived there, and to assist me to proceed to Patane which is about one hundred leagues from there. For this purpose he gave me a letter and a present for the King, and a wide commission to deal with him for the liberty of five Portuguese who, in the Kingdom of Siam, were the slaves of his brother-in-law Monteo de Bancha.

"I accordingly set out from Malacca with this object. On the 7th day of our voyage, when we were opposite the island of Pullo Timano[1] which is about ninety leagues from Malacca, and ten or twelve leagues from the estuary of Pam, just before day-break, we heard twice loud cries of distress on the sea, but could not then, because of the darkness, find out what was the matter. Different opinions were voiced, but having no real idea of what was happening, in order to get at the root of the matter, I had the sails set, and with oars, proceeded in the direction from which we had heard the cries, all of us watching with heads down to the level of the water in order to see and hear more easily what was giving us such anxiety. After we had proceeded thus for some time we saw afar off a black object which floated on the water, and not being able at first to discover what it was, we took counsel afresh as to what we had better do. Although we numbered only four Portuguese in our boat, opinions differed widely. It was put forward that I should go straight to the place to which Pedro de Faria was sending me, and that, by wasting even an hour, I was endangering the journey, and hazarding the merchandize, and that, if I failed in my duty, I should be rendering him a very bad account of my commission. I replied to this that, whatever might happen, I should leave no stone unturned to find out what the matter was, and that, if I failed as they would have me believe, the vessel belonged only to Pedro de Faria, and that it was for me and not for them, who were concerned only with the preservation of their skins, and who were in no more danger than I was, to account to him for his goods.

"During this dispute it pleased God that day-light appeared by favour of which we saw people lost on the sea, floating pell-

[1]Pulau Tioman.

mell, and supporting themselves on planks, and other pieces of wood. Then, without fear, we turned our prow towards them and with sail and oars went to pick them up. We heard them cry six or seven times only these words 'Lord, God, Mercy!' At this strange and pitiable spectacle we were so astounded that we were almost bereft of our senses. We lost no time in sending a party of sailors from the *lanchar* to rescue them and bring them aboard, twenty-three persons in all, fourteen Portuguese, and nine slaves, all of whom were so disfigured that they frightened us, and so feeble that they could neither speak nor stand. After we had welcomed them, and treated them as best we could, we asked them the cause of their misfortune. One of the party replied with tears: 'Gentlemen, my name is Fernand Gil Porcalho; the eye that you see is missing was destroyed by the Achinese at the trench of Malacca, when, for the second time, they came to surprise Dom Etienne da Gama. The latter desiring to help me, seeing my poor condition, gave me leave to go to the Moluccas where, thanks to God! I have never had a more successful voyage. But since I set out from the port of Talagama, which is the road-stead of our fortress of Ternate, after we had journeyed twenty-three days with a favourable wind, and that in a junk which carried one thousand bahara of cloves worth more than one hundred thousand ducats, misfortune willed it that at the point of Surabaya in the island of Ioa there arose a northern wind so strong as to make the sea choppy, with the result that our junk was damaged. Thus we passed that night, drifting without showing an inch of sail because the sea was too violent and the waves overwhelming. The following morning we realized that our junk was sinking so that only the twenty-seven people you see could be saved out of the crew of one hundred and forty-seven. We have been fourteen days on these planks without eating a single thing except one of my slaves, a native Pagan who died on us, and on whom we have subsisted for eight days. Last night there died two Portuguese whom we could not eat, though we were hard put to it, because it seemed to us each day that we would not survive for another dawn."'

Pinto and his companions rendered what assistance they could to the ship-wrecked sailors. His account proceeds:

> "We then went towards the port of Pan which we reached about mid-night, and anchored in the roads opposite a small village called Campalaran.[1] Next morning at day-break we rowed up to the town which was about a league distant. There we met Tome Lobo who, as I have already said, lived there as Factor of the Captain of Malacca. I handed over to him the merchandise which I had brought.

[1](?) Kampong Larang. No village of that name is known at Kuala Pahang. Pinto may have derived the name from the reply of the inhabitants when he sought to land or to bury the dead sailors there: "*Ini kampong larang.*:" "This is a forbidden village."

On the same day three of the fourteen Portuguese that we had picked up died, one of them being Fernand Gil Porcalho, captain of the wrecked junk, who had given us an account of their disaster. Five young Christians died also. We threw their bodies into the sea with stones tied to head and feet so that they would sink. We were not allowed to bury them in the town, though Tome Lobo was willing to pay forty ducats for the privilege, the reason given being that if burial were allowed, the country would be accursed and incapable of producing crops as the deceased had not been purged of the great quantities of pork which they had eaten—the most detestable and heinous crime imaginable. As for the ship-wrecked people who survived, Tome Lobo welcomed them generously, and honourably provided them with necessities until they were cured and returned to Malacca.

" Some days afterwards, when I proposed to resume my voyage to my destination, which was Patani, Tome Lobo would not allow me to depart, begging me earnestly to remain: he said that he did not feel at all secure in this town because he had been informed that one Tuan Nerrafa (Tuao Xerrafao) had sworn to burn him in his house with all his merchandise, saying that at Malacca the Captain's factor had taken from him, to the value of five thousand ducats, benioin, silk, and wood of aloes at much less than the goods were worth, and had paid him as he liked, and that, not content with that, he had given him in payment damaged goods on which he could make no profit ; added to this, the capital of five thousand ducats that he had used was worth more than ten thousand ducats, in Malacca, not taking into consideration profit on the exchange of valuable merchandise (which he could easily bring away) which should amount to ten thousand ducats ; that the whole capital was reduced to seven hundred ducats ; that to avenge himself for this wrong the Malay had picked a quarrel to induce Tome Lobo to come out, in order that he might have him killed ; and that should anything of that sort happen it would be convenient if I were there to prevent the loss of the merchandise. . . ."

Pinto gave Lobo fifteen days in which to convert his merchandise into gold or precious stones " of which there was an abundance in the town." Lobo exchanged his goods for " Menangkabau " gold and for diamonds which had come " in the *Iurupangos* from the country of Lano, and from Tancampura, and also for pearls of Borneo and Solor."

Everything was ready for their departure, but misfortune overtook them. Pinto proceeds :

" On the following night there happened a terrible event : one Goia Geinal[1], ambassador of the King of Borneo, who had resided at the court of the King of Pan for three or four

[1]Khoja Zainal.

years, a tremendously wealthy man, killed the king for adultery with his wife. This caused such an uproar in the Town that it seemed as if hell were let loose. Some worthless rascals who asked for nothing better than such opportunities to do what they would not hitherto have dared to attempt because of the fear they had of the king, formed themselves into a band of five or six hundred, divided into three groups, and went straight to Lobo's house. They attacked it at five or six different points, and entered it in spite of the resistance put up by us. The defenders numbered eleven, including three of the Portuguese whom I had brought from Malacca. During the attack Tome Lobo was hard put to it to escape with six great sword-thrusts, one of which cut open his right cheek down to the neck; he thought he would die of this stroke. Both of us were then compelled to abandon the house, together with the merchandise in it, and to retire to the *lanchar* whither we betook ourselves with five boys and eight sailors, without saving any of our goods, which amounted to fifty thousand ducats in gold and precious stones alone. In the *lanchar* we passed the night, a prey to great anxiety, and all the time on watch to see the end of this mutiny which was sown amongst the people...."

"Then, seeing that matters went from bad to worse, and that there was no hope of saving any of our property, we thought it better to proceed to Patane than to run the risk of meeting the same fate as the four thousand persons and over who were killed. With this resolve we set out, and in six days arrived at Patane. There we were warmly welcomed by the Portuguese in the country, to whom we related all that had passed in Pan, and the pitiable condition in which we had left that ill-starred Town."

Pinto's Portuguese friends made representations to the King of Patani, and he gave them instant permission to take reprisals by attacking Pahang boats in the Kelantan river, and to recover goods to the value of what had been lost.[1] "It is reasonable," he said, "that you should do as you are done by, and that you should rob those who have robbed you!" The Portuguese took the King at his word, fitted out an expedition, and proceeded to the Kĕlantan river where they attacked and captured three Chinese junks owned by wealthy Pahang merchants, killing seventy-four of the enemy, with a loss of only three of their men. They hastened to return with their booty to Patani as the whole country of Kelantan "was already in disorder."[2]

[1]This is an indication that, in the middle of the 16th century, Kelantan was a province of Patani.

[2]Doubt has been cast on Pinto's veracity as a historian, (A. Brou S. J., "St. Francois Xavier," MCMXXII, Vol. I, Note I, p. 422; and Saint-Réné Taillandier de Palmat Cayet: "Henri IV avant la Messe," La Revue Universelle, Tome LVI, No. 23, March, 1934). His narrative has been said to consist of equal parts of history and romance.

The Sultan who, according to Pinto, was killed in 1540 appears to have been Muzaffar.[1] This prince was posthumously known as *Marhum di-Tengah,* " the late Sultan who was buried in the centre." One of his female relatives had married Sultan Alauddin of Johore ; their children were Raja Mahmud and Putĕri Fatimah. Muzaffar was succeeded by his young brother Raja Zainal. The new ruler assumed the title Sultan Zainal-Abidin Shah.

Pahang formed part of the force of three hundred sail and eight thousand men which assembled in the Johore river for an attack on Patani, but negotiations settled the dispute. In 1550, Pahang sent a fleet to help Johore and Perak in the siege of Malacca but the Portuguese war-ships so harried the harbours of Pahang that the attackers had to retreat to defend their own homes.[2]

Sultan Zainal-Abidin, by his royal wife Putĕri Dewi, one of the daughters of Sultan Mahmud of Malacca (*Marhum Kampar*), had four children, two sons, Raja Mansur, and Raja Jamal, and two daughters, Putĕri Khalijah and Putĕri Bongsu. By his non-royal wife, Tun Gemala (or Kamal), daughter of his Bendahara Sĕri Buana (? Teribuana) he had a son Raja Kadir. In addition he had eighteen children by his concubines. Putĕri Khalijah married her first cousin Raja Mahmud, son of Sultan Alauddin. This prince settled in Pahang and died there.

Sultan Zainal-Abidin died about (?) 1555 A.D., and became known to posterity as *Marhum di-Bukit,* " the late Sultan buried on the hill." It may be that he was buried in Makam Nibong in Pekan Lama, the ancient name for which was Makam Tembuni, " the Grave-yard of the Cauls."

The deceased Sultan was succeeded by his eldest royal son Sultan Mansur II who, about the time of his accession, married his first cousin Putĕri Fatimah, a daughter of Sulan Alauddin of Johore (who died at Acheh in 1564). By her he had a daughter Putĕri Puteh (popularly known as Putĕri Kechil Besar), and a son Raja Suboh (or ? Subang). We hear no more of the son, but the daughter became an ancestress of the ruling families of Acheh and Perak.

Sultan Mansur married a second royal wife, (apparently on the death of the first), Putĕri Bakal, daughter of the ruler of

[1]It is tempting to identify the ruler killed in 1540 with Mansur II who, the *Bustan-al-Salatin* tells us, was killed fighting against "pagan Javanese"—the term " Javanese " here being equivalent to (?) " southerners "—but there are objections to the acceptance of this identification. Mansur married a daughter of Sultan Alauddin II and by her had a son and two daughters. Alauddin was born in 1513 and could hardly have had a daughter mature enough to have produced three children by 1540. The chronology of the Sultans of this period is obscure.

[2]Danvers : " The Portuguese in India," Vol. I, p. 534.

Trengganu, and by her had four children, Raja Jalal, Raja Jalil, Putĕri Tengah and Putĕri Dewi of whom no further record remains. According to the *Bustan-al-Salatin*, the author of which was particularly interested in the stock from which his patron Sultan Iskandar Thani of Acheh sprung, Sultan Mansur bestowed especial favour upon his young half-brother Raja Kadir whom he adopted as a son. Mansur was killed about (?) 1560 in a war against *Jawa Kafir*,(?) " pagan southerners."

Sultan Mansur who, after his death, became known as Marhum Shahid, " the late Sultan killed in war, " was succeeded by his full brother Jamal who took the title of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamal Shah. The new ruler, by a concubine, had two daughters, one of whom was called Putĕri Siti. During his reign Raja Biajid, and Raja Kasab (also known as " Isap " or " Asip "), sons of Sultan Khoja Ahmad of Siak, came to Pahang. Raja Kasab married Putĕri Puteh a daughter of Sultan Mansur II. From this union was descended, on the male side, Sultan Muzaffar Shah II of Perak, and on the female side, Sultan Iskandar Thani of Acheh. Raja Kasab's children by the Pahang princess were Raja Mahmud (or Ahmad), and five daughters of whom the youngest was Putĕri Bongsu Chendĕra Dewi. Raja Mahmud was the father of Raja Sulong who ultimately became Sultan Muzaffar Shah II of Perak.

Sultan Abdu'l-Jamal was murdered: the not uncommon fate of Pahang rulers. Against his half-brother Raja Kadir, the grand-son of a Bendahara and the favourite of his predecessor, he stood little chance.

Raja Kadir then came to the throne with the title of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Kadir Alauddin Shah. He had three sons, 'Abdu'l-Ghafur Mohaidin born in 1567, " Yamir "[1] and Ahmad.

In 1586, Sultan 'Abdu'l-Kadir sent a block of gold-bearing quartz as a present to the Portuguese Governor of Malacca. d'Eredia[2] relates that:

> " the lands which are within the territory and jurisdiction of the Crown of Pan are auriferous: since in the rocky cliffs and the hardly-accessible quarries there has been found a great quantity of gold, which is nowadays taken to the port of Malacca for sale. So much so that the King of Pan sent from Adea[3] a beautiful piece of gold-stone two and a half yards in length as a present for the Captain and Governor of Malacca, Joao da Silva: who, out of curiosity to see gold in this form, ordered the piece of gold-stone to be broken at

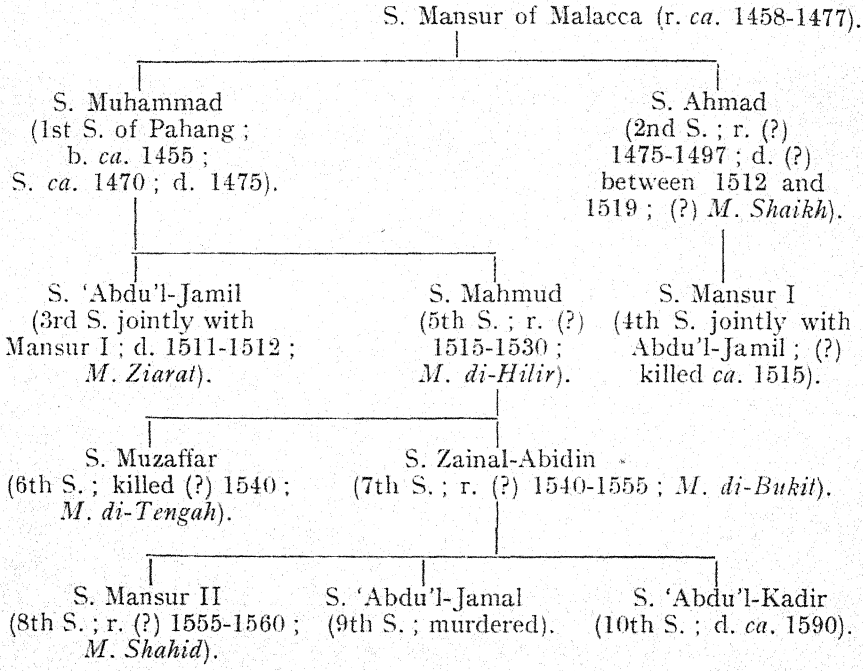
[1](?) *Yang Kembar*: " The Twin."

[2]Report on the Golden Chersonese, etc., J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII, pt. I, p. 234.

[3] (?) Endau.

once in his presence ; enclosed in the inside there was found a vein of gold a yard wide : this happened in the year 1586, and was well known to the people of that day."

The genealogy of Pahang rulers down to the reign of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Kadir follows :[1]



[1]Abbreviations : S., Sultan ; r., reigned ; M., Marhum ; b., born ; d., died ; *ca.*, about.

CHAPTER IV.

SULTAN 'ABDU'L-GHAFUR. ACHINESE DOMINATION. AMALGAMATION OF THE SULTANATES OF PAHANG AND JOHORE. (PERIOD 1590-1699.)

Ahmad was a boy when his father Sultan 'Abdu'l-Kadir died about the last years of the sixteenth century. According to the *Bustan-al-Salatin* he reigned for a year and was then replaced by his eldest brother, 'Abdu'l-Ghafur, as he was too young to govern the country. 'Abdu'l-Ghafur who took the title of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur Mohaidin Shah had married in 1584 a sister of the Queen of Patani. He also formed marriage connections with the pirate kings of Borneo. By his commoner wives he had twelve children.

An account of this Sultan and of the conditions in Pahang during his reign is available from several sources. He was known in Perak annals as *Marhum Pahang*.[1] They relate that he betrothed his eldest son *Marhum Muda Pahang* to a grand-daughter of the Sultan of Perak. About the year 1600 the Pahang prince proceeded to the interior and met his bride at Kuala Tembĕling. As a wedding gift, his father granted him jurisdiction over that part of Pahang which extended from Kuala Tembĕling to the head-waters of the river Sat (or Sak) on the Kelantan boundary.[2]

There is a hill at Kuala Tembĕling the name of which, *Bukit Raja Muda*, almost certainly commemorates this prince. The Perak account adds that *Marhum Pahang* abdicated in favour of his son *Marhum Muda*.

In 1607 the Portuguese in Malacca sent envoys to the Pahang ruler to effect the release of eighty of their compatriots who had been wrecked on the coast of Pahang and made prisoners. Their mission was successful, and the envoys brought back to Malacca the ship-wrecked men.

In the same year, Holland put the merchant Abraham van den Broeck in Pahang. On 7 November, 1607, a Dutch war-ship with Admiral Matelief on board dropped anchor at Kuala Pahang. Sĕri Maharaja Lela came aboard a few days later, and escorted the Admiral ashore. They were accompanied by eighteen musketeers, four trumpeters and others :

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[1]" History of Perak from Native Sources," W. E. Maxwell (J. S. B. R. A. S., No. 9, p. 100 ff.).

[2]*Hingga Kuala Tembĕling ka-hula Sak Raja Muda Pahang di-rajakan ayahanda baginda* (Maxwell MS. in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 105, fol. 29 a). According to another Maxwell MS. : " The ruler of Pahang granted him the territory which extends from Tembĕling to the borders of the country (*hingga Tembĕling ka-ulu negeri di-anugĕrahkan Raja Pahang*)."

" They arrived towards noon at the town which is about a league from the sea-coast. It is inhabited only by the nobility, the common folk living in the suburbs. The town which is of mediocre size is surrounded by a palisade of squared posts about four fathoms high, set closely together. There is a bastion at each corner of the town. The streets are broad ; the enclosures are of reeds ; the enclosed spaces are so thickly covered by cocoanuts and other trees that they appear more like a suburb than a town. The houses are of reed and straw except the King's palace which is made of wood."

Matelief, who had come to solicit the assistance of Pahang against the Portuguese, had an audience with the Sultan " whose son had been married to the daughter of the King of Queda." The ruler emphasized the importance of an alliance between Johore and the neighbouring States, and enquired how many men they could dispose of, and how many could remain in the field throughout the campaign against the Portuguese. He added that he would try to provide two thousand men in order to bring the war to a successful conclusion. At the Sultan's request, Matelief sent him a gunner to test a piece of cannon that was being cast for Raja Sebrang (Raja Bongsu) of Johore. The Pahang people also manufactured cannon for firing stone projectiles which were better than those of Java but inferior to those of the Portuguese.

Matelief requested the Sultan to send as soon as possible two vessels to the Straits of " Sabon " to join the Johore and Pahang boats which were already there, and to despatch two more boats to Penang waters to strengthen the Kedah and Achinese fleets and to cut off the Portuguese food supplies. This proposal strongly appealed to the Malays. One of the Chiefs (*Orang Kaya*) remarked that Malacca was too well fortified to be attacked, and that it was better to inconvenience the inhabitants in their shipping, and to starve them. The Admiral retorted that if he had enough men he would undertake to gain a decisive victory without more ado. Some said that Don Antonio de Meneses, Captain of Malacca, and the Viceroy of the Indies had died, and that rice was very dear at Malacca. The Dutch chronicler adds that the Sultan of Pahang owned gold mines of little importance.

Matelief sailed from Pahang on 16 November 1607. Before the Dutch Admiral departed, Van den Broeck went to fetch a letter which the Sultan was sending to the States and to Prince Maurice : " The King asked him to say his prayers before him in the manner of the Hollanders. Van den Broeck replied that one did not thus make a mockery of God, and that when he wished to say his prayers he did it in private. The King then begged him to chant because he had heard say that in the acts of devotion which the Hollanders performed on their vessels they sang chants.

Van den Broeck retorted that when it was a question of divine service chanting and praying were the same thing. All the members of Council spoke to him and said that he should not refuse to give this pleasure to the King which he desired ardently. Van den Broeck replied that this pleasure which the King desired would anger a much greater King, God, Lord of Heaven and Earth. After this they ceased to importune him...."

Floris records that in September 1612 the king of Johore (Alauddin Riayat Shah II) "overran the suburbs of Pahang burning all before him and likewise Campon Sina[1] which caused great dearth in Pahang." He adds that the king of Joor "as is said maketh great preparation to go in his own person for Pahang and the King of Borneo prepareth on the other side to their succour."

Nieuhoff, [2] who gives a somewhat similar picture to that presented in Matelief's account, records:

> "The Kingdom of Pan or Pahan is by the Portuguese call'd Paon, and by others, after the Arabians Phaan; it being a custom amongst the Mahometan Arabians to pronounce phe instead of p. To the north it borders upon the Kingdom of Patane and adjoins to that of Johor, as well as to the Streights of Malacca...."

The writer included Kelantan in the kingdom of Patani, and would extend the jurisdiction of Pahang of the seventeenth century over part of Selangor and the modern Negri Sembilan.[3]

Nieuhoff proceeds:

> "The river of Pahan is very broad but not navigable by galleys except at high water: the country round about is very low and produces about three hundred bahars of pepper likewise Palo de Aquila, or eagle-wood, Kalamback wood and camphire, but not so good as that of Borneo, gold (but very coarse), nutmegs, mase, sapan-wood, diamonds, Pedro de Porco or hogs stones, which are accounted a greater antidote than the bezoar stone.[4] Deeper into the country are abundance of elephants. The inhabitants are the greatest imposters in the world. The King is tributary to the King of Siam, but after Albuquerque had conquered Malacca, he sent his deputies to Pahan, to oblige that king to promise fealty to him....The inhabitants are partly Mahometans

[1]Kampong China (Pĕkan Baharu).

[2]Quoted in "A collection of Voyages and Travels," 3rd Edition, London, 1745.

[3]The traditional "holding" of the Orang Kaya Indĕra Sĕgara of Temerloh reached Selangor and Rembau (Appendix III, *infra*).

[4]Pahang was famous for its bezoar stones.

partly pagans. Their king who reigned in 1612 had married the youngest daughter of the Queen of Patane....The King of Pahan who reigned in 1607 was then about forty years of age and his son had married the daughter of the King of Queda."

The son here described was the *Marhum Muda Pahang* of the Perak account which says that he married a grand-daughter of a Sultan of Perak. "Queda" may have been written loosely for Perak, or we may reconcile the two versions by assuming a Kedah connection for the Perak princess.

According to Floris, the Dutch voyager (quoted by Purchas), in 1612, the Queen of Patani, who had not seen her sister, the wife of the Sultan of Pahang for twenty-eight years, collected a fleet of seventy sail, and sent it to Pahang to bring the sister by force or friendship to Patani: "so that Pahang shall have much to do by reason of the great dearth, the burning of his house, rice, and barnes, as also the warres of Joor."

Floris adds that, in July, 1613, there arrived in Patani: "the King of Pahang with his wife, the Queen's sister, and two sonnes, much against his will, leaving his countrie in great povertie: famine, fire and warre having joyned conspiracie. He brought news that the Acheners had taken Joor....[1]

"None of the Grandes went to entertain this king of Pahang, only all the dogs were killed for his sake, because he can endure none. He took our shooting as he passed by us in his honour very kindly, desiring us to visit him and to trade in his countrey."

The Dutch chronicler records that on 31 July, 1613, the King of Pahang came to his house in great state. On 1 August the Queen "sent for us to the court, where there was made a great feast in honour of the King of Pahang. On 9 August the King of Pahang departed having been made a mocking stocke to the Patanees; but the Queenes sister would not leave him but returned back with him; in lieu of getting great presents, having spent almost all she had."

We now come to a Chinese account of Pahang at this epoch:[2] "In the period Wan-li (1573—1619) the son of the viceroy of Johore was to marry the daughter of the king of Pahang. When the marriage was about to take place, the viceroy brought his son to Pahang, and the king of this country gave a feast, where all his relatives were present. The son of the king of Polo (Bruni)[3]

[1]Johore was conquered on 6 June, 1613.

[2]History of the Ming Dynasty, quoted in "Notes on the Malay Archipelago" by W. P. Groeneveldt: Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China, Second Series, Vol. I, London, 1887, pp. 255-7.

[3]The reference may be to a son of Sultan Hassan of Brunai (*Marhum di-Tanjong*) who died in 1617. Sultan Hassan was a great pirate and in Brunai annals has been compared to Iskandar Muda of Acheh.

was the son-in-law of the king of Pahang ; he offered a cup of wine to the viceroy, who then saw that he had on his finger a large pearl of great beauty, and wanting to have it, he offered a very high price. The prince would not part with it on which the viceroy became angry, went home, and came back with soldiers to attack the country. The people of Pahang were taken unprepared ; they dispersed without fighting, and the King fled to the gold-mountains, along with the prince of Bruni.[1] The king of Pu-ni (western coast of Borneo) was the elder brother of the king's wife ; when he heard all this, he came with his people to assist those of Pahang, and then the viceroy of Johore was compelled to retire, after having burnt and plundered very much.

"At that time the spirits in the country wailed for three days, and half of the pople had been killed ; the king of Puni took his sister home with him, and the king of Pahang followed him also, ordering his eldest son to govern the country.

"Some time afterwards the king resumed the government, but his second son, who was of a bad disposition, poisoned his father, killed his brother, and ascended the throne himself."

Netscher states that in 1614, (after Acheh had subdued Johore), the Sultan of Johore sent three Achinese galleys, and a fleet of twenty vessels to Pahang to carry off the daughter of the deceased prince of that State who was betrothed to the son of the Johore ruler but whom the Pahang Chiefs refused to let go. Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur was alive in August, 1613 ; he was murdered before the end of the following year.

Another reference to Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur is contained in a family tree of the Orang Kaya Indĕra Maharaja Pĕrba of Jelai written between 1884 and 1887, and based on an older manuscript. According to it, the ruler who granted the Jelai to the Maharaja Pĕrba's family was Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur. A tradition handed down in the family of the *Mantĕri* of the Lipis valley, (minor head-men of the Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa of Lipis), records that the progenitor of Maharaja Pĕrba first came to the Jelai about 1000 A.H. (1591 A.D.), that is to say, during the reign of 'Abdu'l-Ghafur.

The inscription on Marhum Muda's tomb-stone, brought from Acheh in 1638 by the orders of his first-cousin Sultan Iskandar Thani, and erected in the royal cemetery at Makam Chondong, Pĕkan Lama, reveals that his name was 'Abdu'llah.[2]

Before 1607 Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah had married the Perak princess by whom he had two daughters. His uncle, Ahmad, who

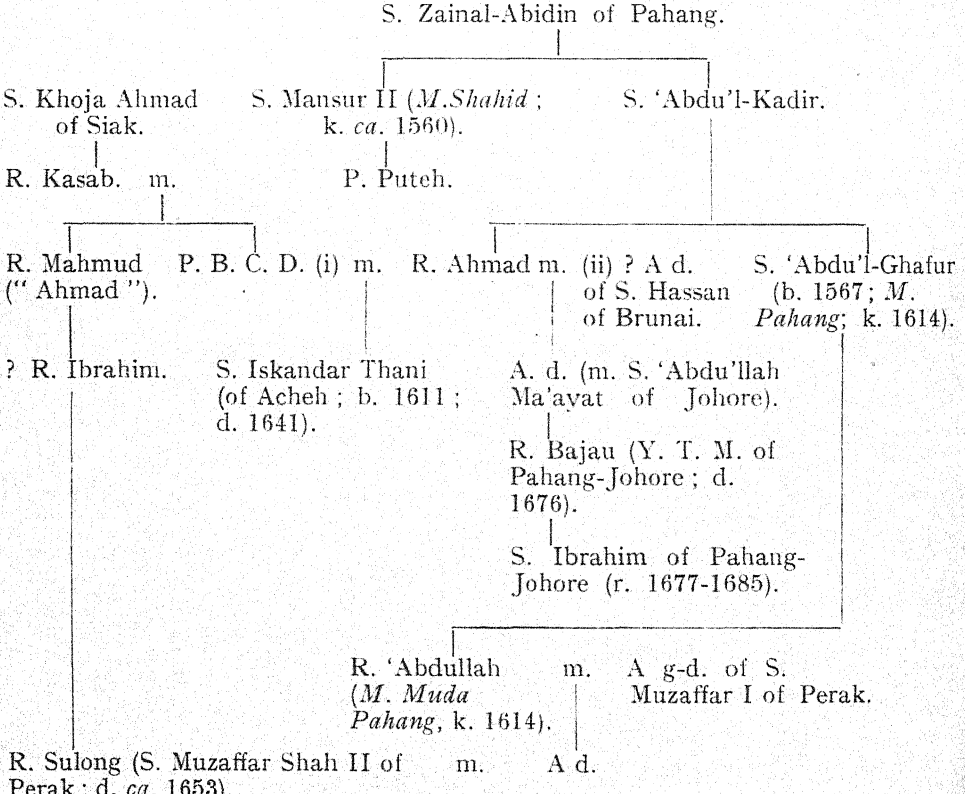
[1]The sack of Pahang, as we have seen, took place in September, 1612. The "gold-mountains" were the Jelai in which locality 'Abdu'l-Ghafur owned gold mines.

[2]J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, Pt. II, 1934, pp. 171-2.

had reigned for a year before being replaced by his eldest brother, married Putĕri Bongsu Chendĕra Dewi a daughter of the Siak prince Raja Kasab and grand-daughter of Sultan Mansur II. They had a son Iskandar Thani born in 1611 who was to be the future Sultan of Acheh. By another wife, probably a child of Sultan Hasan of Brunai, Ahmad had a daughter, born before 1600, who married Sultan 'Abdu'llah Ma'ayat Shah of Johore and became the mother of Raja Bajau, the Yang di-Pertuan Muda of Pahang-Johore.

When Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah was murdered in 1614, his widow and children were sent to Perak. There, she and her daughters were captured by Iskandar Muda and taken to Acheh, where, in time, one of the daughters was married to another royal captive Raja Sulong who became Sultan Muzaffar Shah II of Perak.

The Pahang side of the genealogy of this prince follows:[1]



[1]Abbreviations: S., Sultan; m., married; R., Raja; *ca.*, about; *M.*, *Marhum*; Y. T. M., Yam Tuan Muda; d., died; k., killed; P., Putĕri; P. B. C. D., Putĕri Bongsu Chendĕra Dewi; A d., A daughter; A g-d., A grand-daughter; b., born; r., reigned.

Pahang thus contributed, on two sides, to the building up of the royal family of Perak.

Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur was succeeded in 1614 by his parricidal and piratical younger son whose name history does not disclose. An interesting account of the new ruler is given in the *Tung Hsi Yang K'au* :[1]

> " This king, who killed his father and his brother, is reigning still.[2] He is in the habit of buying from Mau-su[3] pirates the men they have caught, and all the countries thereabout suffer severely from this. These Mau-su pirates are natives belonging to Bruni (Polo) ; they roam over the sea for the purpose of stealing men, whom they bring to Pahang and sell as slaves there. When one of them does not obey his master, he is killed and used for the sacrifices. The price of a slave is about three pieces of gold.
>
> " When a ship arrives there, it has to send fixed presents to the king. The latter has erected a number of shops, and the merchants can occupy in these as much as they want, paying accordingly. The people of the country come there to trade with them and the merchants live there also. These shops are not far from the ships ; when the watchmen on board cry out at night it can be heard by those who sleep on shore."

In confirmation on their treaty with Johore at Malacca in August 1615, the Portuguese escorted " the son of the king of Johore " to Pahang to take possession of that State.

The Portuguese-Johore treaty angered Iskandar Muda, ruler of Acheh, who having sacked Batu Sawar about September 1615, and put Sultan 'Abdu'llah to flight, wasted Pahang, in 1617, " where a son of the brother of Sultan 'Abdu'llah Mammat of Johore ruled."[4]

These statements seem at variance with the Chinese accounts which say that the parricide prince, son of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur, who usurped the throne in 1614 was still ruling in 1618, but Pahang had become a piratical State in which revolts and disorder were rife ; there were two competing princes, the scion of indigenous Pahang stock, son of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur, and Raja Bujang, (later Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil III), the nominee of Johore.

When Iskandar Muda sacked Pahang in 1617 he carried off Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur's younger brother Ahmad, the latter's son Iskandar Thani, and large numbers of the population. Peter van den Broeck relates that in Acheh he saw :

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[1]Groeneveldt, *loc. cit.*

[2]In 1618.

[3]?Bajau.

[4]Bij. T. L. en V. Ser. 5, Vol. II, p. 246.

" the king of Pahang[1] running in the train of the king of Acheh like a common person ; he (the ruler of Acheh) had conquered Pahang and carried off more than ten thousand of its inhabitants."

Captain Best who visited Acheh in the early part of the seventeenth century, declared :

" The whole territory of Acheh was almost depopulated by wars, execution, and oppression. The king endeavoured to repeople the country by his conquests. Having ravaged the kingdoms of Johor, Pahang, Kedah, Perak, and Deli, he transported the inhabitants from those place to Acheh to the number of twenty-two thousand persons. But this barbarous policy did not produce the effect he hoped ; for the unhappy people being brought naked to his dominions, and not allowed any kind of maintenance on their arrival, died of hunger in the streets."

In 1629 the Portuguese were hard pressed by the Achinese, but a fleet from Pahang helped Malacca. The Achinese were defeated and their commander the Laksamana was captured by the king of Pahang and handed over to the Portuguese.

Barretto de Resende gives an account of Pahang about this period :

" The shortest voyages taken from Malacca are those to Pam, a port eighty leagues from Malacca. It belongs to the aforesaid king, who is very friendly to the Portuguese and is lord also of Jor and the maritime islands. Any ships may come to this port from Malacca without hindrance. They bring stuffs and opium in exchange for gold dust of the country and gold coin, bezoar stones, porcupine quills, a quantity of rice, agallochium from the coast, and also some wares which have been brought here by the southern natives who will not go to Malacca. In the same land there are two rivers belonging to the same king, where the Portuguese go to trade in the same merchandise. Facing this place to the sea lies the small mountainous island of Pulo Timo thickly populated by Malays. Pigeons are plentiful, and there is a certain kind of animal called palandos which resembles a deer and is very good and fat. There are very fine fresh water fish, rivers of excellent water and an abundance of figs and tar...."[2]

According to the Dagh-Register, on 10 December 1632 the Achinese suggested a sea-attack by the Dutch and themselves,

[1] Ahmad.

[2] " Barretto de Resende's Account of Malacca," W. G. Maxwell, J. S. B. R. A. S., No. 60, pp. 8-9. " Pulo Timo " is Pulau Tioman.

Palandos are mouse-deer (*pelandok*). " Figs " are plantains, the ' fig of paradise.' " Tar " (*damar*) is resin.

with the king of Pahang as commander of the land force. But by 1634 Pahang and Johore were again siding with the friends of Portugal against the Dutch.

On 9 November, 1634, the Dagh-Register records that fifty great galleons and five thousand men from Johore and Pahang had sailed to assist the rebel king of Patani in his war with Siam. The Dutch had espoused the cause of Siam against any force sent from Malacca, Johore, Pahang and other places. In November 1634 a Dutch fleet was instructed to sack Pahang where the Portuguese ships were harboured on their way to Malacca.

In 1635 Iskandar Muda of Acheh again attacked Pahang in revenge for that country's assistance to Patani, and claimed the throne. On 25 November, 1635, Commander Coper of the yacht Cleijin Nassouw met an Achinese fleet coming from Pahang, and other places which it had ruined, taking many prisoners. Beaulieu tells of a plot against the life of the Achinese Sultan which led to the execution of a son of the king of Pahang and a son of the ruler of Johore. In 1636 Iskandar Muda died, and was succeeded by Iskandar Thani, son of Ahmad of Pahang who had been led captive after the raid of 1617 and married to Iskandar Muda's daughter.

The succession of a Pahang prince to the Achinese throne induced Pahang to make peace with Acheh at Bulang early in 1637, and in March of that year the "Sultan and Laksamana of Pahang" informed the Dutch that they desired an alliance against the Portuguese. The Sultan promised that he would make a strong fort in Johore to defend the country against the Portuguese, and on 16 March, 1637 the treaty was signed in Pahang. The Dagh-Register here suggests that this Sultan was ruler of Pahang and Johore.

In 1638-9, Sultan Iskandar Thani of Acheh sent gravestones to Pahang to commemorate his deceased relatives. The *Bustan-al-Salatin* describes the event:

> "Now His Highness....said to the Orang Kaya-Kaya Maharaja and the Orang Kaya Laksamana and Sĕri Pĕrdana Mantĕri and Orang Kaya Raja Lela Wangsa and all his warriors: 'Let us go to Pahang and place stones on the tombs of our illustrious relatives who are deceased.' They replied: 'God-willing, we shall carry out Your Highness' command.' They proceeded to fit out an expedition to proceed to Pahang. ....Then the Orang Kaya Maharaja Sĕri Maharaja, and the warriors went into the presence of His Highness. Thereupon the Sultan....proceeded to Kuala Nur Selawat escorting the tomb-stones for His Highness' deceased relatives. The stones were carried in procession accompanied by musical instruments, hundreds of umbrellas, standards, banners and pennons.

" When Nur Selawat was reached, the stones were being put on board a large vessel when a boat unexpectedly arrived from Johore. Its captain, Tun Muhammad, went into His Highness' presence and said: 'Your Highness, the ruler of Johore is at present attacking Pahang because he has heard of the expedition which is being despatched by Your Highness with the object, he thinks, of spoiling him. The Orang Kaya Besar Penglima of Pahang[1] has fled into the interior; his son named Paduka Sĕri Maharaja and many warriors with him have been slain by the Raja of Johore and the ruler has gone to Patani.' When His Highness heard the news he kept silence for a moment and then said: 'What spell has been cast on Johore? However anxious we are to improve the country it will not be improved! We thought that the ruler of Johore would receive the royal tomb-stones.'

" His Highness forthwith commanded the Orang Kaya Maharaja Sĕri Maharaja, the Orang Kaya Laksamana, Sĕri Perdana Mantĕri, and Orang Kaya Raja Lela Wangsa and all the warriors to proceed to Pahang: 'Even if the Johore ruler will not receive the royal tomb-stones let us duly carry out the ceremony, but while we are on our way let us not ravage the bays and reaches of Johore.' All the aforesaid (Chiefs and warriors) then made obeisance to His Highness, embarked and set sail.

" After some months they arrived at Pahang and the royal tomb-stones were taken ashore. The Orang Kaya-Kaya Sĕri Maharaja meticulously carried out the ceremony in accordance with ancient custom; they kept vigil for forty days and forty nights, and many carriages and royal hearses (*raja 'diraja*)[2] were constructed, and the stones were taken in procession with all kinds of musical instruments, as was the custom when stones were placed on the tombs of great kings, and funeral feasts were given in honour of the illustrious deceased in exactly the same way as dead kings of yore were honoured...."

The tomb-stones thus brought to Pahang were of the " Chinese-lantern " type of which specimens exist at Kota Raja, Acheh. The name of the grave-yard in which they were placed is the " Graves of the Leaning Tree," (*Makam Chondong*), or the " Sepulchre of the Seven Brothers," (*Makam Tujoh Bĕradek*).

[1]We hear of a descendant of his in Pahang in 1740 when Sultan Sulaiman visited that country to repair the tomb of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil. He is described as " Tun Dagang great grand-son of the Orang Kaya Besar." The rank was originally a military one and not hereditary. A holder of the title in the nineteenth century was Wan Ismail, a son of Bendahara Ali, and grand-father of the present Orang Kaya of Chĕnor.

[2]In ancient Malay States the Chief known as Raja 'diraja was entrusted with the supervision of royal burials, hence his name came to be applied to the royal funeral bier (*cf.* the origin of the English words " boycott " and "macadam.") The Malay term is now obsolete.

Which of Iskandar Thani's relatives do the tomb-stones commemorate? The weather, and the ravages of elephants, have played havoc with the stones and their inscriptions. One tomb can definitely be identified: that of Marhum Muda 'Abdu'l-lah, son of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur of Pahang and first cousin of the Achinese ruler, who was murdered in 1614. Another, a female grave, may be that of Putĕri Bongsu Chendĕra Dewi, mother of Sultan Iskandar Thani, and grand-daughter of Sultan Mansur II.

The ruler of Pahang at the time of the Johore attack in 1638 appears to have been the parricide son of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur. The Sultan of Johore from 1623 onwards was 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah III. He it was, apparently, who attempted to establish his rule in Pahang in 1615-1617, and his ambition to dominate the country, coupled with his jealousy of the Pahang-Achinese connection, led to his attack on that State in 1638. In 1617 Pahang was wasted by the Achinese for harbouring a Johore prince; in 1638 she suffered at the hands of that same prince for her alliance with the Achinese.

The raid by Johore in 1638 caused Iskandar Thani of Acheh, who regarded himself as the suzerain of Pahang, to break off negociations with the Dutch for a joint attack on Malacca. The Achinese ruler made a formal complaint to the Dutch and refused to assist them while they remained friends of Johore. Malacca fell to the Dutch on 14 January, 1641, and Iskandar Thani died on 15 February. He was succeeded by a woman, Acheh's claim to Pahang was abandoned, and Johore was given a free hand.

In European records, from 1623 onwards, we hear sometimes (particularly from the Portuguese) of a king of Pahang, again of a king of Pahang-Johore, and again of a king of Johore—the reference, in all cases, whatever was the actual position in Pahang, seems to have been to Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil III. The region of the Pahang river, depopulated by raids, massacres, and transportations had become a haunt of pirates ruled over by a descendant of the ill-fated 'Abdu'l-Ghafur.

Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil did not make his rule effective in the country till the death of Iskandar Thani in 1641. From that date to 1673 Pahang was governed by the Yam Tuan Muda Raja Bajau, the son of Sultan 'Abdu'llah Ma'ayat Shah by a Pahang princess who was the half-sister of Iskandar Thani. According to Schouten, this prince of "Sea-rovers," (a name probably derived from his Brunai connections), as early as 1641, had been designated heir to the Pahang-Johore Sultanate.

The relics left by the Achinese in Pahang were few: tombs of the type known as "Achinese Stones" found here and there, the elaborate lantern tomb-stones at Makam Tujoh Bĕradek, Pekan Lama, brought to Pahang in 1638, the name of a locality Bĕlukar Acheh, the name of a rapids in the Telom, Jeram Musoh

Karam, which is said to commemorate the wreck of invading Achinese boats. Achinese gold coins known as *dinar Acheh* have been found in Pĕkan Lama. Malays of the present day use them as *azimat* or talismans. The practice, prevalent in Pahang up to comparatively recent years, of sending students of religion to Acheh for instruction, probably originated in the period of Achinese domination.

The history of Pahang during the period of Achinese suzerainty provides melancholy reading. Invaded and ravaged by the Achinese, by Johore, by the Portuguese, and the Dutch, all within the space of half a century, large numbers of her population slain, or carried into captivity to die of starvation in the streets of the Achinese capital, distracted by revolts, Pahang, once a State of importance, had degenerated into a haunt of pirates.

There was, however, in addition, an economic factor operating towards her decay. The unsettled conditions resulting from the struggle between the Dutch and the Portugese, and the wars of Acheh, had induced traders from the east to land their goods in Pahang for safety, and to send them by the old trade route up the Bĕra and the Serting, then by portage into the head-waters of the Muar and so to Malacca, instead of venturing the journey by sea around the Peninsula beset by rival fleets and infested by pirates. This land trade was naturally of benefit to Pahang. The defeat of the Portuguese in 1641 had the effect of freeing the sea-way for those traders whose destination was Malacca, and there was no longer any occasion to utilize the Pahang route.

From about 1550 Menangkabau settlers had been pouring into Pahang through Ulu Muar, and had partly opened up the interior, mined gold in the Jelai and its tributaries, (a well-known gold-producing district in d'Eredia's day), dealt in jungle produce, elephant ivory and the like. Their trade was almost entirely with Malacca, and the bulk of it passed by the land-route to that city. The circumstances of their trade made the Menangkabaus side with the Portuguese rather than with the Dutch (though they helped Johore to blockade Malacca in 1586). The victory of the Dutch severely damaged the growing overland trade of the Pahang Menangkabaus. In October 1644 the Dagh-Register records that, fearing treachery from the king of Johore (now the ally of their enemies the Dutch), "the Menangkabaus very bravely removed their property from Pahang."

The reference was to a temporary and partial exodus.

Let us try and picture a Pahang Malay of the period with which we have been dealing (the early part of the seventeeth century), by stock, a mixture of the Malacca Muslim Malay and of the pre-Malaccan inhabitants of the country; in his religion he tended towards animism tempered by Buddhism and Hinduism

with a gradually increasing proclivity towards Islam. He had not yet abandoned the practice of making human sacrifices to Kali the Hindu goddess of death.

Islam was introduced as the State religion about the middle of the fifteenth century. There may have been followers of Islam in Pahang, as there certainly were in Trengganu, before this period, but an important factor in the conversion to the new religion of the Pahang peasant living in the interior appears to have been the immigration of the Menangkabaus which began in the second half of the sixteenth century. The shrines of Saiyids, scattered here and there throughout the country, probably mark the resting-places of the original apostles of Islam. Islamic influence was naturally more marked at the capital but it had not filtered far into the interior until the advent of the Menangkabaus.

The Pĕkan Malay, influencing his pagan predecessors, was himself influenced by the people whom he had conquered. His language, praised by Abdullah in the nineteenth century for its purity, was in the 15th and 16th centuries full of strange provincialisms some of which must have been derived from the northern element in his stock ; in the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* the Pĕkan women modestly excuse themselves for the " jargon " which they spoke. The Malay of the seventeenth century, in his ways, was probably not far distant from his pre-Malaccan predecessors of whom Chinese chroniclers have left a description. The principles of his new religion had not yet been sufficiently inculcated into him to make him averse from toddy and arrack in the manufacture of which he was an expert.

On 3 April 1641 the Dagh-Register set forth the dominions of the Johore kingdom : no part of Pahang was included but Rembau, the traditional boundary, on that side, of the old State of Pahang was mentioned.

On 20 October, 1642, the Dutch made a treaty with Palembang whereby the people of Palembang were allowed to voyage with the Company's passes to Pahang and other places carrying merchandise not prejudical to the Company's interest but no pepper. On 6 July, 1643, the Dutch made a treaty with Jambi according to the terms of which all Jambi ships faring to Pahang and elsewhere were to be treated as enemies unless they had passes from the Dutch Resident at Jambi.

In May 1644 the Sultan of Johore sent a letter to the Governor-General of Batavia by Sĕri Maharaja Lela and Raja Lela Wangsa in which he explained that certain malfactors of Rembau and Tampin who had murdered some Dutchmen were not subjects of his, but Menangkabaus, tenants of the Bendahara.

On 27 July 1647 an Englishman named Wylde visited Johore in the *Supply*. He records that "the chief commodities are tin, pepper, aggula and elephant's teeth...." These goods came from

" Phaung (Pahang), Comper (Kampar), Boolaung (Bulang), and Keelaun (Klang)," the first-named being " the greatest place of importance." On 19 March 1648 envoys arrived at Batavia with a letter from the " King of Johore and Pahang."

The Yam Tuan Muda, Raja Bajau, the heir designate and first-cousin (wrongly described in the Dagh Register as " brother ") of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil III became betrothed to a Jambi princess in 1663. The Sultan opposed the marriage and in the following year the engagement was broken off. The Yam Tuan Muda joined the Laksamana in the numerous Johore attacks on Jambi.[1] In 1673 Johore was sacked by the Jambis, and the aged Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil III, with his subjects, fled to Pahang where he resided till his death in November, 1677.

Bort records that :

> " Songujongh and Calangh produce yearly about four hundred Chaers of tin whereof Malacca gets a very small share, since most of it is taken to Aatchin and Bencalis also to Pahangh and Riouw. The last is now beginning to come to an end, the people there being Manicabers who, since the conquest of Johor by the Jambinese and the flight of the king thence to Pahang, have not rendered their due obeisance to that Kingdom and do still less now, being suspected of siding with the rebellious people of Nanning and Rombouw."

Bort mentions the visit to Malacca of vessels " from Pahang where the king of Johor now holds his court." He refers to Bengkalis as a trading mart for boats from Pahang and elsewhere.

In the year 1674 the Dagh-Register records that Sĕri Nara 'diraja of Johore had waylaid two notorious Jambi pirates, Langpassir and Pampouassa, captured the former and taken him to Pahang to the king of Johore who had his hands and feet cut off, his back-bone cut open, and the wounds smeared with salt and pepper. In the same year the Laksamana and Yam Tuan Muda raided the Jambi river.

In January 1678, Malay envoys reported at Malacca the death of their childless ninety-year old king. Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil III came to the throne in 1623 ; he died in Pahang on 22 November, 1677, and was known posthumously as *Marhum Mangkat di-Pahang*, " the late Sultan who died in Pahang."

'Abdu'l-Jalil was succeeded by Sultan Ibrahim the son of the Yam Tuan Muda of Pahang (Raja Bajau) who had died in 1676. The *Tuhfat-al-Nafis* relates that in 1678 Sultan Ibrahim removed to Riau, the home of the Laksamana and a good base for operations against Jambi.

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[1] In the " History of Johore," (J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, Pt. III, 1932, pp. 43-46), this Yam Tuan Muda is confused with Marhum Muda 'Abdu'llah who was killed in 1614.

In June 1679 the Johore-Pahang ruler had three hundred well-armed vessels ready to surprise Jambi and had found a Bugis ally, Daeng Mengika, whose race was destined to play an important part in Peninsular history. After the defeat of Jambi, Daeng Mengika abandoned Johore for Palembang, and in January 1681 the Paduka Raja of Johore and his son the young Laksamana helped Jambi to defeat Palembang and the Bugis.

The old Laksamana or Paduka Raja had by this time become the most important personage in the land next to his royal son-in-law and, ingratiating himself with the nobles, had grown so bold that he no longer paid proper respect to the Sultan who had become jealous of his powerful and ambitious Chief. This, no doubt, was the Laksamana who had killed a Temenggong at Tanjong Batu in 1677.

Two letters from Sultan Ibrahim and his father-in-law the Laksamana Paduka Raja arrived at Batavia on 2 April 1682, from their new capital. The Paduka Raja described his master as the first ruler of Johore-Pahang. The Sultan and his Chiefs were about to remove their head-quarters to Johor Lama. They sent the Governor-General, among other presents, Tioman mats.

On 16 February 1685 Sultan Ibrahim died ; poisoned, rumour said, by some of his wives. His son Sultan Mahmud was a minor. His mother was appointed regent and her father, the Paduka Raja, became the power behind the throne.

Soon afterwards the Paduka Raja's enemies gained the upper hand, and he was forced to flee to Trengganu where he died in 1688. He was succeeded by Bendahara Sĕri Maharaja, Tun Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid, who may have been the signatory to the Dutch treaty of 1685 described as " Dato' Bendahara Maharaja, son of Dato' Sĕri Maharaja." He at once took Sultan Mahmud to Kota Tinggi. This Bendahara, who died in 1697, is claimed as an ancestor by the present royal families of Pahang and Johore.

Sultan Mahmud, ruler of Johore-Pahang, the last and the most crazy of his line, was a degenerate pervert. His life has been described by Malay chroniclers, and by Hamilton a contemporary English visitor to Johore. According to the Malays, ever lenient to the sins of their princes, Sultan Mahmud was under the influence of the moon—a lunatic—and, being married to a fairy (*berbini peri*), could look with favour on no mortal woman. His Bendahara was 'Abdu'l-Jalil a son of Bendahara Habib 'Abdu'-l-Majid. These officers of State, always powerful, had further extended their influence in the seventeenth century, and in addition to their court dignities, had become territorial magnates. 'Abdu'l-Jalil profited by the Sultan's weakness to undermine his master's authority.

In 1699 Mahmud wantonly murdered the wife of one of his captains. The victim's husband, Megat Sĕri Rama, with the

connivance of the Bendahara, plotted revenge. When the conspirators' plans were ready, Mahmud's guards were attacked and killed; the Sultan himself, as he was being carried on the back of one of his attendants to bathe, was stabbed to death with a long creese. According to Malay tradition the dying ruler hurled a spear at his murderer which wounded him in the foot, and from that day onwards, grass grew in the wound because the murderer dared to shed the white blood of royalty!

The *Tuhfat-al-Nafis*, records that the Temenggong, and Raja Indĕra Bongsu, as well as the Bendahara, were implicated in the murder.

The descent of Sultan Mahmud, the last ruler of Johore-Pahang of Malacca royal stock, from Raja Omar the reputed grandson, on the distaff side, of Sultan Mansur I of Pahang, follows:[1]

R. Omar. (S. 'Abdu'l-Jalil II of Johore; r. 1580-1597; *M. di-Batu*). m. A daughter of Sĕri Nara 'diraja, Pahang.

S. Alauddin III ("R. Raju"; r. 1597-1613; *M. Mangkat di-Acheh*).

S. 'Abdullah Ma'ayat ("R. Bongsu"; "R. Sebrang"; r. 1613-1615; died 1623; *M. Tambelan*). m. A Pahang princess, (half-sister of Iskandar Thani; daughter of R. Ahmad by (?) a daughter of S. Hassan of Brunai).

S. 'Abdu'l-Jalil III ("R. Bujang"; r. 1623-1677; *M. Mangkat di-Pahang*).

R. Bajau (Yam Tuan Muda of Pahang-Johore; proclaimed heir *ca.* 1641; died 1676).

S. Ibrahim (r. 1677-1685; *M. Bongsu*).

S. Mahmud Shah II (born 1675; r. 1685-1699; *M. Kota Tinggi* or *M. Mangkat di-Julang*).

[1]Abbreviations: S., Sultan; R., Raja; M., Marhum; m., married; r., reigned.

CHAPTER V.

PAHANG THE PROVINCE OF THE BENDAHARAS (PERIOD 1699-1806).

On Mahmud's death, Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Jalil became Sultan, his supporters invoking the constitutional theory that if there were no heirs to a ruler, the Bendahara should succeed to the throne. If one Malay version is to be believed,[1] 'Abdu'l-Jalil secured his position by killing all the wives of Mahmud who were pregnant, but one of them, Che Mi, escaped to Menangkabau, and had a son later styled Raja Kechil—the Menangkabau pretender to the throne. The title of 'Abdu'l-Jalil's children was raised from *Tun* to *Tengku*. Raja Indĕra Bongsu Tun Mahmud, a younger brother of 'Abdu'l-Jalil who, before the death of Sultan Mahmud, had demanded his price as a conspirator in the assassination-plot, was made Yam Tuan Muda (or Raja Muda). According to the *Salasilah Melayu dan Bugis*,[2] when 'Abdu'l-Jalil was made Sultan, one of his brothers Temenggong Abdullah was appointed Bendahara to replace Tun Mas Anom who had died.

We get a glimpse of conditions at Kuala Endau, Pahang' in 1703 from an English chronicler Vaughan who, with his companions, was cast ashore at that place early in the year.[3] The head-man gave the ship-wrecked mariners boiled yams, salt and fresh water, and demanded fifty dollars to take them to Johore. The inhabitants numbered only fifteen men, and the place was infested by tiger and wild pig. "Captain Dequallo" (Captain di-Kuala—the head-man) owned land "on the banks of a small river[4] that runs from the Northward into the great one about half way from his house to the river's mouth. It had three houses in trees more than three yards above the ground, more than thirty people having been killed by tigers and elephants in the year, the remainder being not above forty men, women, and children in both places."[5] Soon afterwards "another grandee who said he was Captain of the men in the woods[6] came down the river, and bought canes for the merchants at Johore. He spoke Portuguese and sold arse-clouts, taking canes for them, which he sold at three dollars a hundred." On 17 March the ship-wrecked Englishmen were taken to Johore.

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[1] *Hikayat Johor serta Pahang* (MS.).

[2] Translation by H. Overbeck, J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV, No. III, 1926, p. 349.

[3] "The adventures of Five Englishmen from Pulo Kondoro, A Factory of the New Company in the East-Indies who were ship-wreckt upon the little Kingdom of Johore" etc., by Mr. Vaughan, London, 1714.

[4] The Sungai Anak Endau.

[5] *i.e* at Kuala Endau and Kuala Anak Endau.

[6] Head-man (*Jenang*) of the Jakun aboriginal tribes (*Suku Biduanda*). About one hundred and fifty years later, Bendahara Ali appointed one Talib as *Jenang* of the *Suku Biduanda* of Endau.

'Abdu'l-Jalil was unfitted to control his turbulent subjects; his people said of him that he was too religious to be a good king. He was a " more merciful man and of a milder temper " than his predecessor.[1] He did tolerably well for the first eight years of his reign, but then let the power slip into the hands of his domineering brother the Yam Tuan Muda who, according to one account, oppressed the people. In 1708 the Sultan and the Raja Muda retired to Riau. Four years later a rebellion fostered by Menangkabaus broke out in the Riau-Johore State. 'Abdu'l-Jalil invoked the help of the Bugis Chief Upu Daing Parani. Tengku Mandak, one of 'Abdu'l-Jalil's daughters, slighted by Raja Kechil, cast her ear-rings into Upu's lap, and offered to marry him if he would help to defeat the Menangkabaus.[2] 'Abdu'l-Jalil and the Yam Tuan Muda retreated to Johor Lama. The Sultan's brother was " a clever and intelligent man " who acquired great riches and surrounded himself by a powerful force. He was said to have had 1,000 pieces of cannon mostly of bronze, 2,000 guns, and two large store-houses filled with arms and ammunitions, 5,000 men-at-arms, and large quantities of gold.[3]

Fighting continued intermittently till 1718. In a sea-battle, owing to the treachery of some of his Chiefs, the majority of the king's fleet went over to Raja Kechil. Early in 1718 Raja Muda encountering his Menangkabau enemies led by the pretender Raja Kechil, who was supported by the Laksamana faction, and by Bugis mercenaries, fled. In his new place of refuge the Yam Tuan Muda was engaged in a game of chess when a follower rushed into his house, shouting " The enemy Your Highness ! " Tun Mahmud, absorbed in his game, thought the reference was to his opponent's moves on the chess-board, and said testily: " What is all this talk about the enemy: the enemy move here and there ! " When at last he realized his peril he ran amuck, killed his wives and children, and was himself slain. This Raja Muda whose death occurred in 1718 was known posthumously as *Yam Tuan Muda mangkat di-Kayu Anak*, " the Yam Tuan Muda who died at Kayu Anak."[4]

The victorious Raja Kechil allowed Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil to retire to Trengganu. According to Hamilton, the defeated ruler "called at *Pulau Aure*, *Tingi*, *Pissang*, and *Timoon* and the inhabitants of these Islands received him with Demonstrations of Love, and promised to continue in their Duty as his subjects.

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[1]Vaughan, *loc. cit.*

[2]*Hikayat Johor serta Pahang.*

[3]" Jornada de Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho," (J. M. B. R. A S., Vol. XIII, Pt. II, pp. 120-121).

[4]In the Johore river is an islet named *Pulau Kayu Anak*, the scene, perhaps, of the Yam Tuan Muda's death.

He put his eldest son, a Youth about 20 years of age, ashore at Pahang to keep that country from revolting and went himself to Trangano."

The son to whom Hamilton refers may have been Tun Abbas one of the sons of 'Abdu'l-Jalil who was born while their father was still Bendahara.

Civil strife had broken out in Pahang in 1716 between two brothers of the Sultan, Bendahara Tun 'Abdu'llah and Temenggong Tun Mutahir who apparently supported 'Abdu'l-Jalil's cause. The two brothers fought and killed one another. This fact is not recorded in our histories, but other evidence bears it out. In a paper on "An Eighteenth Century Tomb at Pekan Lama"[1] are described graves which, according to tradition, are those of "an Achinese Tengku Mutahir who killed his brother Tengku 'Abdullah in a fight and was himself slain. They were buried side by side." The inscription on Mutahir's tomb gives the date of his death as the 23rd Shaaban 1128 A.H. (12th September 1716 A.D.), but not his name. 'Abdu'llah's tomb-stone, which has disappeared, is said to have had inscribed thereon his name, and a similar date. It was natural for the sons of a Bendahara with Achinese connections (Tun Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid) to have been described by the Pahang people, who had bitter cause to remember that nation, as Achinese. It appeared that another brother of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil, Tun 'Abdu'l-Jamal, succeeded 'Abdu'llah as Bendahara.

After visiting Trengganu, where he left his son Tun Husain[2] in charge, 'Abdu'l-Jalil proceeded to Pahang, and opened a settlement at Kuala Pahang. There he was joined by Raja Indĕra Bongsu who had taken refuge in Malacca. In 1720 Raja Kechil sent his Laksamana, Nakhoda Che Sekam, to Kuala Pahang to bring the Sultan willy-nilly to Riau. 'Abdu'l-Jalil declined the invitation, so Che Sekam's forces attacked Kuala Pahang and captured it. Raja Kechil's emissary then renewed the invitation, offering the Sultan two vessels in which to make the journey with his family and retinue. The Sultan had to agree.

At this stage Che Sekam received a letter from Raja Kechil, cancelling former orders, and instructing him to kill the fugitive ruler. Che Sekam did not relish the task but had to obey. He sent four of his captains, clad in coats of mail, with their men to carry out his master's instructions. The Menangkabaus quietly boarded 'Abdu'l-Jalil's boat, and while he was on a praying mat, performing his devotions, they hacked at him with their swords. The Sultan jumped up, seized one of his enemies' weapons and he and his followers killed eight Menangkabaus before he succumbed. Tengku Tengah, one of his daughters, hearing of her father's death rushed on deck and attacked the murderers. As they were

[1] J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV, No. III, p. 333.

[2] He became known as *Bendahara di-Trengganu*: Appendix II, *infra*.

about to retaliate, Che Sekam shouted : " Let her be ; if you kill the princess Raja Kechil will slay you and your families ! " The Menangkabaus then dropped overboard, and Tengku Tengah was taken to her cabin. Che Sekam came on board and, " with tears in his eyes," prepared the Sultan's body for burial, and had it interred at Teluk Kandang[1] which, from that occurrence, became known as *Kampong Marhum*. The Orang Kaya Nara Wangsa, Tun Hamid, described in the Batavian *Hikayat Negeri Johor* as a son of 'Abdu'l-Jalil, was killed with him.

The dead Sultan was known to posterity by the name *Marhum Kuala Pahang*. The *Hikayat Johor serta Pahang* (*MS.*), wrongly says that he was buried above the Sungai Pĕkan, mistakenly identifying his tomb with that of " 'Abdu'l-Jalil " who died in 1511. Now that the Sultan was dead, the Bendahara (? Tun 'Abdu'l-Jamal) claimed the throne, but Raja Kechil refused to recognise his claim.[2]

Raja Sulaiman, who had been captured by the Menangkabaus when his father was killed at Kuala Pahang, escaped from his captors and proceeded to Ulu Pahang where he solicited the help of " the Deformed Bendahara," (*Bendahara Pekok*), in the operations against the Menangkabau pretender. According to the *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, this Bendahara was an uncle of Sulaiman. If so, he may have been Tun 'Abdu'l-Jamal. On the other hand a Pahang tradition makes mention of an Abbas (? one of the elder brothers of Sultan Sulaiman) who resided at Semantan in Pahang. The fact that Tun Abbas was passed over for the succession to the Sultanate gives colour to the view that he was the ' Deformed Bendahara,' though the reason given by Malay chroniclers was that he, and another brother Tun Hussain, were not considered as they had been born before their father Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil came to the throne.

On 4 October 1722 the Bugis, who by this time had recovered from Raja Kechil the Johore-Pahang state regalia, installed Raja Sulaiman as Sultan with the title of Sultan Sulaiman Badru'l-Alam Shah. The new ruler made a formal agreement with his protectors whereby the respective powers of the Malays and Bugis were defined. About the same time Tun Abbas was appointed Bendahara Sĕri Maharaja.

There was a wholesale marrying, and giving in marriage between the Bugis Chiefs and ladies of the Malay noble families. One of these Chiefs, who afterwards became known as *To' Tuan*, founded a settlement at Kampong Mengkasar near Pĕkan Lama. He was said to have improved the art of silk weaving in Pekan (the village which he founded is still the centre of the weaving industry). This Chief was an ancestor, on the female side, of

[1]The *Pasir Kandang* of the " Malay Annals."

[2]*Sejara Raja-Raja Riouw.*

the Shahbandar family of Pahang. He was buried at Pĕkan Lama, and his grave is revered as a shrine to the present day.

The eldest of the Bugis Chiefs, Upu Daing Marewah (son of Daing Parani), also known as Upu Kĕlana Jaya Putĕra, was appointed Yang di-pertuan Muda. An old Bugis Chief Daing Manompo took the title of Raja Tua, and married Tun Tipah an aunt of Sultan Sulaiman.

It is uncertain whether Temenggong Tun Mutahir or Tun Abbas was the father of Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid (Bendahara of Pahang *ca.* 1770-1802) from whom the Pahang Sultans are descended. One writer, the author of the *Hikayat Negeri Pahang* (MS.), takes an easy way out of the difficulty by commencing with 'Abdu'l-Majid and ignoring all mention of this Chief's ancestors. There are genealogical trees in abundance : the Kampong Gĕlam, Johore and Pahang lists of descent, but family trees often erred in details, they were sometimes altered to suit political or family considerations, and compilers have been known to make mistakes even in the names of personages contemporary with them.

The question of 'Abdu'l-Majid's descent is dealt with elsewhere in this history.[1] Suffice to say here that, on the evidence at present available, it is likely that this Chief's father was Tun 'Abbas, and that his ancestry was as follows :

Bendahara Tun Habib
'Abdu'l-Majid
(*Marhum Padang Saujana* ; *died in* 1697).

Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil IV
(*Marhum Kuala Pahang* ; killed in 1720).

Bendahara Husain (*Bendahara di-Trengganu*).	Bendahara Abbas.	Sultan Sulaiman (reigned 1722-1760).
Tun Inah.	Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Majid (married (i) Tun Inah, (ii) a Bugis princess of Endau ; born *ca.* 1715 ; Bendahara *ca.* 1770 ; died *ca.* 1802).	

Between the year 1722 and the middle of the century there was intermittent fighting between the pretender Raja Kechil and the Bugis, backed by Sultan Sulaiman, but the Sultan and his Malays, after all danger from Raja Kechil had disappeared—the Menangkabau pretender went mad, and died in 1746—got tired

[1] Appendix II, *infra*.

of their domineering allies, and in 1745, Sulaiman with Sultan Mansur of Trengganu, and the Raja Indĕra Bongsu Tun Hasan invoked Dutch assistance against the Bugis.

In 1740 Sultan Sulaiman sailed to Pahang and built a wall around his father's tomb. Among the royal retinue were Dato' Bendahara Tun Husain (the *Bendahara di-Trengganu*) brother of His Highness, Tun 'Abdu'l-Rahman son of Dato' Temenggong Tun Mutahir, Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid, Raja Muhammad son of Raja Muda *Mangkat di-Kayu Anak*, Tun Sulong Muda son of Dato' Paduka Maharaja, Tun Pasang son of Dato' Sewa Raja, Tun Bayan, Tun Hasan son of Orang Kaya Sĕri Nara 'diraja grand-son of the Laksamana, and Tun Dagang great grand-son of Orang Kaya Besar. The Sultan summoned Indĕra Pahlawan from the interior and took him to Riau. Included in the prince's following were the *Bendahara Tua* of Pahang, and a son of Bendahara Tun Husain who, after bidding farewell to the Sultan, returned to Trengganu.

The Orang Kaya Besar, whose great grand-son was Tun Dagang, we have met before. He was the Orang Kaya Besar Penglima of Pahang who fled to the interior when that State was sacked by Johore in 1638. Indĕra Pahlawan was the Orang Kaya Indĕra Pahlawan of Chenor, one of the four Major Chiefs, and this is the first mention in our Malay chronicles of the title in Pahang.

In 1738 Sultan Sulaiman visited Kuala Endau. The headmen of the nine proto-Malay tribes (*Suku Biduanda*) came before him and he gave them titles. A memento of this royal visit was the *mas manah* or *ambur-ambur* (largesse) distributed by the Sultan among the people: octagonal, base gold coins which occasionally are still met with among the descendants of the tribes of Endau. The coin bears the legends, on the obverse, *Sultan Sulaiman Shah*, and on the reverse, *Khalifat al-Muminin* "Lord of the Faithful."

Raja Kechil ruled Siak which was nominally a part of the Riau-Johore-Pahang kingdom. When he became afflicted by a mental disease in 1736, both his sons claimed the Siak throne, one of them Raja Muhammad (*Buang*) a nephew of Sultan Sulaiman. As early as 1745, the Bugis Chiefs of Selangor had elected Daing Kemboja (*Marhum Janggut*) to succeed Daing Chelak as Yam Tuan Muda, but it was not till 1748 that he went to Riau to be installed by Sultan Sulaiman. According to the *Sejarah Raja-Raja Riouw*, in 1748 the oath between Bugis and Malays was renewed, the Yam Tuan Besar, Yam Tuan Muda and Raja Indĕra Bongsu Tun Hasan taking part. About the same time Tun Hassan was created Bendahara Sĕri Maharaja.

On 6 January 1756 Sultan Sulaiman arrived at Malacca accompanied by his heir 'Abdu'l-Jalil (*Raja di-Baroh*), Sultan

Mansur of Trengganu, and the Bendahara Sĕri Maharaja (Tun Hasan) and signed a treaty with the Dutch.

In May 1757 Daing Kemboja was driven to Linggi but he was attacked by a strong combined fleet which captured the place in December. Sultan Sulaiman now tried to get the better of his insubordinate Bugis subjects by giving up Rembau and Linggi to the Dutch. This cession was signed on 12 December by Sultan Sulaiman, Sultan Mansur of Trengganu and Temenggong 'Abdu'l-Majid (later, Bendahara of Pahang). Sultan Sulaiman died in 1760, having before his death made friends with the Bugis.

In January 1761 Sulaiman's successor Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil Muadzam Shah (*Raja di-Baroh*) died in Selangor, poisoned according to the Malays. In February Daing Kemboja brought the body to Riau and proclaimed himself guardian of Sultan Ahmad Riayat Shah, the young son of the deceased. This boy soon died, perhaps also from poison, and though the Malays pressed for a brother of Sultan Sulaiman as his successor, the Bugis forces overawed the Bendahara and Temenggong and carried the election of Mahmud, an infant son of *Raja di-Baroh*, born in 1760. Hearing of the death of Daing Kemboja in 1777 his nephew the Yam Tuan Muda of Riau, Raja Haji, proceeded to Pahang.

According to the *Tuhfat al-Nafis*, when Daing Kemboja fought the sea-fight at Singapore in 1764 Tun Hasan was Bendahara. By 1770 Temenggong 'Abdu'l-Majid had become Bendahara and in 1777 created Raja Haji, Yam Tuan Muda. Sultan Mahmud, accompanied by Raja 'Abdu'l-Samat of Selangor, a son of Marhum Janggut (Daing Kemboja), sailed to Pahang to welcome Raja Haji to whom a son named *Raja Pahang* had been born. Raja Haji was killed in an unsuccessful attack on Malacca in 1784, and his ally Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor fled to Bernam and thence to Pahang. There, according to tradition, he married Tun Selamah, a daughter of the Bendahara of Pahang, and it was after him that Tanjong Selangor near Pahang Tua was named. Aided by Pahang, the Sultan returned to Ulu Selangor.

In October 1784 the Dutch attacked and captured Riau, driving out the Bugis. In November 1784 a formal treaty was made between the Dutch and the Malays whereby the Sultan and his Chiefs acknowledged that Riau had become by right of war the property of the Dutch, which the Malays would hold as a fief under certain conditions. The Sultan, because of his youth, would decide nothing except in consultation with the Raja Tua (the Dutch had driven out the Bugis Yam Tuan Muda), Raja Bendahara ('Abdu'l-Majid), Raja Temenggong, and Raja Bongsu. All Bugis not born in Riau were to be expelled. All vessels from Johore, Pahang and other states that passed Malacca were compelled to take out a Dutch pass there.

In February 1785 Raja Ali addressed a letter to Bengal asking for English assistance against the Dutch. In June 1785

his brother-in-law Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor, with Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Majid of Pahang assisted Sultan Mahmud in driving the Dutch out of Riau. After their victory the Malay Chiefs, fearing a counter-attack, fled, the Bendahara returning to Pahang with one hundred and fifty sail. Sultan Mahmud now asked Capt. Light for authority to hoist a British flag on his fort. In the same year Raja 'Ali had requested a passage through Rembau in order to attack Malacca from Pahang, but the Rembau Chiefs refused it.

On 7 February, 1786 a treaty was signed between the Sultan and the Dutch whereby, among other matters, he was freed of the guardianship of the Raja Tua, Raja Bendahara, Raja Temenggong and Raja Indĕra Bongsu, and would consult them only on high matters of state. Among other provisions, Pahang was to admit no Chinese or other junks to its ports but to direct them to Riau for payment of customs dues !

In December 1786 Sultan Mahmud, accompanied by the Bendahara Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid, the Temenggong and the Raja Indĕra Bongsu visited Malacca. At the same time, it was said, he sent one Talib (probably the eldest son of Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Majid) to entreat the ruler of Tempasok and his Ilanun pirates to rid him of the Dutch.

In 1788 Sultan Mahmud fled to Pahang where four soldiers captured at Riau heard that he had sent Raja Indĕra Bongsu to Solok to ask the Ilanuns to attack Malacca over-land from Pahang. On 20 May 1790 the Sultan of Trengganu, with whom the Riau-Johore ruler had taken refuge, wrote to the Dutch at Malacca enquiring whether they would prefer Sultan Mahmud to live at Riau under their eyes or in Pahang. In 1795 the Dutch made peace with Mahmud, and restored Lingga (Riau) to him.

Except for some scraps of information collected here and there we know little about Pahang in the eighteenth century. It formed part of the Riau-Johore State and followed the politics of that kingdom. The Pahang Chiefs supported the Sultan in his wars against the pretender Raja Kechil. The Bugis made their appearance on the Malayan stage ; they allied themselves with the Sultan, became the dominant partner in the coalition and made and unmade rulers. In the latter half of the century, the Pahang Bendahara grew tired of his over-powering friends and petitioned both Dutch and English for help to drive them out of Riau.[1]

In the same century Pahang became the special province of the Bendaharas. The first Bendahara of Pahang of whom we have authentic information was Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid who was elevated to that dignity about 1770. The allegiance of the Bendaharas to the Riau-Johore ruler continued, though it weakened in time. These potentates, as the senior Chiefs, had the privilege

[1] *Sejarah Raja-Raja Riouw.*

of installing Sultans, and were themselves installed by Sultans. They were the fully accredited representatives (*wakil mutallak*) of the sovereign in Pahang, and in fact assumed to themselves all their Sultan's prerogatives. They exercised the power of capital punishment, and occasionally even delegated that power to their head-men. In theory only the Sultan could shed blood, so when a criminal was being executed by the order of the Bendahara, the creese of execution (*kĕris penyalang*) was driven into his heart through a pad of cotton wool in order that no blood should drop on the ground, and due regard was thus paid to the constitutional theory !

After the Dutch had expelled the Bugis from Riau in 1784, that island has been occupied by Engku Muda who styled himself " Sultan of Riau." When the English removed the ban on the Bugis, Raja Ali captured the place. Engku Muda retorted by blockading Riau in May 1801. 'Abdul'l-Majid who was summoned from Pahang to effect a settlement could, at first, do nothing. In February 1802, he persuaded the warring Chiefs to go to Lingga where Sultan Mahmud made peace between the Malays and Bugis. In December 1804 Mahmud settled Raja Ali at Penyengat as Yam Tuan Muda.

Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Majid had four sons, Tun 'Abdu'l Mutalib who resided at Pĕkan Sebrang, Tun Muhammad (" Engku Sentul") who lived at Chĕnor, Tun Koris who resided with his Bugis mother at Endau, and Deh (Da) whose home was at Pedah. On one occasion when the Bendahara's eldest son was on a visit to Riau the Sultan showed especial favour to 'Abdul'-Mutalib by inviting him to be his guest at table. The custom was that the son of the Bendahara to whom the Sultan paid that honour was tacitly recognized as Bendahara designate (*Bendahara Muda*). In the same way, a Temenggong's son so honoured was recognized as successor to his father. 'Abdu'l-Mutalib's uncle, Temenggong 'Abdu'l-Jamal, whose two sons were present but had received no such invitation, became jealous of his nephew and brooded over the slight.

Some time afterwards, while the Sultan, accompanied by the Temenggong, was on a visit to Pahang 'Abdu'l-Jamal, one night, stole to the Bendahara's house, concealed himself behind a door, and as his nephew was passing, stabbed him to death. As 'Abdu'l-Mutalib lay dying, he gasped : " Uncle, what wrong have I done you ! " The murderer fled to Padang Buloh (Pĕkan Lama). A search party went in pursuit, captured him, and handed him over to 'Abdu'l-Majid. The murdered boy's father ordered his men to extract thorns from the captive's feet. Tun Koris arrived and attempted to kill 'Abdu'l-Jamal but was restrained by his father : " He is your uncle, and he is mad ! " The Sultan ordered the murderer to be sent back to Riau.

'Abdu'l-Jamal was accordingly put on board a boat which set sail for Riau. As he passed the mouth of the Blackwater (Kuala

Ayer Hitam) he cast the fatal spear with which he had killed his nephew into the Pahang river. When the boat arrived near Kuala Rompin, Bernas, one of 'Abdu'l-Jamal's concubines, was put ashore as her confinement was near, and the place where she gave birth to a child was called *Pantai Bernas*. Near Penyusok the demented 'Abdu'l-Jamal pirated a boat (*sekochi*) at anchor there killing many of its crew. He towed the captured vessel behind his junk (*jongkong*) to Riau. A topical rhymer celebrated the incident in verse:

"Great's the worm in bole of tree,
The Dutch boy plays *sekopong*,[1]
Great's the king's Prosperity,
The barque is towed by *jongkong*."[2]

At Riau the crazy Temenggong solved the difficulties of his position by taking a lighted torch into the hold where the gunpowder was stored. He and his two sons were killed in the explosion which followed.

In the meantime, when the news of his brother's murder reached him, Tun Muhammad of Chenor hurried to Pĕkan with forty spearmen. In his anxiety to get there quickly he cast overboard his cooking stove at Kuala Lepar in order to lighten the boat. At Pĕkan he found that 'Abdu'l-Jamal had left for Riau. In spite of his father's attempt to restrain him he followed his uncle. On his arrival at Riau he found that the demented 'Abdu'l-Jamal was dead.

Tun Muhammad settled at Riau, and when his father 'Abdu'l-Majid died in 1802, the Sultan installed him as Bendahara. The new Chief then set sail for Pahang. While he was crossing from Pulau Tioman to Endau his boat was wrecked in a storm, and he, and one of his wives, trapped in a cabin, perished. He was known posthumously as *Marhum Mangkat di-Laut*: "the late Chief who died at sea." Tun Muhammad's ship-mates, to the number of forty, escaped with their lives from the ship-wreck—only to meet a worse fate. When they arrived at Pekan all but two of them were slaughtered by Tun Koris who, on his brother's death, became Bendahara Paduka Raja, because they had not died with their prince. They were stabbed to death with a long creese. Koris' treatment of the ship-wrecked survivors earned him a well-merited reputation for cruelty.

The new Bendahara had been reared at Endau by his Bugis mother. He made Tuan Jambul his chief *Mantĕri* or executive officer. His rule was short: he died about 1806 leaving two

[1] A card-game.

[2] *Besar ulat di-buku kayu,*
Anak Belanda main sekopong,
Besar daulat Raja Melayu,
Sekochi di-tunda jongkong.

sons, his successor Tun Ali, and Tun Muhammad, styled "Engku Tanjong"—the *Tengku Tanjong* of Abdullah's *Pelayaran*.

The descent of the Bendaharas and Sultans of Pahang from Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid to the present day follows:

B. S. M. Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid (born *ca.* 1715; married (a), *ca.* 1736, Tun Inah daughter of B. Husain; (b) a Bugis princess of Endau; T. 1756; B. *ca.* 1770; died *ca.* 1802).

- B. Tun Muhammad, (Engku Sentul —drowned *ca.* 1802—*Marhum Mangkat di-Laut*).
- B. P. R. Koris (ruled *ca.* 1803-1806).
  - B. S. R. Tun Ali (ruled 1806-1857).
    - B. S. M. Tun Mutahir (born 1813; B. 1857-1863).
      - B. Muda Koris.
    - S. Ahmad (born 23 May, 1836; B. S. R. 1863; proclaimed S. by his Chiefs with the title of S. Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah on 5 December, 1884; recognized as S. by the British, 1887; died, 1914).
      - S. Mahmud Shah (married Tengku Meriam of Johore, Tengku Empuan Besar; Tengku Besar 1891; S. 1914-1917).
      - S. 'Abdu'llah al-Moktasim Bi'llah (reigned 1917-1932).
        - S. Abu-Bakar (reigning).
      - Tengku Sulaiman (Tengku Besar).
  - Tun Muhammad (Engku Tanjong).

Abbreviations: B. S. M., Bendahara Sĕri Maharaja; B. P. R., Bendahara Paduka Raja; B. S. R., Bendahara Sewa Raja (Sĕri Wa Raja); B., Bendahara; T., Temenggong; *ca.*, about; S. Sultan. For a fuller list of descendants *vide infra*, Appendix II.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RULE OF BENDAHARA ALI (1806-1857).

Tun Ali was installed Bendahara of Pahang in 1806 by Sultan Mahmud of Riau-Johore-Pahang, with the title of Bendahara Sewa Raja. He was about twenty-five years of age at the time of his accession. The Malay kingdom was now approaching its dismemberment. In January 1812 Sultan Mahmud died leaving two sons Tengku Husain and Tengku 'Abdu'l-Rahman. The deceased ruler had married a daughter of Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Majid by Tun Besar, (the " Tuanku Besar " of Begbie), but the union was barren. This childless wife was buried in the royal cemetery at Kuala Pahang. The Bugis Yam Tuan Muda of Riau (Jaafar) supported the claim of 'Abdu'l-Rahman to the Sultanate, and succeeded in having him proclaimed ruler at Mahmud's grave-side. According to one account, Husain acquiesced in his brother's elevation to the throne; but Begbie states that he betook himself to Pahang where he enlisted the support of Bendahara Ali who, with Husain's step-mother Tengku Putĕri Hamidah of Pulau Penyengat (in whose custody was the regalia of the Riau-Johore kingdom), assembled forces to attack 'Abdu'l-Rahman. The Yam Tuan Muda, alarmed at the war-like preparations, made a complaint to the Resident of Malacca, and Adrian Koeck was sent to warn the Bendahara that intervention in Lingga would give offence to Great Britain, so Tun Ali took his forces, which had been mobilized at Bulang, back to Pahang.

The British, after the restoration of Malacca to the Dutch in 1818, sought a station to off-set their European rivals in the Peninsula. In 1819 Raffles induced Husain to conclude a treaty (to which the Johore Temenggong was also a signatory) ceding Singapore to the English. In return, Raffles installed Husain as Sultan of Johore. According to the *Hikayat Johor serta Pahang*, Raffles desired to make Temenggong 'Abdu'l-Rahman, Sultan, but this potentate demurred: " I cannot be made ruler because I am only third; first comes my elder ' brother ' in Pahang, second is the Yam Tuan Muda at Riau, and their sovereign is at Daik."

On the Temenggong's suggestion, Tengku Husain was summoned to Singapore and installed Sultan. The Temenggong then wrote to the Bendahara explaining what had happened. Tun Ali replied that he did not propose to take any part in the proceedings, that his allegiane lay to Daik, (Riau), and that, as far as Pahang affairs were concerned, he would ignore Singapore and refer to Daik. Bendahara Ali further wrote a letter to Timmerman Thyssen, Governor of Malacca, expressing amazement that the inscrutable creator had parted brother from brother, father from son, and friend from friend, and declaring the cryptic intention of being a friend to the friends of the Raja of Johore. The seal used by the diplomatic Ali described him as the representative

of Sultan Mahmud, now deceased, a description that would offend nobody. In the same year (1819), the Bendahara refused to allow the British to hoist the Union Jack in his country, and assured Sultan 'Abdu'l-Rahman of his allegiance, but he was soon to acknowledge Husain. In 1821, 'Abdu'l-Rahman, with his son Tengku Besar Muhammad, visited Pahang whence Bendahara Ali escorted his sovereign to Trengganu.

Timmerman Thyssen, the Dutch Governor of Malacca, took the regalia of the old Riau-Johore-Pahang kingdom by force from Tengku Putĕri Hamidah at Pulau Penyengat in October 1822. Sultan 'Abdu'l-Rahman, after his return from Pahang and Trengganu about the same time was invested with the regalia at Lingga. Raja Indĕra Bongsu had died in Pahang and this office was vacant. The Bendahara appointed the Yam Tuan Muda to represent him at the Sultan's investiture.

On 17 March 1824 the Dutch and the British concluded a treaty whereby it was agreed that Singapore and the Peninsula should be the British sphere of influence, while the Dutch confined themselves to the islands south of Singapore.

In 1827, an Englishman, Gray, visited Pahang to trade opium for gold-dust. He may have been the first European—he was almost certainly the first Englishman—to penetrate the interior. He chose for his visit the season of the north-east monsoon when the rivers were in flood. He left Malacca on 2 January 1827 for Pahang by the over-land route. Newbold published the diary of Gray's journey:

> "9 January: Left Jompol with nine men well-armed for Pahang....After going down-river Jompol for nearly one hour, I was obliged to cross overland with my boat and goods for nearly three hundred yards, to fall in with the river Sirting, which leads to the lake of Brah (Bĕra) and the river Brah....Remained during the night at a small settlement called Bahru near the banks of the river Sirting....From Bahru to the river Brah there are no inhabitants but what the natives term Orang Hutan, who frequent the river Sirting for the purpose of fishing. Elephants are in great plenty....
>
> "13 January: Left the banks of the Sirting and arrived at the lake of Brah at two o'clock p.m.....I was five days going down to the end of the river Brah and having eight men pulling a small boat with the current in our favour. On my journey down to Pahang, I suppose the depth of water to be above forty feet in most parts, not being able to touch the bottom with a forty foot pole. In some parts of the river Sirting and river Brah a brig might go up, and in other parts nothing but a small boat, on account of the water being above the fallen trees, so that the boat must be lifted over before it can proceed. We remained during the night on the

banks of the river Brah, near where there is a large village called Kampong Brah, containing a number of inhabitants under the control of the Rajah of Pahang.

" 14th. Left the banks of the river Brah and arrived at the river Pahang at 10 o'clock.

" 15th :....At half past four o'clock—paddled all day and night and arrived at the village of Pahang at six o'clock next morning.

In the river Pahang there are eight or nine most beautiful Islands covered with coconut and betel-nut trees ; but in December and January, these islands are overflowed on account of the numerous falls of water from the interior.

" 16th ; Met the Rajah of Pahang, by whom I was well received. I requested permission to proceed to the gold mines, to dispose of my goods, which he refused to grant, for the following reasons ;

It being very troublesome and not to be performed in less than forty days, hard pulling ;

Being a stranger and a European, some unforseen accidents might occur and my disposing of my goods to the natives in the interior might cause trouble.

The king desired I should be well cared for and put me immediately under the care of the merchants Sahid Alwee and Sahid Abdollah, two respectable merchants, well known at Singapore.

" 18th : No business done. I waited to see the king, who promised to assemble the merchants next day to purchase my goods, he himself not being in any trading way.

" 19th : Could not come to any terms agreeable to me.

" 20th : This day sold five chests of opium at eighhundred dollars per chest, in barter for gold dust at twenty. two dollars per buncal Pahang ; gold dust to be forwarded to Singapore and Malacca agreeable to my letter of advice ; the king binding himself security for the said amount.

From the knowledge of the price of opium falling daily at Singapore and Malacca I made as quick a sale as possible.

"21st : Sold one chest raw silk for three hundred and five dollars ; it being damaged by the heavy rain from Malacca to Jompol. Delivered five chests of opium to the merchants, and sold ten balls of damaged opium for one hundred and eighty dollars to barter for gold dust at twenty-two dollars per buncal. This evening purchased two catties of gold dust. I am informed by the merchants that they have

discovered a tin mine,[1] near the river Leppa (Lepar) at the distance of two days' pulling from the settlement of Pahang, it is expected to turn out favourably and to be opened in the dry season, by about eight hundred Malays beside a number of Chinese.

" 22nd : This morning left the settlement of Pahang for Malacca at five o'clock. Much rain with strong winds from the north—made a small kajang sail, paddled and sailed up the river Pahang ; the current very strong against us....
" 26th: Left the island at half past five o'clock and arrived at Chuno (Chenor) which is a large village on the banks of the river Pahang.

" 27th : Left Chuno at five o'clock and arrived at the mouth of the river Brah at two o'clock ; much rain all day....

Before I could reach the mouth of the river Brah, I had nearly six days hard paddling with a temporary kajang sail.

The information which I received concerning the gold mines, is that from the mouth of the river Brah to the village Jelleh (Jelai) is nearly twelve days hard paddling, from thence to the mines, one month's pulling. Jelleh is the village where the trade in gold is carried on."

Gray returned to Malacca on 6 February, and died of fever ten days afterwards.

Sultan 'Abdu'l-Rahman died in 1832 and was succeeded by his son, the Tengku Besar, who was entitled Sultan Muhammad Shah (*Marhum Kadaton*). The new ruler visited Pahang, and took Bendahara Ali to Lingga for the circumcision and installation of his son Yam Tuan Besar Mahmud. The *Hikayat Pahang* (MS.) describes the Pahang magnate's visit. He brought a great following, prominent among whom were his two chief warriors Dato' Parit, a Chief of Bukit Sagumpal, and Dato' Tanggok Bingkal Tembaga. On his arrival he went into the Sultan's presence and uttered the sayings prescribed by custom and the law of Islam on such occasions ; and the ruler commanded that Lingga should be temporarily under the Bendahara in accordance with custom. With Tun Ali were present the Yam Tuan Muda, the Temenggong, and other Chiefs. For four months there was feasting, rejoicing and gambling, until finally the Pahang guests dissipated their property and became penniless. To' Tanggok Bingkal Tembaga, and Dato' Parit went into the presence of their master, and craved permission to recoup their losses by piracy. At first the Bendahara refused, but on the second asking, he gave no reply, and taking his silence as consent, the Chiefs sallied forth on their buccaneering venture. They sailed for seven days and

[1] At Gambang.

seven nights. One day, as their vessel rocked in the swell, they were attacked by seven pirate boats, and the Pahang Chiefs and their barque were captured. Dato' Tanggok, and Dato' Parit were brought on board one of the enemy boats, and chained. A storm arose, the captive Chiefs broke their chains, and overcame their captors. They regained their vessel, loaded it with spoil from their enemy, and went back in triumph to Daik! That, at least, was the story which they related on their return.

The installation of Tengku Besar Mahmud was duly accomplished. Tun Mutahir, eldest son of Bendahara Ali, was made Engku Muda, and married Tengku Chik the Sultan's daughter. The Pahang potentate and his people then returned to their country.

Tun Ali's son-in-law and chief Minister was Saiyid Omar, styled "Engku Saiyid," whose wife was given the title of Inche Puan Engku Saiyid. Inche Long, popularly known as Inche Lingga, a wife of Bendahara Ali, on 23 May 1836 gave birth to a son Tun Ahmad, (later, Bendahara and Sultan), for whom an Arab, Habib 'Abdu'llah ibni Omar Al-Attas, foretold a great future. Engku Muda went to reside at Pulau Ganchong which place was presented to him by To' Ganchong (a pious Javanese head- man). At that time, in Pahang, were a Mufti and a Chief Kathi, Tuan Haji 'Abdu'l-Shukor, and Tuan Senggang, and many religious teachers of minor degree. Daily they interviewed the raja and expounded to him the precepts of his religion.

Peace and prosperity reigned in the country. Twenty gantangs of rice cost only one dollar, and other food-stuffs were equally cheap. Many people became rich, and, the Malay chronicler proceeds, there was a great trade in gold. Pahang, with the exception of the rich tin-producing region of the river Kuantan which was kept as a private reserve by the Bendahara, was free from import or export duties.

Ali's son, Tun Buang (Wan Ismail), was made Engku Penglima Besar, (this title, in Pahang, dated at least as far back as the early part of the 17th century). Tun Long (Wan Koris), eldest son of Tun Mutahir, was made Penglima Pĕrang; Tun Aman (Wan 'Abdu'l-Rahman, second son of Mutahir) of Kampong Masjid, and Inche Wan Sulaiman, husband of Inche Engku Teh (a daughter of Tun Muhammad the brother of Bendahara Ali), were ranked as *Manteri*. Sulaiman is mentioned in the *Pelayaran Abdullah* where he is wrongly described as a son of Bendahara Ali. By Inche Puan, Engku Saiyid had two sons Tuan Embong, and Tuan Ngah. Tun Ahmad was his father's most dearly beloved son, and a favourite with the people.

An interesting description of the country in the early part of the eighteenth century is given by 'Abdu'llah in his *Pelayaran*. In 1838 Abdullah, on his way to Kelantan, landed at Kuala Pahang

for provisions. He sailed up the Pahang river to Kampong China (Pĕkan Baharu). There he found hundreds of Malays and Chinese, armed to the teeth, awaiting him on the bank. After parley with the Chiefs, he was allowed to land. The Bendahara, with the Chinese head-man, was away at the gold mines of Jelai. 'Abdu'llah was informed that the banks of the Pahang river as far as Jelai were inhabited. The country appeared very fertile, but he deplored the lack of shops, markets and roads and expressed amazement at the idleness, ignorance and poverty of the people. The men went armed with numerous weapons which they never laid aside. The houses were made of attap, built without method. Underneath the houses was filth undescribable. Plagues of mosquitoes were kept away by smoke. Many of the inhabitants were addicted to opium. Coconut and areca-nut trees were plentiful. Provisions were dear: eight coconuts cost a dollar. The country produced vegetables, yams, and tubers which came from the interior. The people lived by keeping buffaloes, cattle, goats and fowl. The most important articles of export were gold and tin. Silk weaving existed on a small scale. A certain amount of sandal wood, damar, and rattans was exported. Imports included opium, silk, salt, and there was a small demand for European cloth. Thousands of people were at work in the gold mines at Jelai which place had, in consequence, become an important trading centre.

'Abdu'llah heard of a considerable number of Jakun aborigines in Ulu Pahang. They dealt in jungle produce, agila wood, resin and rattans. Some Jakun worked in the gold mines with the Malays. Many of them kept orchards, and brought fruits from the jungle which they exchanged for tobacco or salt.

The Chinese in Kampong China were of the Kheh race, and intermarried with Malays or Balinese slaves. Their children spoke Chinese rather than Malay. There was a populous Arab settlement in Pahang. The Arabs lived at Kampong Maulana opposite Kampong China, on the left bank of the Pahang river. The Malays stood in awe of them, and addressed them in the same respectful terms that they used towards their rajas. The Arabs were traders and many of them were in affluent circumstances.

Abdullah remarked that the language of the people had all the elegance and purity of the Johore tongue.

He commented on the pernicious system of slavery. Any criminal could escape the consequences of his crime if the protection of a prince were extended to him. As the price of that protection he lost his liberty and became the bondsman of the prince. Nobody would then dare to harm him: he was a *hamba raja*. The penalty for killing one of this class was the death of the aggressor and of six of his relatives. *Hamba raja,* unfettered by any restraint on their conduct, could commit crimes with impunity. Like the *delatores* of Tiberius, it was not uncommon for them to

invent false charges against the people in order that they might share in the division of their victims' property.[1]

Tampang, tin ingot-money of ancient Malaya, survived as currency in Pahang till 1893. In their original form *tampang* were solid slabs of tin, valued at their tin content, and were used as media of exchange in pre-Portuguese Malacca. D'Albuquerque suppressed all Malay currency when he conquered Malacca in 1511, but this form of coinage persisted in some of the out-lying Malay States, particularly Pahang and Selangor. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the solid tin slabs began to be replaced by hollowed, inscribed pieces, still approximating in appearance to the original *tampang*, though their intrinsic value bore little relation to their nominal worth. 'Abdu'llah, on his visit in 1838, objected to this form of coinage as the unit of value was too high : " The system of currency in Pahang is, to my mind, inconvenient. Sixteen *tampang* are equivalent to one dollar. A *tampang* cannot be divided, for instance, into three-quarters, or a half, or a quarter. If it is desired to buy anything, however trifling, a *tampang* must be paid for it. I asked Tengku Sulaiman, the son of the Bendahara, whether the system of currency could not be altered. He laughed and said ' I often wished to change it but man-eating tigers made their appearance and fierce crocodiles were seen in the rivers, and for that reason no change was made : from its very beginnings Pahang has had the same system of currency.' I smiled and said nothing, but attached no belief to the alleged portents."

By 1847, ingot-money of the nominal value of one cent was being produced. Bendahara Ahmad, after his conquest of Pahang in 1863, called in some of the one-cent *tampang*, and had them re-minted and issued in the form of smaller, more debased and more imperfectly made pieces. In 1889, the Pahang Government proclaimed that ingot-money issued by the Sultan before 1 July 1889 should be accepted as legal tender, but intimated that no further issues would be made. The coins ceased to be legal tender in 1893 by which time the Pahang Treasury held *tampang* of the nominal value of $1,125/-. The Treasurer in his report mentioned that they were of three sizes, the nominal value of the largest being four cents, and of the two smaller sizes one cent. An assay made about the same time by the Assayer of the Pahang Corporation revealed that the coins contained 86.75% of tin with a trace of zinc and iron, and 13.25% of scale (oxide of tin).[2]

The monopoly of minting ingot-money was granted to Chinese who were permitted to mint only four times a year, and up to a

[1] Tavares, the Portuguese chronicler, wrote in 1718 : " There is in Gior a certain type of Malay called Bugis who being Royal captives "—hamba raja—" are insolent and oppress the people, robbing, wounding, and killing, and as they are surrounded by the shadow of the king no one dares to incur harm by resisting them."

[2] " Notes on Tampang" (J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX, Pt. I, 1931, pp. 131-133).

certain value. There were mints at Kuantan, Lepar, Semantan and Pĕkan Lama. During Ahmad's rule, the Imam Pĕrang Indĕra Mahkota, and the Orang Kaya Bakti (an Indian) had the custody of moulds for *tampang* struck directly on behalf of the Bendahara. Che Dollah supervised the minting at Lepar. Che Lambak of Benta, and Hassan, Penglima Perang Johan Perkasa, were in charge of the issues at Kuantan.

Some details, additional to those given by Abdullah, are afforded by tradition regarding the execution of criminals in the time of the Bendaharas. Capital offences included treason, murder, *amok* (amuck), arson, and adultery on the part of a woman. The criminal was arrested by the Bendahara's police (*juak-juak, budak raja,* or *hamba raja*) who usually went armed with a short creese and a spear (*keris pendek dan tombak sa-batang*). He was then brought before the Bendahara, and, if convicted, lodged in a primitive gaol pending his execution. The old Malay prison was situated behind the present Estana Pantai at Pĕkan Lama. It measured about twenty-four by forty feet, and was provided with small barred windows. Prisoners had one foot enclosed in wooden stocks (*pasong*) which were designed to hold five people at a time. There was little attempt at sanitation though the Chinese gaoler cleaned the prison once a day. The head-man of the Chinese (*Capitan China*) was paid by the Raja to provide food. Every morning the prisoners were given small knives, and if they were adept, made bamboo flutes, and musical instruments shaped like a bird, which they sold to passers-by for a few cents. A prisoner sentenced to death was chained.

There were different methods of execution. The most common way was death by the creese. For three days prior to the carrying out of the sentence the executioner (*pertanda*) paraded the town, beating a drum and proclaiming the prisoner's fate. On the day of execution the condemned man was taken to Pulau Limin, a small island in the Pahang river opposite Pĕkan Baharu, (which has now disappeared). A chain called by the grimly humourous name "the sun-shower chain," (*rantai hujan panas*), was placed around his neck, his hands were bound, and he was stabbed with the long execution creese provided by the Bendahara —the famous *kĕris penyalang* of Koris (now a part of the Pahang State regalia). The executioner then made a tour of the town and received three *tampang* from each shop for the expense of burying the corpse.

Death by the creese was one of the most humane forms of execution. An *amok* (a person who ran amuck) was treated as a wild beast ; he could lawfully be killed by anybody. His fate was *di-tikam tandang* : to be stabbed by the hurling of javelins. A woman convicted of adultery was strangled (*di-kujut*). One of the wives of Bendahara Ali met this fate (she was buried at Kuala Ayer Itam). A person convicted of a crime involving a heinous

betrayal of trust was crucified (*di-palong*), and the body thrown into the sea. Another form of execution was to despatch an offender by weighting his body with a stone, and consigning him to the river (*benum*). A variation of this method was to enclose the nape of the criminal's neck in the cleft of a forked branch and tow him in the wake of a boat till he was drowned (*chabang*). Another form of torture was to impale the victim on a bamboo stick (*sula*). The murderer of a member of the royal family was extirpated root and branch ; he and all his near relatives were sought out and killed.

Bendahara Sewa Raja Ali, in appearance a short, dark thick-set man, (whom his grand-son Sultan Mahmud was said to have closely resembled), was of a kindly disposition, and popular with his subjects. He enjoyed the advantage, inestimable in old Malay States, of having no surviving uncles, and only one brother, Muhammad (with whom he lived on friendly terms), and so had no intrigues to counter. He maintained amicable relations with the Straits Government, and availed himself of the trade facilities with Singapore. He exterminated a Bugis piratical settlement, founded by Wok Temusai, which had become established at Kĕratong in the river Rompin. He was the senior potentate of the old Pahang-Riau-Johore kingdom. He had taken a major part in the installation of the Sultan, but there were no longer any practical calls upon the ancient loyalty as the Anglo-Dutch treaty, and the creation of separate Sultans of Singapore and of Riau had, in effect, dismembered the Malay kingdom. Unendangered by potential rivals, he was in a position effectively to control his Chiefs over whom he ruled in the name of the Sultan, and as the sovereign's fully-accredited representative (*wakil mutallak*).

Ali's major Chiefs were the Orang Kaya Indĕra Maharaja Perba of Jelai, the Orang Kaya Indĕra Sĕgara of Temerloh, the Orang Kaya Indĕra Pahlawan of Chĕnor, and the Orang Kaya Indĕra Shahbandar. An account of these magnates and of the lesser Chiefs is given elsewhere in this history.[1] The Shahbandar, living near Pĕkan, tended to become one of the Bendahara's ministers. Ali's chief executive officer was his son-in-law Saiyid Omar (Engku Saiyid), later (in 1861) to be described by Governor Cavenagh as " a very astute old gentleman."

On 13 September 1841 the Governor wrote to the Bendahara that " Tengku Ali eldest son of the late Sultan of Johore arrived at Singapore yesterday desirous of being installed by my friend. I beg that my friend will do what is proper on this occasion."[2]

In 1844 Bendahara Ali appointed one Talib as head-man (*Jenang*) of the aboriginal tribes (*Suku Biduanda*) in the region of the river Anak Endau. The holder of this office in 1703 was

[1] Appendix III, *infra*.

[2] Straits Settlements Records, G. 5.

described by Vaughan as the Portuguese-speaking " Captain of the men in the woods." It will be remembered that about 1741 Sultan Sulaiman had given titles to the leaders of the Endau tribes. Ali's warrant to Talib reads[1]:

> " The Representative of Sultan
> Mahmud Shah, Dato Bendahara
> Sewa Raja, son of the Bendahara
> Paduka Raja.
> Date 1221.
>
> " In the year one thousand two hundred and sixty of the era of the Prophet (to whom God grant blessings and peace!), on the thirteenth day of the month of Shawal, on a Friday, at 4 p.m., His Lordship the Dato Bendahara grants a sealed token to Talib, and invests him with the title Jenang to rule over all the aborigines in the Anak Endua. Now the aforesaid aborigines are required to obey the commands of this Jenang. Whosoever refuses to obey the commands of this Jenang is guilty of treason towards His Highness the Sultan, and of an offence against us; and he shall be punished by confiscation of his property, and if he resists, with death."

Warrants of this sort were known as " deaf seals," (*chap pekak*), because of the wide powers conferred therein.

Ali, whose death occurred in 1857, left many children, Wan Sulong, Wan Mutahir, Wan Ismail, Wan Teh, Wan Ahmad, Wan Timah, Wan Sunit, Wan Esah, Wan Andak, Wan Hasan and Wan Mansur. Ismail (Engku Penglima Besar) ultimately took up his residence at Chĕnor. Ahmad resided at Pekan Sebrang, Mansur at Kampong Marhum, and Hasan at Bĕruas.

[1] J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV, Pt. II, pp. 186-187.

CHAPTER VII.

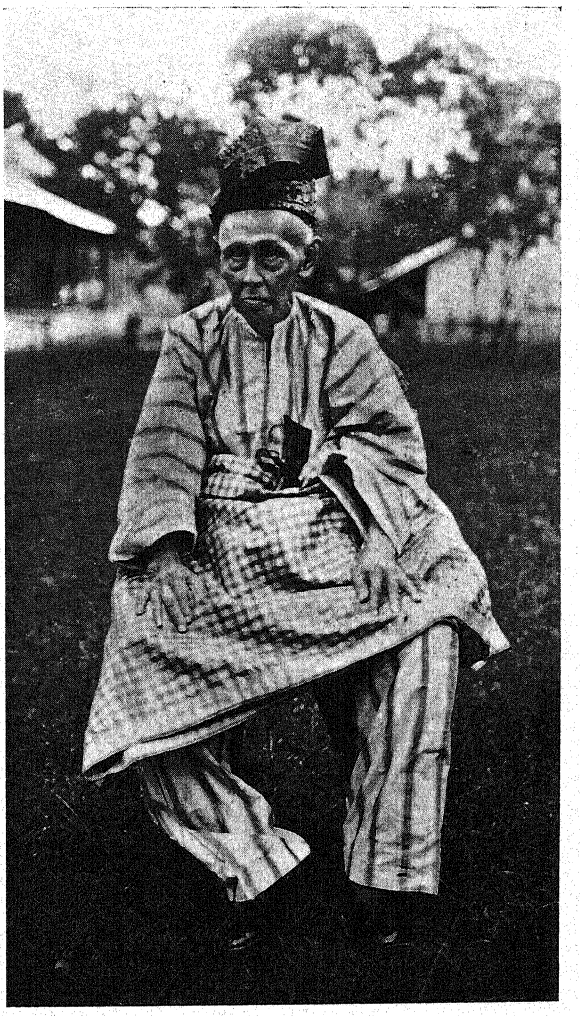
THE CIVIL WAR (1857-1863).

Bendahara Sewa Raja Ali of Pahang died in 1857. Long before his death he had retired from active participation in the government of the country, and removed his residence to Lami on the river Pahang Tua where he spent his declining years in a vain endeavour to effect a reconciliation between his turbulent sons. On his retirement he had handed over the government to his eldest son Wan Mutahir. The heir took up his residence at Ganchong, hence the origin of the name *Bendahara Ganchong* by which he came to be known.

On 25 May 1856 the old Bendahara had made a will whereby he left the revenues of the Kuantan and Endau Districts to his favourite son Tun Ahmad. Mutahir subsequently professed ignorance of this clause in the will, and failed to give effect to it. Ahmad claimed that his father had given him Kuantan and Endau to rule, so dividing the government of Pahang between himself and his brother.

Mutahir failed to appear at his father's death-bed to receive the last solemn injunctions which, according to custom, a dying ruler laid upon his heir. The old Bendahara's wishes, in the absence of Mutahir, were communicated to Ahmad who was thus provided with a pretext for attacking the validity of his brother's succession, and claiming that he was the rightful successor to his father. At the funeral the two brothers appeared with bands of followers fully armed, but owing to the influence of the older Chiefs the obsequies were carried out without blood-shed. The dead ruler was buried in the royal cemetery at Kuala Pahang. No sooner was their father in his grave than Ahmad proceeded to Singapore to make preparations for an attack upon Mutahir who had assumed the title of Bendahara Sĕri Maharaja. In July 1857 Temenggong Ibrahim of Johore asked the Governor to prevent Ahmad from fitting armed vessels at Pulau Tekong for an attack on Pahang.

To understand the political alignments during the civil war, it is necessary to gain an idea of the Malayan politics of the day. By the Anglo-Dutch treaty of 1824 the Dutch and British spheres of influence were defined, the Dutch agreeing not to interfere in the Malay Peninsula, or in Singapore, while Great Britain undertook to refrain from intervention in the Kerimun Islands, Batam, Bintang (Riau), Lingga or other islands lying south of Singapore. This division, in effect, dismembered the old Pahang-Riau-Johore kingdom, and parted politically the representatives of the royal family: Sultan Husain of Singapore, and Sultan 'Abdu'l-Rahman of Lingga, sons of Sultan Mahmud Shah. The Bendaharas of Pahang, up to 1853, ruled nominally as vice-regents of the Sultans. In that year, it appeared, Bendahara Ali had declared



His Highness Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah ibni Bendahara Ali.

himself an independent ruler, but the fiction of the suzerainty of the old royal family continued in Pahang until 1864.

In 1857, Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar Shah of Lingga, deposed by the Dutch, began intriguing to get himself recognised as Sultan of Pahang. He sounded the Bendahara, but meeting with no encouragement in that quarter, attached himself to Ahmad's side in furtherance of his own ends. The possession of Pahang by the ex-Sultan of Lingga, the head of the old Johore royal family, would have spelt danger to the Temenggong's rule in Johore: hence one of the reasons for Ibrahim's opposition to Ahmad. The other factors determining the Temenggong's attitude were that Mutahir had the best claim to the Bendaharaship, and that he himself had visions of creating a Johore-Pahang State: Mutahir was no longer young, and his opium-smoking sons were of little account; it would not be difficult to dominate them.

To add to the political complications, Siam aspired to revive its ancient suzerainty over Pahang, and covertly supported the pretensions of the ex-Sultan of Lingga. Trengganu, too, was brought in as a pawn in the game; at one time it was suspected that there was a move instigated by Siam to make the deposed ruler of Lingga, Sultan of Trengganu, but it is hard to understand the existing Sultan's attitude if that were so; it was unlikely that he would support his own political extinction. Yet he harboured the ex-ruler of Lingga in face of the British Government's threats of attack, and supported Ahmad with men and arms. The position, then, briefly was that Siam quietly encouraged the ex-Sultan of Lingga who, with the Sultan of Trengganu, supported Ahmad. Bendahara Mutahir was helped by the Temenggong of Johore. The British Government opposed the Siamese pretensions, and, for fear of offending the Dutch, countered the intrigues of the ex-Sultan of Lingga; it tried to prevent the interruption of the growing British trade with Pahang. Until the year 1862, when the Governor-General in Council approved of the Johore-Pahang treaty, it "kept the ring" between Mutahir and his brother, to the Temenggong's disgust. Ahmad played his cards well, and had all the honours of the game. He utilized the Siamese, the Sultan of Trengganu, and the deposed Sultan of Lingga to defeat his brother, and when he had succeeded, promptly made his peace with the British.

When Ahmad was in Singapore, in July 1857, preparing for an invasion of Pahang, conflicts between his followers and those of the Temenggong were narrowly averted, and both parties went around with arms concealed on their person. After completing his preparations in Singapore, Ahmad then proceeded to Kemaman in Trengganu where he recruited men for his venture. The Sultan of Trengganu gave Ahmad his full support even to the extent of issuing orders to the Kemaman Chiefs, under threat of punishment, to give every assistance to the Bendahara's enemy

In October 1857 the Bendahara received a letter purporting to come from Trengganu in which the ruler of that State denounced Ahmad's hostile intent against Pahang. The authenticity of this letter was doubtful, but it had the effect of putting the Bendahara and his supporters off their guard; they had heard no news of the recent events at Kemaman. Confident of the security of the country, Mutahir sent his eldest son Engku Muda Koris (Wan Long) to Singapore for his marriage to Inche Engku Besar, daughter of Temenggong Ibrahim. The marriage took place in November 1857. Koris was accompanied by two of his brothers, Wan 'Abdu'l-Rahman (Wan Aman) and Wan Da, and their followers. Pahang was thus unprepared for the attack which Ahmad launched by sea from Kemaman in November.

The invasion was known to Pahang tradition as the "War of the Kemaman Men." The Chiefs in charge of Ahmad's forces were Inche Koming Imam Pĕrang Raja, Inche Endut Penglima Raja, Inche Talib Penglima Laut, Hitam Pengasoh Penglima Dalam, Penglima Kakap Bahman (afterwards the Orang Kaya Pahlawan of Semantan), Penglima Tunggal, Penglima Hitam and Penglima Muda. The Kemaman contingent accompanying the expedition were led by Saiyid Idrus, Raja Muda, Wan Dagang and others.

The north-east monsoon had set in, but the invading boats arrived safely at Kuala Pahang. The invaders proceeded up-river to Kampong Marhum where they were joined by the local head-men. They then captured Pulau Jawa where they threw up a stockade and mounted guns. Engku Saiyid, brother-in-law of Bendahara Mutahir, and his son Tuan Embong (or Embok) who were in charge of the District between Pekan and the sea hastily threw up earth-works above Pulau Jawa to defend Pekan, and sent an urgent message for help to the Bendahara at Ganchong. Mutahir began to fortify the latter place and, the *Hikayat Pahang* records, produced boatfuls of warriors' clothes for his men to don preparatory to their meeting the enemy. The clothes did not appear to inspire them with much courage for the only Chief to come even within sight of cannon-smoke was Dato' Mata-mata. Engku Penglima Besar, (Ismail, a brother of Mutahir), Maharaja Perba Wan Idris, Tengku Ismail, and Tengku Uda ensconced themselves in a stockade above Pulau Keladi, and make no effort to help Engku Saiyid. The invading force crossed the river to Ketapang and burnt that village. After fighting which lasted five days Ahmad took Kampong China (Pĕkan Baharu). Engku Saiyid with his son and seven followers abandoned their stockade, and fled to Sungai Miang from which place they made their way over-land to Singapore.

The Kemaman followers of Ahmad spent seven precious days in looting Pekan, and loaded themselves with spoil. Ahmad

then proceeded up-river to attack Ganchong, the Bendahara's head-quarters. Mutahir fled incontinently at his brother's approach, and Ganchong was taken without resistance. Engku Penglima Besar and the Chiefs with him had in the meantime abandoned their fort above Pulau Kĕladi, and made their way through the jungle to the Bendahara who, after three days, poling night and day, reached Chĕnor with his following. Mutahir was anxious to enter the Bĕra and place a still greater distance between himself and his pursuers, but he was induced to make a stand at Chĕnor.

So much spoil was obtained at Ganchong by the Kemaman men that they could not carry off any more. Ahmad now returned to Pekan to strengthen the defences there, while Wan Dagang of Kemaman, Che Lambak of Benta, and Saiyid Idrus with four hundred men proceeded to Kuala Luit where they halted to deliberate with Che Wan Chik bin Muhammad[1]. Haji Hassan and other legitimist Chiefs soon arrived, suggested negotiations for peace, and begged the invaders not to press the pursuit too hard "as the royal women in our party are very frightened!" The contending leaders were brothers, and every effort should be made to put an end to this fratricidal strife. "An excellent idea!" (*ini kira-kira yang sa-habis baik dunia akhirat*) replied Che Lambak and his comrades. Haji Hassan then undertook that the Bendahara's forces would not take the offensive, and on his suggestion Che Lambak proceeded down the river to carry peace proposals to Ahmad. But neither side believed the other. No sooner had Haji Hassan left Kuala Luit than he conscripted all the inhabitants of the villages from that place to Ulu Pahang, and threw up stockades on the river-banks as far as Batu Gajah.

At this stage Wan Embong and Wan Muhammad, the sons of Wan Idris, Maharaja Perba of Jelai, arrived with their men to assist the Bendahara. Wan Embong, also known as Wan Bong or Che Aki, was a typical Malay swash-buckler of the old days. A picture of him is given in Sir Hugh Clifford's "Vaulting Ambition":[2] "The eldest, the most arrogant, the most warlike, the most ambitious and the most evil of these"—the Maharaja Perba's sons—"was Wan Bong....He was a man of about thirty-five years of age, of a handsome presence and an aristocratic bearing. He wore his fine black hair long, so that it hung about his waist, and he dressed with the profusion of coloured silks, and went armed with the priceless weapons, that are only to be seen in perfection on the person of a Malay prince." The *Hikayat Pahang* describes his arrival at Chenor: "After six days Wan Embong and Wan Muhammad, with their forces, arrived from the

[1]Muhammad, the 'Engku Tanjong' of Abdullah's *Pelayaran*, was the brother of Bendahara Ali.

[2]"In Court and Kampong," by Sir Hugh Clifford.

Jelai with drums beating. They went straight down-river and halted at Machang Gelap on the down-stream side of the Raja. They then disembarked to pay homage. The Jelai contingent consisted of the two brothers, with forty spearmen all of the same age. Wan Embong was armed with five weapons, a long creese, a short creese, a broad-sword, a *lawi ayam*,[1] as it was called, stuck in his head-dress, and a dirk. He forthwith presented himself to the Raja. The Bendahara's retinue included Engku Penglima Besar, Maharaja Perba of Jelai the father of Wan Embong, Haji Hassan, and To'Tunggal of Bukit Sa-gumpal. Now Engku Penglima Besar and Wan Embong were enemies, and were always at logger-heads. Wan Embong and Wan Muhammad made obeisance. After greetings, the Raja said 'I have been defeated and compelled to retire to Chĕnor.' Wan Embong exclaimed: 'It couldn't be helped because I was not here. Your Highness' followers are all women! Shame that the Raja should be dethroned, without even one of his warriors losing his life! If I had been there red blood would have flowed and Ganchong would not have been taken! I will go down-stream at once and attack Pekan. My father will remain here with Your Highness; I can abide no longer for I have smelt blood!' The Raja replied: 'Not so, Wan Embong; I ask you to have patience till my sons return from the Straits; they will not be long now.' Wan Embong retorted 'I will obey Your Highness' command—but only for seven days. If they have not returned by then I will go down-stream.' On hearing these words, Engku Penglima Besar's face grew grim. Haji Hassan, To'Raja and To'Tunggal kept silence. Wan Embong took his leave of the Raja, and proceeded to an open plain where he danced a war-dance in the Bugis fashion to give vent to his feelings."

On the night of Wan Embong's advent, Engku Muda Koris, Wan Aman and Wan Da arrived from Sngapore by the overland route through the Bĕra, and their father handed over to the three brothers the entire conduct of the war. Titles were conferred on many of the Chiefs: Wan Embong was styled Penglima Pĕrang Kiri; Wan Muhammad, Dato' Sĕtia Muda of Jelai; Tengku Acheh, Imam Pĕrang; Che Buman (son of To'Tunggal), Penglima Pĕrang Kanan; Che Buman's brother, Penglima Bebas. One Bajin, "a great braggart," and other Chiefs were not forgotten in this wholesale distribution of honours; Haji Hassan was created Imam Pĕrang Hulubalang. Tuit, the Orang Kaya Pahlawan of Chĕnor, the Orang Kaya Indĕra Sĕgara of Temerloh, Hasan, the Orang Kaya Sĕtia Lela of Lipis, the Penglima Raja of the Temběling, the Orang Kaya Dewa Pahlawan of Bangau, the Penghulu of Bentong, and To'Yahya of Rambai Sabunga, too, were

[1]Known in Kelantan as *kuku rimau*: a small, curved dagger shaped like a tiger's claw; also *beladau*.

assembled at Chĕnor with their men to help the Bendahara. At this period Mutahir had on his side almost all the powerful Chiefs of Pahang.

Ahmad in the meantime was not idle. He collected ammunition, strengthened his forts, and prepared a plan of campaign with his Chiefs Saiyid Idrus and others. Several of his captains displayed little enthusiasm for this war against their own people. When preparations were completed, Ahmad proceeded up the river Pahang, and met the Bendahara's forces at Pulau Manis. After an engagement which lasted a day, he was defeated, and forced to retire on Ganchong, and then on Tanjong Langgar. There he constructed stockades on both banks of the river. Fighting continued in this locality for about four months. A surprise attack by a detachment of Bendahara's men under Sutan Garang on a fort garrisoned by Ahmad's Kemaman followers, its capture, and the slaughter of its garrison made Ahmad's position untenable, so he took boat and with the survivors of his force returned to Kemaman. Much spoil was brought back, but a goodly number of Kemaman men had been killed. Ahmad was not over-pleased at the achievements of his Trengganu following: if they had not been so intent on looting they would have beaten the enemy; but he was not discouraged by the failure of his first attempt, and began making preparations for a fresh invasion of Pahang.

According to the *Hikayat Pahang*, Engku Muda Koris and his Chiefs were so exultant at their victory, so over-bearing, and arrogant that they "forgot their God." No sooner had the enemy been expelled than quarrels broke out among his captains. The turbulent Wan Embong (Penglima Pĕrang Kiri) took the credit of the victory to himself; the Orang Kaya of Temerloh disputed his pretensions. Blood-shed was averted only by the intervention of Koris.

In February 1858 Temenggong Ibrahim had written to the Governor complaining of the "unfriendly sentiments" which the Governor had shown towards him: the Temenggong was prevented from sending help to the Bendahara, while Ahmad was allowed to use Singapore as a base for his attack on Pahang. Ibrahim declared his intention to assist the Bendahara with a force from Johore, but the Governor forbade interference. The Temenggong retorted that the Bendahara represented a country at peace with Great Britain, and that Ahmad was attacking that country: the paramount power should maintain order in the Peninsula.

Abu-Bakar, the Temenggong's son, married Che Engku Chik, a sister of Koris. The Bendahara's eldest son had in 1857 married Abu-Bakar's sister. These marriages, which had a political significance, strengthened the Bendahara's position, while he, in return for a promise of assistance, ceded to Johore

the land which lay between Endau and Sedili Besar, territory which, from the middle of the fifteenth century, had belonged to Pahang.

On 2 May 1858 the Governor refused the Bendahara's request for arms, and later in the month visited Pahang and Trengganu. On 17 May, during his stay at Kuala Trengganu, His Excellency extracted a promise from the Sultan that Ahmad should be removed from Kemaman. In pursuance of his promise the Trengganu ruler ordered Ahmad to leave Kemaman and reside at Kuala Trengganu. Ahmad complied, but no sooner had the Governor left for Singapore, than he returned and renewed his warlike preparations.

In June 1858 the Temenggong sent his son Abu-Bakar to Pahang to watch events there, but by a blunder of the Resident Councillor of Singapore, Abu-Bakar was arrested at Kuala Sedili as a pirate for taking spears out of a Pahang boat. He ultimately succeeded in reaching Pahang. There he found Mahmud Muzaffar Shah, ex-Sultan of Lingga, with his family and retainers. Abu-Bakar wedded the Bendahara's daughter, and used his influence to counter the deposed Sultan's efforts to gain recognition as lord of Pahang. The Lingga prince, unsuccessful, proceeded to Ulu Pahang where he was entertained by Maharaja Perba. Presently rumours reached Pĕkan that the Jelai Chief was about to proclaim Mahmud Muzaffar Shah Sultan of Pahang. On 1 September the Governor, replying to the Bendahara's letter of 6 August which contained an appeal for help against the threatened invasion by Ahmad, warned him that no assistance could be expected as the Bendahara had not removed the ex-Sultan from Pahang. When Mahmud Muzaffar Shah returned to Pekan from Jelai, meeting with a frigid reception from the Bendahara, he took boat for Trengganu, accompanied by Maharaja Perba Wan Idris and the Jelai Chief's second son, Dato' Sĕtia Muda Wan Muhammad.

In the meantime, Ahmad had sent two of his head-men, Wan Buang and Che Lambak from Trengganu into the Tembĕling to create a diversion there. The invaders pressed the Tembĕling people into their service, and made their way down-stream as far as the village of the Penghulu Raja where they threw up stockades on both banks. The Penghulu Raja was absent but the Bendahara's forces, led by Maharaja Perba's eldest son Penglima Pĕrang Kiri Wan Embong, Che Yahya, Che Embok, Che Uda and Che Mat Merah lost no time in attacking the invaders. After fighting which lasted three days, the raiders fled back to Trengganu. The Tembĕling Chiefs were fined for deserting their station. The Penghulu Raja was dismissed, and removed to Pekan.

After Maharaja Perba's departure for Trengganu in October 1858, happened an event which had a decisive bearing upon Ahmad's fortunes : the revolt and death of Wan Embong, Maharaja

Perba's eldest son and heir. According to the *Hikayat Pahang*, a quarrel arose between Penglima Raja Ma'Ali of Ter and Wan Embong, due to the Penglima Raja's interference with the people of Jelai who were bound to acknowledge only the jurisdiction of the Jelai magnate. Maharaja Perba was their territorial Chief, they addressed him by the semi-royal title of *Engku*, and he alone had the right to requisition their services in war or peace. The Penglima Raja's usurpation of this prerogative led to a fight between him and Wan Embong in which he was worsted. He forthwith betook himself to Pekan, and complained that Wan Embong had revolted against the Bendahara and was about to attack the capital. This charge was false according to the *Hikayat Pahang*: Wan Embong's quarrel with Penglima Raja was personal, and he had no intention of rising against the Bendahara. Mutahir, however, believed the allegation because, the Malay chronicler adds: "It was fated that the country should be despoiled, and the ruler dethroned."

The Bendahara lost no time in attacking Wan Embong who made little or no resistance, though, if he had really intended a rebellion: "he could not have been defeated in a year, for he had ample food and arms, but because it was the Raja, he retreated." The Jelai leader's forces were dispersed and he had to take refuge in the jungle near Kampong Pertang whither he was pursued by the Bendahara's men. His craving for opium led to his undoing. His messenger whom he had despatched to the village for a supply of the drug was captured by his enemies, and, under torture, forced to reveal the fugitive's whereabouts. Mutahir's levies went to the place indicated and killed Wan Embong in ambush. The fatal shot was fired by one Mat Soh, but the leader of the party, Penglima Dalam Yusoh, bribed his men and was credited with the exploit. Wan Embong's head was cut off, smeared with turmeric, hung by the hair on the fore-mast of a boat, and taken to Pĕkan for the edification of the Bendahara.

The fate of his eldest son finally determined To'Raja's adherence to the cause of Wan Ahmad who, but for that support, would never have been able to conquer Pahang. Of Wan Muhammad son and successor of Maharaja Perba Wan Idris, Ahmad wrote later: "His family braved wind and wave and fought stoutly on our side to take Pahang and make us ruler."[1]

After Wan Embong's defeat Wan 'Abdu'l-Rahman, the Bendahara's second son, fined the people of Ulu Jelai, Lipis, Tembĕling and Semantan. Those who were unable to pay the fine were carried off as debt-slaves to Pĕkan. "The inhabitants of Pahang despaired of justice, and experienced to the full the tyranny of princes; Engku Muda Koris at Pĕkan allowed Wan 'Abdul-Rahman to do as he pleased, and all the vicious and

[1] *Ia dengan kita mandi ombak mandi angin, ubat peluru mengerjakan mengambil Pahang merajakan kita*—Papers of Maharaja Perba (MS.).

turbulent elements in Pahang enrolled themselves in Wan 'Abu'l-Rahman's body-guard. There was no redress for the people...." (*Hikayat Pahang*).

In 1861 a treaty was concluded between the Temenggong and the Bendahara whereby the one agreed to help the other in case of attack. One 14 February 1861 the Temenggong informed the Governor that Ahmad, a Bugis free-lance Suliwatang, and Chiefs from Rembau and Sungai Ujong had assembled at Muar under Sultan Ali (of the Singapore branch of the Riau family) to attack Johore. This apprehended attack did not materialize.

In March 1861 Ahmad, in Trengganu, was preparing for another onslaught on Pahang. On his side were Maharaja Perba Wan Idris, Dato' Sĕtia Muda Wan Muhammad, Tuan Mandak, Imam Pĕrang Raja, Penglima Raja, Penglima Kakap Bahman and others. As in his former attempts, he had full support from the Sultan of Trengganu. The invaders proceeded by boat to Kuala Pahang, burning Kuantan on the way, and landed at Sungai Miang some distance to the south of the estuary of the Pahang. The attack miscarried and the invaders took to their boats again, and made for Kuala Endau which port they reached about April 1861. Here they were joined by the Endau head-men. The place was undefended. In anticipation of an attack by the Bendahara, Ahmad fortified Kuala Endau and sent two vessels under the charge of Haji 'Abdu'l-Rahman of Kechau to Singapore for arms and ammunition. In a short time an attacking force arrived from Pĕkan led by Penglima Mansu Kota, Penglima Kiri Burok, Che Embok, Inche Nit, Che Uda, the Orang Kaya Shahbandar and Che Lambak. They came by sea in forty boats and were helped by a detachment which had made its way over-land. Fighting was protracted. In due course Haji 'Abdu'l-Rahman returned from Singapore with supplies of arms and ammunition, but his boats and their freight were captured by the enemy. After hostilities had continued for three months Ahmad fell short of food and ammunition. He was in a parlous position as he would have to fight his way to safety through the enemy who were blockading the estuary of the river and had thrown up stockades between him and the sea. He was hampered by the presence of his women-folk; and his boats were only seven in number to the Bendahara's forty. Led by Wan Muhammad Dato' Sĕtia Muda of Jelai, Che Koming, Imam Pĕrang, Che Endut Penglima Raja, Penglima Kakap Bahman, Che Talib Penglima Laut, Penglima Tunggal, Penglima Dalam, Penglima Muda and Penglima Hitam, Ahmad's men made a determined attack by land and water on the enemy boats and stockades. Mutahir's forces fled and Ahmad was left in possession of Endau with large stores of arms, ammunition and food-supplies. This episode was known to Malays as the "Endau war."

The invaders evacuated Endau in May 1861 and betook themselves to Kuantan where they carried on hostilities

intermittently for about three months. The people of Kuantan welcomed Ahmad : one of the points in his favour, the *Hikayat* significantly remarks, was that he was only one Raja, and had not many sons !

Ahmad, attacked here by the Bendahara's captain Penglima Mansu, was forced to retreat, and returned to Trengganu in August 1861. His welcome by the Sultan was less cordial this time : "His Highness had changed somewhat." The insurgent prince determined to try his fortune elsewhere, and hied off to Kelantan. There he met Sultan Mulut Merah and the Raja Muda, and joined the Kelantan princes in their favourite amusements, gambling, and cock-fighting. In Ahmad's absence from Kemaman, Wan Abu-Bakar sent a boat from Singapore to abduct his enemy's women-folk who had been left behind there, but they were faithfully guarded by Penglima Kakap Bahman, Penglima Raja and a Bugis Chief Daing Muhammad. The would-be abductors lost heart and returned to Singapore.

In May 1861 Bendahara Mutahir had informed Singapore that he had handed over the government of Pahang to his son Koris (Wan Long). On 26 June His Excellency wrote to the Sultan of Trengganu expressing his pleasure at the news that the Trengganu ruler was not interfering in Pahang, and hoping that the Sultan would persuade Ahmad to return to Trengganu. On 27 June the Governor sent a letter to the Bendahara at Teluk Blanga informing him that it had just been brought to his notice that the late Bendahara Ali had left a will dated 25 May, 1856, according to the terms of which Kuantan and Endau were bequeathed to Ahmad, and another will dated 15 October 1856.

In a letter written in July to Mutahir, who at the time happened to be in Singapore, Governor Cavenagh expressed his regret at the Bendahara's disappointment that the British had not helped to expel Ahmad from Kuantan, but he pointed out that outside assistance might only embitter and prolong the struggle. Cavenagh's view was that the position had changed since May, when Ahmad, holding Endau, was in a position to interfere with sea-traffic between Pahang and Singapore, and to harry Pahang. In May, too, there was the risk of an invasion from Trengganu. His Excellency came to the erroneous conclusion that a recent visit by him to the eastern States had radically altered the situation, and that the failure hitherto attending Ahmad's attempts on Pahang, and the warnings administered to him had disheartened that indomitable prince. Mutahir had promised to grant Ahmad an allowance as compensation for the revenues of Kuantan and Endau to which, according to the terms of his father's will, his brother was entitled, but the promise had not been implemented by a written agreement, and the Governor was unable to prosecute his endeavours to effect a settlement.

Governor Cavenagh himself has left a record of the events of this period[1]:

"As disturbances affecting our trade had again broken out in Pahang, after the Queen's birthday ball I embarked on board the steamer HOOGHLY, and accompanied by Her Majesty's ship CHARYBDIS, proceeded to the Pahang coast in the hope of being able to settle the differences between the Ruler and his younger brother who had rebelled against him, on the plea that he had been unjustly deprived of the revenues of the districts of Quantan and Endow which had been bequeathed to him by his father the late Bundaharah. On my arrival off the mouth of the Pahang River, I was received by Tuanku Syed, the Prime Minister, a very astute old gentleman, who came off to escort me to the Bundaharah's place of residence. As there was seven feet of water over the bar, the small steamer I had with me was able to proceed up the river, which was a fine stream with high banks on each side and occasionally islands in the middle. The entrance was defended by stockades, but of a very flimsy construction, such as would have been easily destroyed by a six-pounder gun. After nearly two hours steaming we reached the village of Pahang, where we were saluted by the firing of several guns from a war boat as well as from the shore. *En route* I had entered into conversation with Tuanku Syed on the subject of Wan Ahmad's claims. He asserted that the seal to the deed of gift was attached by one of his father's wives, with whom he had criminal connection, and not by the Bundaharah himself, and that there were three things which, according to Malay law, a Ruler could not divide; first, territory; second, subjects; third, the regalia; and that younger sons could only be provided for by being appointed to the charge of districts. He further stated that before his death the old chief had become aware of the guilt of Wan Ahmed, and had requested him to desire his eldest son, on assuming the sovereignty, to drive him out of the country. On my inquiring why he did not himself cause him to be expelled, he replied that he was at the time very sick, and that moreover Malays were always apt to procrastinate. I then asked how it was that if Wan Ahmed had been guilty of the crime alleged, he found such support from the neighbouring chiefs, and was such a favourite with the people. To this he answered, that he was liked by the people because he was kind to them. Shortly after the steamer anchored the Bundaharah came on board. After he was seated I expressed my regret at the disturbed state of his country, and mentioned that it was my wish to restore peace, but to enable me to do so it was necessary that he should abide by my decision with respect to his brother's claim to Endow, and consent to give him any compensation that, after due consideration, I might award. He referred me to Tuanku Syed, who at once said that it was out of the question that

[1] "Reminiscences of an Indian Official," by General Sir Orfeur Cavenagh (London, W. H. Allen & Co., 1884).

any sum should be paid to one who had committed so heinous an offence as that of which Wan Ahmed had been guilty. I observed that to administer justice it was necessary to listen to both parties, and that up to that time the statements made regarding Wan Ahmed being all advanced by his enemies, I could not recognize his guilt as proved; moreover that, under any circumstances, it was right that he should be allowed a maintenance, and not wander about a perfect beggar, possibly to seek a living by piracy. As he still appeared unwilling to agree to my terms, I distinctly informed him that unless he did so I would render him no assistance but allow the contest to continue, and he must be answerable for the consequences. At the same time I pointed out that several of the neighbouring chiefs were only waiting my decision to take part against him. Upon this he promised to abide by my decision, but begged that I would not come to any determination until he had been allowed an opportunity of adducing evidence in support of his charge against his brother. To this I of course assented, stating that I should be prepared to consider all evidence, either oral or documentary, which either party might wish to submit; but it was essential that I should be furnished with a distinct declaration on his part that my decision would be accepted as final. To this he demurred. I accordingly took out my watch, and having remarked that it was eleven o'clock, stated that when I made up my mind I never altered, and that if within one hour the declaration was not forthcoming, I should return and leave Pahang to its fate. This settled the matter, he at once rose to go on shore to prepare the required document, which was produced before the expiration of the time appointed. I immediately started for Endow where the steamer arrived early the next morning. On despatching my aide-de-camp, however, with a message to Wan Ahmed that I was prepared to receive him on board the CHARYBDIS, it was found that he had taken advantage of the absence of the blockading force to evacuate his stockades and leave the country, returning to his old position in Tringanu. Thus the contest was for the time at an end, and for several months the peace of the Peninsula remained undisturbed. Subsequently, owing to intrigues on the part of the Court of Siam, which, at that time, in opposition to the terms of the treaty with Great Britain, was striving to bring under its influence the Native States in the Malay Peninsula, disturbances again broke out. Notwithstanding their repeated promises no steps were taken by the authorities at Bangkok to effect the removal of the instigator of these disturbances, who had been sent down in one of their steamers and was evidently acting under their instructions. He had completely overawed the Sultan of Tringanu and made his territory the base of his operations for organizing an attack upon the neighbouring State, with which he held perfectly friendly relations. As it was for political reasons expedient to prevent the annexation by Siam of the east of the Peninsula, it became necessary to check these proceedings before the setting in of the northerly monsoon,

when the heavy surf might prohibit any landing on the coast. I therefore despatched the resident councillor of Singapore to Tringanu with His Majesty's ships SCOUT and COQUETTE to request the Sultan to dismiss his intriguing guest, to whom a passage back to Bangkok, whence, as above stated, he had arrived in a Siamese man-of-war, was offered in the COQUETTE. The request not having been complied with, due care having been taken to preclude the possibility of any harm happening to the inhabitants, the boats which had been prepared for the expedition were destroyed, and the Sultan's fort partly dismantled thus effectively for the time crippling his resources. This had the result of inducing the Siamese Government to withdraw their agent as soon as the change in the monsoon admitted of their doing so, and the attempt to unduly extend their power was defeated, never, I believe, to be renewed....

" On 27 June, the Bendaharah of Pahang waited on me for the purpose of ascertaining my decision with respect to the settlement of his brother's claim. As Wan Ahmed had failed to make his appearance, he was evidently of opinion that the decision would be in his own favour, and was somewhat disconcerted when I informed him that, although I was most anxious to put a stop to the continued disturbances and to preserve the peace of his country, my judgment must be deferred until the receipt of his reply to a communication I was about to address to him, enclosing documents with the existence of which he declared himself unacquainted, and which somewhat disproved statements he had made, doubtless in happy ignorance of the system of filing records for future reference adopted in our English offices. It was clear that, owing to the intrigues of the adherents of the Sultan of Johore, the whole Peninsula was in a ferment, and that the slightest spark might lead to a general conflagration ; for shortly after I received a letter signed by all the chiefs in the interior, protesting against the treaty that, as has already been related, had been concluded several years before, under which the Tumonggong had been recognized by the Sultan as ruler of Johore. I directed the messenger to inform the chiefs that the matter upon which they had addressed me was one with which they had no concern, inasmuch as their predecessors had renounced all allegiance to the Sultan about one hundred years previously, and had subsequently, through their own elected Head, made treaties as independent powers both with the Dutch and the English, showing that they were no longer feudatories of Johore ; hence as their connection with that State had entirely ceased, after the lapse of so long a period, I certainly could not recognize their right to offer any opinion on the subject of a treaty by which they were not in the slightest degree affected."

On 9 July 1861 His Excellency refused the Bendahara's request that a warship be sent to Kuantan to help in operations against Ahmad, but softened his refusal by a vague promise of the services of the steamer *Hoogly*. On 19 July the Governor

wrote to the Sultan of Trengganu requesting him to persuade Ahmad to leave Kemaman and cease creating disturbances. Cavenagh addressed a communication to Ahmad on 31 July warning him that interference with the trade between Pahang and Singapore would result in armed intervention by the British.

On 6 August the Governor, acknowledging a letter from the Bendahara in which he was informed that all was now quiet in Pahang, declined to assist in an offensive against Ahmad though he hoped that the Pahang prince would keep in touch with him. He expressed the opinion that Ahmad would not be able to continue the struggle at Kuantan, and that he could expect no further help from Trengganu. On 19 August His Excellency again recorded his belief that Trengganu would refuse to assist the insurgents.

A few days later news of a fresh revolt reached Singapore. The Rawa men of Raub district, and the people of Jelai led by Wan Daud and Khatib Rasu (later known as To'Gajah) rose in arms against the Bendahara. Wan Daud was a first cousin of Wan Embong who had been killed by the Bendahara's forces in 1858. He took up arms to avenge his cousin's death, and in requital for Wan 'Abdul'-Rahman's cruelties and exactions in Ulu Pahang. The movement was not designed initially in favour of Ahmad though full advantage of the insurrection was taken by him.

Four hundred Rawas joined the ranks of the insurgents. At Lipis they captured To'Busu Dollah, son of the Orang Kaya of Temerloh, and held him as a hostage. They then proceeded to Kuala Tembĕling which place they captured. Here the title of Imam Pĕrang was conferred on Khatib Rasu. At Ter, further down-river, they met and, after a short engagement, defeated Penglima Raja Ma'Ali, Haji Mat Tahir and Mat Soh who retired on Pedah which was in charge of a local Chief named Wan Muhammad. After two days' fighting at Pedah the Rawas were again successful, and the Bendahara's forces fled. Kangsa and Kelola were taken in turn. The Temerloh Chief, fearing for his son's safety, went to treat with the rebels ; him, too, they held. After the capture of Tebing Tinggi, he managed to send word to his people ordering them to strengthen their stockades.

At Kuala Tekai the insurgents encountered a detachment of Wan Aman's forces under Che Burok Berati of Pulau Tawar and Imam Pĕrang Che Dualid. Penglima Mansu, who was in supreme command of the legitimists, had not yet arrived. Kuala Tekai fell to the rebels, and they continued their victorious progress to Tanjong Batu, Kerdau, where a stand was made by Penglima Muda, son of Penglima Mansu. In the ensuing engagement Penglima Muda was hard pressed, had an ear shot off, and sent to his father at Pulau Pasir Purun for help. Penglima Mansu responded, and came up-river in a *pĕrahu lanchang* accompanied

by his four wives. He was counselled to abandon his boat and proceed by land, but he ignored the advice. On their arrival at Tanjong Batu he and his men, on landing, were met by a volley from the Rawas posted behind rocks in wait for him. Penglima Mansu was badly wounded but his men courageously carried him back to the boat and succeeded in escaping. The wounded Chief was surrounded by four anxious wives, two on each side of him. When he regained consciousness he looked at them and said: "If I die, don't you marry again," to which the wives dutifully replied "very well Dato'!" He died before reaching Kuala Jempul.

Wan Aman was encamped at Chĕnor with the main body of the Bendahara's forces. He sent his Chiefs Penglima Dalam, Penglima Bebas, Penglima Perang Kanan, Penglima Kiri Burok and others to protect Temerloh. With forty spearmen they occupied the Orang Kaya's house at that village and successfully resisted an attack by Wan Daud. In the confusion, the Orang Kaya and his son escaped from their captors. The Rawas retreated to Kuala Semantan. Inche Yahya now appeared at Pasir Bangau with a force from the Tembĕling, and tried to cut off Wan Daud. On the same night Imam Perang Rasu, Wan Daud and their Rawas retreated overland to Lipis,

On 5 September 1861 the Governor, in a letter to the Bendahara, expressed his pleasure at the news that the Rawas had been punished, and announced that he had requested the Raja of Kelantan to prevent Ahmad from using that State as a base for an attack on Pahang.

The Jelai people now joined the revolt, but the Orang Kaya of Lipis, no lover of the Rawa men, still remained loyal to the Bendahara. Wan Aman sent a strong force to the Jelai to quell the rising. Wan Daud was attacked at Tanjong Betong on the Jelai, while the Orang Kaya of Lipis, helped by Che Yahya's Tembĕling men and Khatib Bahrin, fought the Rawas in the Lipis at Tanjong Lechok, Tanjong Kabong, and Budu.

Wan Daud, in the absence of his relative Maharaja Perba, was in command of the Jelai men; his chief captain (*hulubalang besar*) was Imam Pĕrang Rasu. Opposed to them were the sons of Haji Hassan of Chenor, Penglima Kiri Tahir, Penglima Dalam, Penglima Kanan, and Penglima Kakap. Che Wan Aman sent an abundance of food supplies and war material to his forces, but the war dragged on for several months without a decisive advantage to either side.

Ultimately, Wan Daud sent a messenger to Kelantan asking Maharaja Perba (To'Raja) to return. Ahmad permitted the Jelai Chief to go after he had sworn an oath of loyalty. With To'Raja went Penglima Kakap Bahman, Imam Pĕrang Raja, Penglima Tapak, Penglima Pĕrang Penghulu Wan Kechil, and

To'Raja's own son Sĕtia Muda Wan Muhammad now styled Penglima Pĕrang Kiri. On 13 February 1862 the Governor, hearing of Maharaja Perba's invasion, wrote to the Raja of Kelantan threatening him with attack if he aided the enemies of Pahang. The Raja denied that he had given assistance to Ahmad or his Chiefs.

To'Raja and his party entered Pahang by the Tanum at the end of January 1862. The arrival of their territorial Chief heartened the Jelai men. They launched a determined attack on the enemy stockade at Kuala Tui, and captured it, killing the defending leader To'Husain, head-man of the Bĕra. The survivors were captured and deprived of their arms. Some of them joined the Jelai forces; the others, Penglima Perang released with a promise that they would not be molested. Che Nyak and Che Draman, sons of Haji Hassan (whom the Bendahara had placed temporarily in charge of the Jelai after Wan Embong's death), were allowed to retain a part of their arms. As the defeated party proceeded down stream, they were ambushed by Penglima Kakap Bahman at Batu Sawar where logs had been placed across the river to impede the passage of boats. All of them were killed or wounded except Haji Hassan's wife who escaped injury by crouching at the bottom of the boat. A few of the boats, nevertheless, succeeded in getting past the obstacles in the river, and reached Kuala Tembĕling where Wan Aman was stationed with his men. On the arrival of the boats there with their cargoes of dead and wounded Wan Aman promptly packed up, and retreated to Chĕnor.

The Rawa men soon appeared at Kuala Tembĕling and occupied the abandoned fort. Che Yahya, the Tembĕling Chief, instead of accompanying the retreating Wan Aman, returned to his native village which was situated a short distance from the mouth of the Tembĕling. Him, the Rawas treacherously killed after they had partaken of his hospitality. His wife and children were carried off to become inmates of Penglima Pĕrang's harem.

The Pahang Chiefs who were still loyal to the Bendahara realized that defeat was inevitable if the conduct of the war remained in the hands of Engku Muda Koris, and his brothers Wan 'Abdu'l-Rahman and Wan Da. Koris was a brainless opium-addict who neglected his friends, his counsellors and his country. Wan Aman's cruelties were notorious even among men to whom cruelty was of little account. Haji Hassan, the Orang Kaya of Temerloh, and the Orang Kaya Shahbandar went to the Bendahara Sĕri Maharaja Mutahir at Pekan, and prayed that the control of operations be entrusted to them: " Your country has been devastated from the trickling waters to the breaking waves; every place has been burnt; if your sons are allowed to continue, there will never be peace; it is likely that your brother will win the country for the sufferings of the people are unbearable; if you

desire peace and prosperity hand over the country to us ; you will sleep sound ; it will be strange if we three, with all the resources at our disposal, are unable to defeat To'Raja who is only one, and your brother."[1] The Bendahara, perforce, agreed to this suggestion, and signed a document giving effect to it, but the tide was beginning to run fast against him.

The war was now reaching a critical stage. Temenggong Ibrahim had died at the beginning of 1862, and was succeeded by his son Abu-Bakar who redoubled the previous efforts made against Ahmad. On 27 January 1862, he had been informed by His Excellency that the Governor-General in Council had approved the treaty between the Temenggong and the Bendahara. According to one of the clauses in this treaty, Tioman and all islands to the south of it fell to Johore, and the Pahang-Johore boundary was fixed on the Endau. The welcome news of the British endorsement of the treaty stimulated the Temenggong to still greater exertions on behalf of Mutahir.

When Haji Hassan, the Orang Kaya of Temerloh, and Orang Kaya Shahbandar had received their warrant from the Bendahara, they proceeded to Kangsa where they constructed a fort. To'Raja, whose forces were at Kuala Tembĕling, entered into negotiations with them, and their loyalty to the Bendahara seems to have been badly shaken. The *Hikayat Pahang* records that these Chiefs secretly sent messengers to Ahmad inviting him to Pahang, and informing him that they were ready to join him on his arrival. It is not unlikely that, realizing the precarious position of the Bendahara and visualizing the probability of Ahmad's success, they made preparations, if the opportunity offered, to go over to the winning side. History does not record the reply to their invitation.

To'Raja, on his return from Kelantan, had won over the Orang Kaya of Lipis. The Lipis Chief and Penglima Kakap Bahman were now despatched to Ahmad with an invitation from To'Raja to return to Pahang. When the envoys arrived, Ahmad immediately hastened his preparations for an invasion, but found himself embarrassed by lack of funds. In the intervals between the more serious business of preparing for war he amused himself, as Malay rajas were wont to do, by indulging in the mild sport of cock-fighting with Raja Muda and Engku Putĕra of Kelantan. His birds *Tiga Keneri*, *Lima Keneri*, *Lipan*, and *Hijau* were the victors in seven mains (*rentang*), and he won a thousand dollars from his Kelantan opponents—a wind-fall sent by providence, the *Hikayat* piously remarks, to swell his lean purse.

When all preparations were made, Ahmad proceeded to Kuala Trengganu where the Sultan gave him money and arms. One

[1] *Hikayat Pahang* (MS.).

day, while he was drinking coffee, there occurred to him the plan of campaign which resulted in making him ruler of Pahang. In commemoration of this occasion, after his victory over his enemies, he took the coffee-leaf as the personal emblem of his family. Sped by the Sultan's good wishes, Ahmad entered Kemaman and there collected his remaining followers and retinue. He then proceeded to Dungun and went on to Pahang. He crossed the border at Bukit Busut in August 1862. When he arrived at Janing, Ulu Tembĕling, he found his Pahang adherents awaiting him in thousands. Descending the rapids the invaders lost arms and ammunition owing to the upsetting of some of their rafts. At Pasir Tambang, Kuala Tembĕling, where the Rawa, Jelai and Lipis men under To'Raja, Wan Daud, Penglima Pĕrang Wan Muhammad, Imam Pĕrang Rasu, the Orang Kaya of Lipis, Imam Pĕrang Raja and Penglima Raja awaited him, he received a tumultuous reception. Presently news came that the enemy post at Kangsa had been abandoned, and that the garrison had fallen back on Chĕnor.

On 28 July 1862 the Governor had written to the Sultan of Trengganu expressing surprise that the deposed ruler of Lingga was again in Trengganu, and that Ahmad had visited Kuala Trengganu for two days; if the Sultan harboured Ahmad, he should take the consequences; His Excellency proposed to visit Trengganu in a war-ship. The Governor communicated the contents of this letter to the Temenggong and the Bendahara. On 20 August he again expressed his regret to Mutahir that Ahmad had invaded Ulu Pahang; the Bendahara's loyal subjects and the Temenggong's Johore men would defeat him. On 2 September His Excellency informed the Bendahara that Siam had ordered the Sultan of Trengganu to expel the Lingga prince because he was implicated in the Pahang disturbances. On the same date the Governor wrote to the Sultan of Trengganu charging him with harbouring Ahmad and Mahmud of Lingga. It was rumoured that Trengganu had supplied Ahmad with ninety guns and forty barrels of gunpowder. On 3 November the Governor sent the Sultan an ultimatum, threatening that, unless, within twenty-four hours, the Lingga prince was sent to Bangkok, and the Sultan recalled all his men who were aiding Ahmad, Kuala Trengganu would be shelled, all boats seized, and the coast blockaded. The Sultan's refusal of these demands resulted in the shelling of the Trengganu capital.

Temenggong Abu-Bakar left no stone unturned to help the Bendahara and defeat Ahmad. He provided the sinews of war for Mutahir, and issued proclamations direct to the Pahang Chiefs. He begged the Sultan of Trengganu to prevent Ahmad, who was the enemy both of Mutahir and of Johore, from invading Pahang from Dungun. He requested Sultan Ja'far of Perak not to sell arms to Wan Ahmad's Rawa and Pahang followers. In a proclamation dated 23 August 1862, he claimed that Pahang had been entrusted to his charge (*sudah terserah negeri Pahang itu kapada seri paduka anakanda jahat baik-nya*). He despatched

Engku 'Ali with the gun-boat *Muar*, and Raja Kechil with a schooner to Kuala Pahang. He provided the Bendahara's men with munitions and medicine. He entreated the opium-addict Bendahara Muda Koris, not to keep his Johore helpers waiting for an audience, and to take a more active interest in the defence of his country. Abu-Bakar, though he was unable himself to take an active part in the field, arranged to pay $2,000 to two Perak warriors, Haji Abu-Bakar, and Haji Muhammad Taib a Menangkabau settler in Larut, to cross over to Ulu Pahang, and stop the Rawas from enlisting with Wan Ahmad. He issued a proclamation to the Chiefs of Ulu Pahang to listen to those two warriors as to himself.

In a letter to Tun Koris and other Chiefs written in August or September 1862, the Temenggong offered a reward of five hundred dollars for the head of Ahmad, and threatened that Johore would declare war on Trengganu if it persisted in helping the insurgent prince. He announced that he was sending five hundred men to Pahang ; they should fortify themselves at Temerloh under the command of his cousin Raja Kechil, and there await the enemy. It was proposed that the Resident Councillor of Singapore should go to Trengganu to induce Sultan Omar to surrender Ahmad, but Abu-Bakar exhorted the legitimist Chiefs to despatch the rebel before the Resident's arrival.

After taking the omens, and deciding upon an auspicious day for the commencement of his undertaking, Ahmad and his forces proceeded down the river Pahang in August 1862. Kangsa they found deserted. At Lubok Pĕlang they halted to make their vows at the hallowed shrine of Sultan *Marhum Shaikh*. They then moved on to Temerloh. In the meantime the Bendahara's sons collected their men at Chĕnor. Thanks to the Temenggong they had an abundance of arms and ammunition, and a strong contingent of Bugis fighting-men. Here Bendahara Muda Koris gave the Pahang Chiefs great offence. The Bugis leader, on whom the Temenggong had conferred the Bugis title of Suliwatang, boasted of his prowess, and with hair unbound and drawn creese, capered about, dancing war-dances, and shouting that he would die in the service of his prince, and preferred death to disgrace. Koris, who was very pleased at this performance, turned to Haji Hassan and said : " You Pahang people are all women ! If the Teluk Blanga men had not come to your assistance, your wives would have been carried off by the Rawas. The Chiefs are liars and cannot be trusted. Collect men and go to Pekan for rice to feed the Bugis warriors."[1] Haji Hassan had no option but to obey. The result of the Temenggong's interference was that, before the end, the Chiefs who were still on Mutahir's side declined to attack Ahmad on the ground that the Temenggong, who had really no status in Pahang, virtually directed operations, and claimed to own the country.

[1] *Hikayat Pahang* (MS.).

The Bendahara's forces now moved up-river from Chĕnor. The Bugis occupied Pulau Lĕbak, while a Pahang detachment was posted on the right bank of the Pahang river, and a mixed Pahang-Johore force took up its position on the left bank. Koris returned to Pekan leaving Wan Aman and Saiyid Omar al-Attas in charge at Chĕnor which was the base of operations for the legitimists.

Ahmad proceeded to attack Pulau Lĕbak from Temerloh. On the right bank his men were led by Imam Pĕrang Raja, Penglima Raja, and Penglima Dalam, on the left bank, by Wan Daud, the Orang Kaya of Lipis, and Imam Pĕrang Rasu. On approaching Lĕbak they came under the fire of cannon mounted on boats in the centre of the river and manned by Che Embok's men, but the guns did little damage. The Bendahara's forces on both banks wavered under Ahmad's attack. Imam Pĕrang Rasu distinguished himelf by retrieving, under enemy fire, the bodies of two of To'Raja's relatives. The Bugis on the islet, becoming impatient, leapt out of their stockade, and attempted to ford the river to get to close quarters with their enemy. They presented an easy target to Ahmad's men who shot them down in scores; the survivors hastily retreated to their stockade. The legitimist forces, unable to sustain the attack, retreated in confusion to Chĕnor. The Bugis that fell into Ahmad's hands were tortured. On the same night Ahmad advanced as far as Batu Bohor and Pulau Kĕning. Here Che Husain and the other sons of To'Tunggal of Bukit Sa-gumpal (one of the Bendahara's Chiefs) presented themselves secretly to Ahmad, and expressed their willingness to help him in his attack on Chĕnor. Ahmad accepted their offer but preferred to have his doubtful friends in the enemy camp, and asked them to rejoin the Bendahara's forces and give their assistance covertly. Haji Hassan sent a similar message to Ahmad who gave the same reply : he could help best by remaining with the enemy for the present.

On the following day a detachment under Khatib Bahrin, Che Embok, Che Mat Akil, and Pa'Hitam Latif made a surprise attack on Ahmad at " Tuan Sentang's Shrine." Neither side gained an advantage. Khatib Bahrin threw up a stockade at Kampong Nyak, and Che Embok at Tanjong. Mat Akil was recalled to Chĕnor to assist in repelling the onslaught of the Bukit Sa-Gumpal men who, true to their promise to Ahmad, had ultimately turned on the legitimist forces and attacked the stockade of Penglima Harun which was situated opposite Chĕnor on the left bank of the Pahang. A few stray bullets reached Wan Aman's raft causing him and his followers considerable perturbation. Mat Akil on his arrival succeeded in repelling the attackers, but the Bendahara's men had lost heart, and when darkness came they retreated down-stream. As they passed Batu Gajah, the Bukit Sa-Gumpal men hurled insults at Wan Aman, and shouted, as they fired at the retreating boats : " Wicked tyrant ! Take this

hansel (*bekas tangan*) from the men of Bukit Sa-Gumpal !" Wan Aman fled post-haste to Pekan, and Ahmad occupied Chĕnor where Haji Hassan and his sons joined him. Here a quarrel arose between the Rawas who had been annoying the women of the village and the Pahang men, in the course of which a Rawa was stabbed. Both sides had weapons drawn when Ahmad appeared on the scene and himself chastised the offending Rawas. His influence was successful in restoring peace.

Daily the invading prince received additions to his strength : Pahang had tired of the Bendahara's sons. One notable exception was the Orang Kaya of Chĕnor who, on Ahmad's capture of his village, had retreated up the Bĕra. The invading forces proceeded down-river to Sungai Duri where they were joined by To'Yahya and Saiyid Husain of Tanjong Chempaka.

The Bendahara sent a fresh contingent of Pahang and Johore men to check Ahmad at Pulau Pĕlak. It was led by Imam Pĕrang Che Gendut, Che Wan Ahmad of Teluk Blanga, and Che Hamid of Batu Pahat. The left river-bank was occupied by Che Mat Akil, and Khatib Bahrin, the right by the Shahbandar supported by the Bugis. Here they were attacked by Ahmad. When night fell the attackers out-flanked the legitimists, and with the help of a floating platform (*balai gambang*) captured one of the enemy stockades. The defenders fled and took up a fresh position at Pulau Kepayang where they held out for three months. On being again outflanked they retreated on Pulau Manis. At this village the Bendahara's men were supported by big boats on which cannon were mounted. Ahmad himself insisted on going into the fight in spite of To'Raja's entreaties : " The sun sets not in the morning but in the evening; a lucky bird is not carried off by hawks ! " He visited the stockades, encouraged his men, and consoled the wounded. He sent to the rear for treatment the valiant Penglima Garang Ali, suffering from a head-wound, who protested that he could still fight.

The legitimists fell back on Temai where a protracted conflict took place. Ahmad's forces had an abundance of rice but were running short of ammunition, and they were unable to progress. In addition they were attacked by an epidemic of " the good people's disease " (small-pox). Here one of Ahmad's head-men, Haji Hassan of Budu, was killed in the fighting.

In the meantime, Temenggong Abu-Bakar did everything possible to try and stem the tide rising in favour of Ahmad. He promised his cousin Raja Kechil four hundred more Bugis fighters, and implored him to persuade the Pahang people to go upstream and fight, or at least to build forts and defend Pĕkau. He exhorted his Malay and Bugis captains to make a stand against the enemy, and build forts at Pulau Manis. He advised Raja Kechil not to leave the women in boats at the Pahang estuary, or the Governor would think that the enemy had carried the day;

the women should be accommodated in a fort at Pĕkan. The Temenggong requested the Yamtuan at Sri Menanti to allow Haji Abu-Bakar of Perak to proceed to Pahang through Ulu Serting. He instructed Wan Idris and Wan Muhammad Ali at Muar to persuade the Dato of Johol to send help to the Bendahara, and to enlist Muar men for the expedition. Haji Muhammad Taib, another Perak mercenary, had been ordered to attack Pahang from Ulu Muar. Eighty more Bugis were hurried to Pahang with letters to the Bendahara and Raja Kechil in which they were informed that Colonel MacPherson, the Resident Councillor, was sailing to Trengganu with the sloop *Coquette*, the corvette *H.M.S. Scout*, of twenty-one guns, and *H.M.S. Tortoise*, to remove the Lingga prince to Siam, and to order the Sultan of Trengganu to recall Wan Ahmad or take the consequences. The Temenggong forwarded more supplies, guns, salt, rice, Javanese tobacco and biscuits. He advised that Raja Kechil should send Tengku Maimunah and other ladies by schooner to Tanjong Surat for safety, but urged that the old Bendahara should remain in Pahang to discourage desertions and hearten his followers.

The Temenggong's expedition consisting of six hundred men led by the redoubtable Shaik Muhammad Taib, Haji Abu-Bakar, Penglima Garang Ishak, and Penglima Raja Ma'Ali entered Pahang by Muar, Ulu Serting, and the Bĕra. Ahmad had now two separate forces to fight : the mixed Bugis-Pahang-Johore contingent at Temai, and the new arrivals at Kuala Bĕra. This place was defended by Haji Hassan's sons Che Nyak, Che Draman, and Dato Muda Ahmad, and the sons of To'Tunggal. Soon they called for further assistance, and Ahmad himelf with To'Raja, Tuan Hitam al-Habshi, Saiyid Yasin, and Haji 'Abdu'l-Rahman of Kechau, poling night and day, reached the Bĕra, while Tuan Mandak, Tuan Embong, Imam Pĕrang Raja, Penglima Raja, Penglima Dalam, Tengku Jenal, Imam Pĕrang Rasu, Wan Daud, the Orang Kaya of Lipis, To'Teh, The Rawa Imam Pĕrang Jambang, Tuan Chik of Jenderak, and To'Bangau were left in charge at Temai.

On his arrival at the Bĕra, Ahmad found that his forces were ample, but they lacked ammunition. He accordingly sent to Rembau and succeeded in obtaining twenty-five barrels of gun-powder. When the enemy were near, Che Husain advised Ahmad to return to Temai, after satisfying himelf that his men were able to bear the brunt of the attack. His brother Che Draman interposed, slapping his thigh: "Not so, brother ! When Chĕnor and Bukit Sa-Gumpal are one, and Shaikh Muhammad Taib and Haji Abu-Bakar have tasted the bitterness of the water of this Pahang river, then let His Highness depart !"

The loyalty of the Orang Kaya Indĕra Sĕgara of Temerloh, lately on the Bendahara's side, and now an adherent of Ahmad,

being suspect, he was despatched to Temai to which place Ahmad himself proceeded after the completion of the defences at Kuala Bĕra.

The Johore forces, on their arrival at the mouth of the Bera, threw up stockades on the river-bank on the up-stream side of Ahmad's men. The ensuing enagagement was short and decisive. Ahmad's Chiefs made a furious attack on the forts which they captured with ease. The Johore men fled, and took refuge in the swamps of the Bĕra whence the survivors made their way back to their own country. In the course of the fight Penglima Pĕrang Mamat, one of the Temerloh Chief's head-men, went over to the enemy. He was promptly attacked by his recent allies and slain.

In the meantime the war dragged on at Temai. Khatib Bahrin, one of the legitimist Chiefs, succeeded in mining and blowing up one of Ahmad's forts; the surviving defenders took refuge in an adjoining stockade. Hearing of this reverse, Ahmad himself entered the other forts and heartened his followers.

The defeat of the Johore men at Kuala Bĕra left a large contingent of the victors available to help in the Temai operations. Ahmad now determined upon a surprise attack on Pĕkan. He sent three detachments, each consisting of six hundred men, led by Imam Pĕrang Raja, Imam Pĕrang Rasu, Penglima Raja, Penglima Kakap Bahman and Tuan Embong through the Temai swamps. One detachment was detailed to attack the fort at Tanjong Parit, another, under Imam Pĕrang Rasu, the fort at Kampong Masjid, while the third contingent consisting of Jĕlai men had the fort in Kampong Baharu as their objective. Imam Pĕrang Rasu with his men reached Kampong Masjid just before dawn, and fell upon the Bugis garrison as they came out to pray. A sharp engagement ensued in which sixty Bugis were killed, the rest fled, and the fort was left in the hands of Rasu. The forts at Tanjong Parit and Kampong Baharu were taken with little fighting, and the town of Pĕkan fell into the hands of the attackers. There was no looting, and no massacres.

The Temai conflict had lasted five months. The capture of Pĕkan made the Bendahara's position at Temai untenable and he fell back on the Shahbandar's village at Jambu on the left bank of the river, but the taking of the capital virtually finished the war. The Bendahara's men, after making a half-hearted attempt to hold Jambu and Pĕkan Sebrang, retreated to Tanjong Teja at the estuary of the Pahang. Here, in spite of the Temenggong's frantic attempts, backed by men, money and arms to rally the legitimist forces, the Bendahara's followers took boat in May 1863, and fled from Pahang.

Before their departure, Mutahir and Koris fell scriously ill, and Che Engku Abdu'l-Rahman (Wan Aman) was nominated

Bendahara designate by the Shahbandar, but Wan Aman was a ruler without a country—Ahmad had won the day. Mutahir and Koris died at Kuala Sedili in May 1863 ; no real disputant of Ahmad's claim was left. The victor was formally installed ruler by his Chiefs with the title of Bendahara Sewa Raja.

Thus ended the fratricidal struggle between Mutahir and Ahmad. Judged in terms of loss of human life, little damage had been done in the war, but the misery caused to the inarticulate Pahang peasants was incalculable. Harried by both sides, impressed, forced to provide food for the conflicting forces, deprived of what little property they possessed, subjected to great cruelties particularly by Mutahir's sons, their villages overrun by foreign fighting men, their lot was most unenviable. Many of those who could do so fled to adjoining States.[1] The modicum of prosperity which the country had enjoyed in the hey-day of Bendahara Ali's rule quickly disappeared in the conflict of the warring factions. At the least, Ahmad's victory meant for the peasants that thenceforth they had only one set of masters to serve.

[1] " In former days Pahang was far more thickly populated than in modern times, but the long succession of civil wars which racked the land after the death of Bendahara Ali caused thousands of Pahang Malays to fly from the country. To-day the valley of the Lebir river in Kelantan and the upper portions of several rivers near the Perak and Selangor boundaries are inhabited by Pahang Malays, the descendants of these fugitives."—Sir Hugh Clifford in theEncyclopaedia Britannica, 13th Edition, under " Malay States."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SELANGOR WAR.

Ahmad signalized his victory by proclaiming an amnesty to all the Chiefs and people who had sided with his enemies. Advantage was taken of the indemnity by the Shahbandar, Che Lambak and their followers; they returned to Pahang, and were received in a friendly fashion by the new ruler. Ahmad summoned a council of Chiefs, framed laws, and prescribed punishments for crimes such as robbery. He conferred titles on Wan Daud,[1] Wan Muhammad, the eldest surviving son of the Jelai Chief, and others who had distinguished themselves in the late war. He sent the territorial magnates back to reside in their own districts. He forgave his kinsmen Engku Ngah, and Engku Chik and married their sister Tun Besar (Che Puan Bongsu) by whom he had a daughter, Tun Long (born on 13 October 1864). He remitted for three years all imposts on produce entering or leaving Pahang; this remission did not apply to Kuantan, Ahmad's private reserve. There was a famine in rice caused by drought and a plague of rats in Ulu Pahang for two years after the war; Ahmad issued free stocks of rice to the starving peasantry.

In October 1863 the Pahang prince informed the Governor that he had been invited to Pahang by the four major Chiefs, and had conquered that State on Tuesday, the 22nd of the month Zu'l-Hijjah (10 June). Before the end of the year Governor Cavanagh had reported to the home government that the people of Pahang were becoming reconciled to their present ruler, and that the country was rapidly becoming tranquillized and trade was reviving. In consequence of this report the British Government decided to recognize Ahmad as the *de facto* ruler.

The armed conflict between Ahmad and Temenggong Abu-Bakar ceased with the expulsion of Mutahir from Pahang, but their quarrels continued. One of their outstanding differences was the question of the islands. In return for the Temenggong's assistance, Mutahir had ceded to Johore Tioman and other islands to the south, which from time immemorial, had belonged to Pahang. Ahmad refused to recognize the validity of this cession. In October 1863 he summoned the Chiefs of Pulau Tinggi, Tioman and other islands to meet him, and obtained their allegiance. He adhered to his claims in spite of the Governor's intervention.

On 2 July 1866, the Bendahara acknowledged a letter in which Governor Cavanagh had declared hat he was unable to recognize the validity of Ahmad's authority over the Pahang Islands on the ground that they were subject to the rule of the Temenggong. He respectfully pointed out that Tioman, Pulau Tinggi, Pulau Aur and other islands had always been subject to Pahang. On 23

[1]Appendix IV, Document No. V.

September 1866 the Pahang ruler addressed a communication to Col. Macpherson, Resident Councillor, Singapore, in which he informed him that his officer Tengku Zainal, when engaged in asearch for pirates at Pulau Tinggi, Pulau Tioman, and Pulau Aur had heard that the Temenggong's gun-boat, with a Johore force, had created disturbances, and seized Pahang subjects on the islands. Ahmad added that the allegation of piracy made against him was false, and originated from his enemies who were determined to harm him; if credence were given to the slander, the trade between Pahang and Singapore would be adversely affected.

On 20 November 1866 the Bendahara complained to Cavanagh that the Temenggong's men had seized five Pahang subjects and confiscated their property because they were found on Pulau Tioman, and that the crew of the Temenggong's gun-boat had seized Pahang property at Pulau Kaban and arrested fishermen.

Sultan Omar of Trengganu, in a letter to Governor Ord dated 27 October 1867, expressed his readiness to assist in the settlement of the Pahang-Johore boundary dispute, especially as both of the disputants were related to him, though he professed ignorance of the facts. In another letter, dated 11 March 1868, the Trengganu ruler informed the Governor that if transport were provided, he would visit Pahang, and discuss the matter of the boundary with the Bendahara. On 4 April Ahmad intimated his willingness to comply with the Governor's wishes, but regretted that the Governor had been wrongly advised regarding the position of the islands; the real state of affairs would be apparent to His Excellency if he only ascertained the views of the oldest inhabitants. Sultan Omar informed Singapore on 29 May that Bendahara Ahmad was willing to accept the Governor's arbitration in the boundary dispute. On 28 June, the Pahang prince requested the Governor's permission to attack a small fleet which had invaded Pulau Aur, an island which, he claimed, belonged to Pahang. On 29 July the Bendahara sent Che Lambak, a relative of the Shahbandar, and Imam Perang Makhota to relate to His Excellency the history of the islands off Pahang. The envoys brought a sword as a gift: "a humble present, but it may be of use to our friend."

In 1867 Abu-Bakar had offered to cede to his enemy the islands Tioman, Sĕri Buat, Kaban and others to the north of latitude 2° 40', and in 1868 Governor Sir Harry Ord awarded them to Pahang. The boundary dispute was not, however, finally settled till 1897 when Ord's decision was confirmed, the left bank of the Endau going to Pahang, the right to Johore. The islands north of a line drawn east from the Endau remained with Pahang; those to the south were awarded to Johore.

In 1864, Mahmud Muzaffar Shah, the deposed Sultan of Lingga, who had escaped from Siak, took refuge in Pahang. He tried to induce Ahmad to take up arms against the Dutch and

attack Lingga, but the Pahang prince had no intention of involving himself in outside quarrels. The ex-Sultan's death at Pekan in the same year removed all political complications from that quarter. The deceased representative of the Lingga royal house was buried in the Bendahara's grave-yard at Kuala Pahang.

Bendahara Mutahir's surviving sons Wan Aman ('Abdu'l-Rahman), Wan Da, and Wan 'Abdu'llah made an attempt to regain their father's country about the year 1866. They sent an invading force under the command of Imam Pĕrang Mat Akil into Pahang through Rembau and the Triang. Ahmad despatched Haji Mat Tahir of Ter, at his own request, to oppose them, and the Pahang Chief threw up a fort at Jerang in Ulu Triang. The stockade was easily taken by the invading force, the arms of the defenders were captured, and Haji Mat Tahir fled. The Orang Kaya of Temerloh, and the Chĕnor Chief To'Tuit, with their men, stemmed the invasion; the Temerloh magnate who had been on Tahir's side in the late war was anxious to prove his loyalty to the new ruler. Tuan Mandak was sent from Pekan to see how matters progressed. After a month's fighting the Pahang men forced the invaders to flee. The Orang Kaya of Temerloh received Ahmad's thanks for his new-born loyalty, and his son was designated as successor to the Temerloh Chieftaincy.

About this time (1867), according to the *Hikayat Pahang*, there was peace and prosperity in the country; food was cheap, rice was sold at a dollar for five gantangs, and padi at two dollars for a hundred gantangs; the crops matured without mishap; these blessing were due to the wise rule of Bendahara Sewa Raja Ahmad. His wife, Che Puan Bongsu, later styled Tengku Empuan Tua, gave birth to a son Tun Muda Besar. She was a wise and sagacious lady, the Malay chronicler tells us, well versed in the customs of Malay kings; she urged her people to read history, and the code of laws known as the *Kanun*.

In the following year Wan Da, a son of Bendahara Mutahir, supported by Saiyid Deraman, Imam Perang Mat Aris, and Tuan Kechut launched an attack on Pahang at Raub. The invaders were helped by the turbulent Rawas. Haji Muhammad Nor bin Haji 'Abdu'l-Hamid, one of the Sultan's favourites from Pĕkan, the Orang Kaya of Lipis, and Imam Pĕrang Rasu, with To'Kli at Sega, and To'Mamat at Budu opposed the invaders. Fighting took place at Sega. To'Kli was helped by Haji Muhammad Nor with two hundred men. After a conflict lasting seven days To'Raja's son, Penglima Pĕrang Wan Muhammad, with a force from the Jelai marched through Ulu Telang to the relief of Sega. In the meantime Imam Pĕrang Rasu at Budu tried to restrain To'Lubok Sĕtia Raja who had become disaffected. Wan Da, after fighting at Sega for five days, was defeated and retreated to Selangor. The Rawas submitted, acknowledged their guilt,

and were pardoned. To'Lubok was also forgiven, but three of his head-men were executed. Ahmad attributed Wan Da's attack to the machinations of his enemy Temenggong Abu-Bakar.

According to the *Hikayat Pahang*, the Johore ruler had bought a steamer from Europe for use in a projected attack on Pahang, but the boat blew up with the loss of several lives. Many of his Chiefs urged him to forgive and forget old enmities (*sudah-lah yang telah sudah*), and to become reconciled to Ahmad. He accordingly sent an envoy with a friendly message to the Bendahara who, however, would have no dealings with his enemy. In this attitude the Pahang prince was supported by the Sultan of Trengganu who, laying the responsibility for the British bombardment of his State at the Temenggong's door, strongly advised him to have nothing to do with Abu-Bakar.

Wan Aman and Wan Da now transferred their activities to Klang where they joined Raja Dollah. They soon quarrelled with him, and went over to Raja Mahdi's side, in return for a promise that he would help them to conquer Pahang. Raja Mahdi, when he had won the Klang war, asked them for a year's grace to allow him to collect funds for the anticipated struggle in the eastern State. By this time the Temenggong had definitely disassociated himself from any further armed intervention in Pahang. In 1868 the Governor, Sir Harry Ord, accompanied by the Johore prince, visited Pĕkan and announced his award in the boundary dispute.

On 29 November 1869 Sultan Ali of Singapore, in a letter to the Governor, styled himself "Sultan Ali Iskandar Shah of Johore and Pahang." This scion of the Pahang-Lingga-Johore family had visited Pahang in 1863, after Ahmad's victory, and asked the new ruler to instal him as Sultan, but without success.

Early in 1870 Che Engku Aman, and Che Engku Da, the old Bendahara's sons, helped by Raja Mahdi's forces invaded Pahang through Raub. The leaders of the expedition were Saiyid Deraman, Imam Pĕrang Mat Aris, Inche Embok, Tuan Kechut, and Penglima Tujoh Lapis. They were joined by a thousand Rawas. The Orang Kaya Sĕtia Lela of Lipis To'Teh, his son To'Muda Sentul, and Imam Pĕrang Rasu prepared for the enemy by collecting men and arms, and throwing up forts at various places on the Lipis river. In answer to their appeal Ahmad sent them arms and ammunition. Fighting took place at Kuala Pa near Temu, and in three days the invaders captured eight stockades. The Orang Kaya of Lipis, in the absence of Rasu, had to bear the brunt of the fighting; he had quarrelled with Penglima Pĕrang of Jelai who disregarded his appeal for assistance. Rasu soon arrived, and an urgent message was sent to Pekan for reinforcements. Ahmad despatched his favourite Haji Muhammad Nor with arms and ammunition. This assistance was appreciated by the hard-pressed Pahang forces. Imam

Pĕrang Rasu had by this time acquired great fame as a warrior, and his mere presence had a steadying effect on the defenders.

Imam Pĕrang Usoh, his lieutenant Penglima Sultan, Tengku 'Abdu'l-Samat, and To'Muda Uteh of Gali distinguished themselves in this war. Most of the fighting took place at Gali in Raub district. Imam Pĕrang Gendut arrived with a force from Pekan, with instructions from Ahmad to see how the various leaders acquitted themselves. Haji Muhammad Nor lost many of his men in an ambush. There were contingents of Rawas fighting on both sides. The war had dragged on for seven months when the Pahang forces determined to attack Raub, the head-quarters of the insurgents. The attacking force consisting of two hundred men was entirely successful : the shops were burnt, and the fort at Sempalit captured. The Orang Kaya of Semantan (whom we have hitherto known as Penglima Kakap Bahman) had closed all the tracks to Selangor, and lay in wait for the retreating invaders, but Wan Aman extricated himself from an awkward situation by coming to terms with his enemies, and he and his men were allowed to depart from Pahang, unmolested, after a conflict which had lasted for nine months.

On 19 July 1870 the Bendahara expressed his regret that, when the Governor visited Pahang recently, he was unable to meet him. He explained that, at the time, he was absent in the interior " not for change of air or for diversion," but because of the outbreak of disturbances which had been fomented by Wan Aman.

Pahang was once more at peace, and Bendahara Ahmad, (one of whose wives, Che Pah, had just given birth to a son Tun Mahmud, a future Sultan), made a tour of the country. At Chĕnor he was welcomed by Husain, the Orang Kaya Indĕra Pahlawan of Chĕnor, who had succeeded his uncle, Tuit. At Senggang, Teh Muhammad the head-man staged buffalo fights in the ruler's honour. At Kuala Tekam, in the vicinity of Kota Gĕlanggi, intrigued by legends of a beautiful aboriginal princess gifted with immortality, one of the maids-in-waiting at the court of an ancient king[1], and of a giant jungle-dweller living at Ulu Tekam whose foot-prints measured three spans in length, Ahmad sent men into the jungle with instructions to capture all the aborigines whom they met. Four members of the expedition were taken by tigers, and the " bag " was eight miserable Sakai ! On Ahmad's return to Pekan he inaugurated celebrations lasting ten months for the ear-boring ceremony of his daughter Tun Long (afterwards wife of the Sultan of Trengganu).

On his return to Selangor, after his unsuccessful invasion of Pahang in 1870, Wan Aman (also known as Wan ' Abdu'l-Rahman or Che Engku 'Abdu'l-Rahman) quarrelled with his quondam ally Raja Mahdi, and went over to the side of Tengku Dziau'd-din by

[1]Appendix VI, p. 241 *sq.*

whom he was put in charge of Ulu Selangor. In November 1871 Wan Aman was captured by Saiyid Mansur, one of Raja Mahdi's supporters. His brother Wan Da proceeded to Pahang, made his peace with his relative and enemy Bendahara Ahmad, and produced a letter from Tengku Dziau'd-din in which that prince appealed for Pahang assistance in the Selangor war. Ahmad agreed to help provided that the British Government consented to his intervention. Wan Da returned to Klang accompanied by Haji Muhammad Nor who was the bearer of letters from Ahmad to the Governor and to Tengku Dziau'd-din. At Klang, Haji Muhammad Nor met Raja Asal (the Mendeling ally of Raja Mahdi) who, unaware of the position, asked for the Pahang raja's help, and in return offered an immediate payment of thirty thousand and, in the event of victory, a perpetual allowance of one thousand dollars a month. Haji Muhammad Nor went to Singapore where he met Tengku Dziau'd-din and informed him of Raja Asal's offer. The Pahang envoy and the Selangor viceroy then interviewed the Governor. Haji Muhammad Nor delivered Ahmad's letter, and explained the Pahang ruler's position. Ahmad had been affronted at the treatment accorded to his relative Wan Aman in Ulu Selangor. The Rawas and Mendelings who revolted in Pahang, and had been driven into Selangor, were using that State as a base for lightning raids into Pahang. Ahmad was convinced that there would be no peace in his country until these freebooters were crushed, and requested Singapore's permission to attack them in Selangor. Tengku Dziau'd-din had asked Pahang for help, failing which he was bound to be defeated. Within a few days of the receipt of the Bendahara's letter the Governor visited Pĕkan and informed Ahmad that he agreed to the proposed expedition to Selangor. The Bendahara expressed his confidence in his ability, single-handed, to win the war.

Urged by Tengku Dziau'd-din, Ahmad hastened preparations for the expedition, and issued proclamations to the Chiefs ordering them to collect their men with food, arms, and ammunition, and to concentrate at Bentong. In the meantime news came that the Rawas and Mendelings had attacked Tengku Dziau'd-din's forces who were surrounded at Bukit Nanas, Kuala Lumpur. Tengku Dziau'd-din himself came to Pĕkan and urged haste. He promised Ahmad the revenues of the Klang District. As the viceroy was short of funds the Bendahara promised to supply arms and ammunition for the Pahang levies. One contingent of Pahang forces, mobilized at Bentong, one thousand strong, was led by Imam Pĕrang Rasu, the Orang Kaya Shahbandar, the Orang Kaya of Chĕnor and Haji Muhammad Nor. The reserves, ultimately numbering three or four thousand men, remained behind at Bentong under the command of the Jelai and Lipis Chiefs.

In August 1872 Tengku Dziau'd-din's allies crossed the Bentong passes into Selangor, and pressed on to Batu Tabor, Ulu

Klang, where they camped. Here Rasu, without consulting the other Chiefs, turned and attacked a fort "Permulas" held by Raja Asal's Mendelings. The fort was taken, part of the garrison killed, and the survivors fled to Raja Asal. The Pahang forces now split-up, one contingent commanded by the Orang Kaya of Chĕnor and Haji Muhammad Nor proceeding towards Kuala Lumpur where Dziau'd-din's forces, under a European officer, Hagen, were besieged, while the other detachment under Rasu attacked Raja Asal in Ulu Klang. In the meantime Ahmad himself, with large forces well furnished with arms and ammunition procured in Singapore, proceeded to Bentong where he remained in reserve.

Rasu's advance in Ulu Klang had been so hasty that he got separated from his commissariat. The enemy successfully intercepted supplies, and the Pahang men in the stockades at Batu Tabor were without rice for fifteen days, and reduced to eating banana-stalks and salt. While on a scouting expedition with forty men Rasu was ambushed in a swamp and suffered heavy losses, but eventually beat off his attackers. Rasu's forces, owing to lack of food, were forced to retreat towards Pahang, and he threw up stockades in the jungle near Bentong.

By this time the Chĕnor Chiefs had reached Kepong. Here they successfully repulsed an onslaught by a force of two hundred men under Raja Asal. On being again attacked, they made a sortie in the course of which Che Man bin Dato' Mata-mata, and Che Sulaiman of Pulau Keladi distinguished themselves; the enemy were again driven back. Rasu, who had at last got adequate food-supplies, accompanied by the Shahbandar and To'Muda Andak, arrived at Kepong, attacked the enemy and drove them back towards Klang.

Raja Mahdi, however, took Kuala Lumpur, and the two European officers in charge of the garrison were captured and barbarously killed. Hagen, one of the victims, had been advised to endeavour to effect a junction with the Pahang forces; his failure to do so had fatal results for himself and his men. Ahmad, who had been taken seriously ill at Bentong, in spite of his protests, was carried back by his men to Pĕkan where he recovered.

A change was now made in the disposition of the Pahang levies, the men of the interior remaining at Bentong, while the Pekan forces returned to the capital and were transported by sea to Selangor.

Tengku Dziau'd-din and his chief captain, Imam Pĕrang Mat Akil, on receiving word of the date fixed for the arrival of their Pahang allies, attacked and took Petaling in November 1872. They then attacked Kuala Lumpur, after capturing Batu Arang. While fighting was in progress, the Pahang men arrived by sea and land. Tengku Dziau'd-din and his allies made a ring of

stockades around Raja Asal's forts in Ulu Klang. The Mendelings launched an unsuccessful attack on the Pahang forces in the course of which Imam Pĕrang Raja, Penglima Garang Ishak and Che Dollah of Bĕra were wounded. On 23 March 1873 the enemy forts fell, and Raja Mahdi's men fled to Ulu Selangor. In the same month Kuala Lumpur was captured by the allies.

Imam Perang Rasu returned in triumph to Pahang, while the Orang Kaya Pahlawan of Semantan remained in charge of Ulu Klang. Rasu, in recognition of his exploits, received from Ahmad the title of Orang Kaya Imam Pĕrang Indĕra Gajah of Pahang, and was further rewarded with the gift of Pulau Tawar. Gendut, Imam Pĕrang Raja, was promoted to the rank of Imam Pĕrang Indĕra Makhota.

On 16 April 1873 the Bendahara informed the Governor that, in accordance with His Excellency's desire that Pahang should assist Tengku Dziau'd-din against the Selangor rebels, he had attacked and defeated the Mendeling insurgents at Ulu Klang on 23 March, and driven them to Ulu Selangor. He added that Pahang was still able to put in the field some thousands of fighting men, and enquired whether Singapore desired him to proceed with operations. If the Governor consented, Ahmad asked that the Pahang expedition should be afforded a safe passage by sea to Klang. The reply to the Bendahara's letter was favourable, and Ahmad again sent his forces to help the Selangor Viceroy.

The enemy were ensconced in forts at Kanching, while Tengku Dziau'd-din and his allies concentrated at Pengkalan Batu, Klang. Imam Pĕrang Indĕra Makhota, having Che Abdullah of Bĕra as his second-in-command, led the Pĕkan men, while the Ulu Pahang levies were commanded by the Orang Kaya Indĕra Gajah of Pahang (whom we shall henceforth call *To'Gajah*), assisted by Haji Muhammad Nor. Dziau'd-din's forces were under Imam Pĕrang Mat Akil. The allied fighters occupied forts at Kuala Batu. The enemy were in possession of five stockades on Bukit (?) Genting Kilang. To'Gajah attacked the forts, and took them after three hours' fighting in the course of which over thirty of the enemy were killed, while the Pahang men had only eight casualties. Raja Mahdi's forces retreated to their reserve fort at the foot of the hill where they made a stand. To Gajah, assisted by Tun Mahmud bin Buang, the Orang Kaya Pahlawad of Semantan, Imam Pĕrang Haji Husain, Raja Yakob, and Imam Pĕrang Husain of Bukit Sa-Gumpal took the fort after an engagement which lasted five days. The Chĕnor and Tembĕling men, posted in ambush, took a heavy toll of the fleeing enemy survivors.

Imam Pĕrang Indera Makhota, helped by the men of Imam Pĕrang Mat Akil and Khatib Bahrin, attacked the enemy from Kuala Selangor. A quarrel arose between the Pahang Chiefs,

themselves not lacking in arrogance, and Imam Pĕrang Mat Akil, " renowned for his valour in war, but proud, inclined to vaunt his prowess, and in disposition like a sparrow-hawk—few dared to confront him." Tengku Dziau'd-din composed their differences. The joint force, one thousand strong, landed at Tanjong Karang, and took the road to Ujong Permatang capturing the enemy stockades on their march. At Pasir Gayam they built a fort. The Pekan Chief, Penglima Perang Johan Perkasa, whose attack on the enemy post at Kubu Masjid had been repulsed, called for assistance. The gallant Imam Pĕrang Mat Akil responded, but was shot dead by the defenders. Some of the Pahang Chiefs fell ill and went to Malacca. Khatib Bahrin, " an old man, well-liked," was left in charge of the allies.

In the meantime To'Gajah and Haji Muhammad Nor, in their operations against Kanching, fought their enemy on the Genting Serampang track. As they were preparing stockades they were attacked by a mixed force of Mendelings, Chinese and Selangor men. To'Gajah was hard pressed but managed to stem the attack, while Haji Muhammad Nor assisted by the Orang Kaya of Chĕnor, Teh Muhammad of Senggang, Penglima Bebas Zabidi, Penglima Kanan of Chĕnor, Imam Pĕrang Kadam, and To'Umbi created a diversion by attacking and capturing three enemy stockades. From Captain Ah Lui, Haji Muhammad Nor procured seventy Chinese who were experts in shooting fire-darts. With their aid the shops in Kanching were set on fire, the Pahang forces entered the village, and after some hours' fighting captured it in November 1873, killing three hundred of the enemy. Our Malay chronicler probably exaggerates the number slain.

After this victory the Orang Kaya of Temerloh and the Orang Kaya Pahlawan of Semantan proceeded to Khatib Bahrin's assistance at Kuala Selangor. To'Gajah and Haji Muhammad Nor went to Ulu Selangor. At Ulu Yam they met and defeated Raja Asal and Raja Bintang after a short engagement. They then marched on Kuala Kubu which was taken without resistance. An epidemic of small-pox broke out among the Pahang men. The fearless To'Gajah had a mortal dread of the disease, and returned to Pahang leaving the command to the major Chief of Chĕnor and Haji Muhammad Nor. On his arrival he did not present himself to the Bendahara for fear of spreading the infection.

At Kuala Kubu the Mendilings, Rawas, and Chinese made an unsuccessful attack on Haji Muhammad Nor. At Kuala Selangor Saiyid Mashhur was defeated in November 1873, and retired by Batang Berjuntai. He forwarded twenty *koyan* of rice, arms, and ammunition to Ulu Bernam with the idea of collecting fresh forces and making a stand there. Haji Muhammad Nor, hearing of the convoy, marched to Kampong Haji Mustapha, Ulu Bernam, to intercept it. Here he encountered Saiyid Mashhur and Raja Chik of Siak. In the ensuing fight Mahdi's Chiefs were defeated

and retreated to Slim where the Pahang men again attacked and routed them, capturing large quantities of stores and munitions. Saiyid Mashur fled north into Perak.

The Rawas under Sutan Bangka Ulu, five hundred in number, free-lances, now helping one side, now the other, came in and submitted to Haji Muhammad Nor who promised to spare their lives. The Orang Kaya of Chĕnor remained in charge of Ulu Bernam, while Haji Muhammad Nor joined Tengku Dziau'd-din at Klang. At this stage Wan Muhammad, Dato' Sĕtia Muda of Jelai, son of Maharaja Perba, appeared on the scene armed with full authority from the Bendahara to regulate the position of the Pahang Chiefs in Selangor.

Tengku Dziau'd-din now called a conference of his allies Wan Da, Shaikh Muhammad Taib, the Chief of Jelai, Haji Muhammad Nor, and Che Embok, at which it was proposed that the Rawa, Sutan Bangka Ulu, and his men should be slaughtered, as they were Pahang rebels and a menace to the peace of Selangor. Haji Muhammad Nor demurred, according to the *Hikayat Pahang*, to this act of treachery, but, overborne by the other Chiefs, agreed under protest to the massacre. Preparations were made accordingly. The Jelai Chief joined forces in Ulu Selangor with the Orang Kaya of Chĕnor, Haji Muhammad Nor, and To'Muda Sentul, son of the Orang Kaya of Lipis, who had just arrived from Pahang. Sutan Bangka Ulu and his people had encamped in an open plain near Kuala Kubu. The Jelai Chief invited the Rawa leader to Kuala Kubu to join him in a cock fighting main. Sutan Bangka Ulu, with thirty of his men, set out for the village. About half a mile from Kuala Kubu, Haji Muhammad Nor and To'Embok with their forces fell upon the Rawas of whom only two escaped with their lives. In the meantime To'Muda Sentul raided and pillaged the Rawa camp, killing the men, and carrying off the women and children. The Rawas suffered the fate which they had meted out eleven years earlier to the Tembĕling headman Che Yahya.

The Jelai Chief, on his entry into Selangor, had found the war almost over. He took advantage of his position to impose fines on all localities, as far as Pasang, in which enemy stockades had been constructed; where the fines were not paid he enslaved the people. In this way he collected about fifteen thousand dollars, and carried off large numbers of women. After the massacre of the Rawas he continued the imposition of fines in Ulu Selangor, but was restrained by the Orang Kaya of Chĕnor and Haji Muhammad Nor. A quarrel arose, and bloodshed was narrowly averted. The Jelai leader referred the dispute to Tengku Dziau'd-din who declined to support him, so, laden with spoils, and with a well-stocked harem he trekked back to Pahang. At this period the Pahang Chiefs temporarily in charge of parts of Selangor were Haji Muhammad Nor in Ulu Selangor, and the Orang Kaya Pahlawan of

Semantan in Ulu Klang. The Orang Kaya Indĕra Sĕgara of Temerloh had died in Selangor shortly before the termination of the war.

In November 1873 the Pahang men who had fought in Selangor for twelve months, and brought the war to a successful conclusion, evacuated the country.

Tengku Dziau-d-din had arranged with Ahmad that Haji Muhammad Nor should collect the revenues of Ulu Selangor, and hand them over to the Bendahara, in repayment of Pahang's assistance in men and money in the war, but little of the revenue filtered through to Ahmad.

In 1875 the Bendahara asked for twenty thousand dollars from the Selangor magnate, and a share in the State revenue of Selangor, explaining that the failure of his tin mines had left him temporarily short of funds. With additional capital he would be able to reopen the mines and build a new mosque. Tengku Dziau'd-din, after consulting Singapore, sent Ahmad a cargo of tin valued at three thousand dollars, and undertook to hand over monthly six *bahara* (2,400 lbs.) of tin until the debt was liquidated. He requested that the Pahang Chief should be withdrawn from Selangor. It needed the influence of Frank Swettenham, Assistant Resident of Selangor, who visited Pekan for the purpose, to persuade Ahmad to agree to these terms.

CHAPTER IX.

ENGKU MUDA MANSUR. THE MISSIONS OF SWETTENHAM AND CLIFFORD. (1874—1887.)

In 1874, after the signing of the treaty of Pangkor, Ismail of Perak was said to have addressed communications to the Bendahara and to Johore proposing a Malay coalition against the British. History does not record the response to the deposed Sultan's proposal. It was clear that Ahmad, a shrewd diplomat, who had his own difficulties to encounter, and aspired to recognition as Sultan of Pahang, would not be inclined to involve himself blindly in the troubles of other States.

In August 1874 Maharaja Abu-Bakar complained to Governor Sir Andrew Clarke that one of his head-men had been murdered by Pahang people on the Endau. Information reached the Governor in September that Pahang forces had been mobilized on both banks of the Endau and had erected three stockades. Clarke in the *Pluto*, escorted by *H.M.S. Charybdis*, *Hart* and *Avon*, at once proceeded to Pahang to interview the Bendahara from whom he had received several friendly letters. The Governor hoped to effect a settlement of the differences outstanding between Pahang and Johore, and to revive the trade between Singapore and the eastern State. The Bendahara declined to admit the validity of the agreement made by his brother Mutahir with Johore in 1862, but readily agreed to the appointment of a commission of enquiry into the incidents at Endau, of which he professed ignorance. Three Pahang Chiefs and H. Read, a well known resident of Singapore, were appointed commissioners. They proceeded to the Endau, destroyed a stockade, and arrested three of the Pahang elders, including Penglima Kechil who was said to have killed the Johore head-man. The commissioners took their prisoners, with witnesses, to the Bendahara who was requested to make further investigations. Ahmad, favourably impressed by the Governor's friendly attitude, addressed a conciliatory letter to Abu-Bakar on 27 September, 1874, in which he informed him that the Governor who had visited Pahang recently had found no proof that the Pahang ruler was responsible for the murder on the Endau.

In a letter to the Governor, dated 28 September, Ahmad expressed his pleasure at His Excellency's visit to Pahang. He declared that he had sent back to the Endau the head-men Jenang Login, Jenang Sudin, and Penglima Kechil who had been wrongly arrested on a charge of murder, and ordered them to look for the real culprits. The Governor had requested Ahmad to collect rare specimens for the museum. In response the Bendahara sent to Singapore " a wild fowl of a kind that attaches itself to domestic fowls, and a myna that can talk Malay."

In July 1875 Governor Sir William Jervois, escorted by *H.M.S. Thistle*, and accompanied by Frank Swettenham and Lieutenant McCallum R.E., visited Pahang. He was cordially greeted by the Bendahara who, with his Chiefs and some three hundred followers, had assembled at the Balai (council hall) to welcome him. A spectator of the proceedings gave an interesting account of Ahmad, in his later years a confirmed opium-smoker, who did not die till 1914 at the ripe age of seventy-eight years: "The Bendahara who is 41 years of age, looked very ill; he is very thin and, from his description of the symptons, seems to be suffering from diseased lungs."[1]

The Pahang ruler declared that he was satisfied with the arrangements made for the settlement of his claims against Tengku Dziau'd-din for whom he expressed a warm admiration. He promised to assist the government surveyor who had recently ascended the Muar with the intention of entering Pahang. It appeared that at this time there were about a thousand Chinese in the country. Baron Maclay, the Russian traveller, had left Pahang two days before the Governor's arrival.

Jervois had a private interview with Ahmad in the course of which he expressed his desire for the development of the natural resources of Pahang. Such a development would have the effect of increasing the prosperity of the people, and improving trade. He offered to assist the Bendahara with advice in the matter. Ahmad replied evasively that he was unable to reach a decision until he had consulted the Chiefs of the interior—a polite method of rejecting the offer—and the Governor was unable to proceed further with his effort to establish closer relations between Singapore and Pahang.

The failure of the Jelai Chief to share the spoils obtained by him in the Selangor war had made him unpopular with the Bendahara. He had not long returned from Selangor when a conflict broke out between him and Wan Lingga, a son of Orang Kaya Maharaja Sĕtia Raja, Haji Wan Daud, who was supported by To'Gajah. The Jelai men gained the upper-hand. The Bendahara intervened in their squabbles, summoned To'Raja's heir and Wan Lingga to Pekan, fined them, and forbade them to leave the capital. Wan Lingga was soon released on the ground that his mind had become unhinged. No sooner had he returned to Ulu Pahang than he attacked the Orang Kaya of Lipis whose fort he burnt. The Bendahara penalized the protagonists in this quarrel by fining them and removing them to Pekan.

Tengku Samat, a foreign Chief who had settled in Raub district, subsequently furnished Sir Hugh Clifford with an account

[1] "Straits Times," 31 July, 1875. Ahmad was born on 5 Muharram 1252 A.H. (23 May, 1836). He came of a long-lived stock, his father Bendahara Ali, and great grand-father Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Majid having lived to the age of about eighty years.

of the feuds in Ulu Pahang at this period. According to the Raub version, Wan Muhammad, the eldest surviving son and heir of Maharaja Perba of Jelai, lately returned from the Selangor war, visited Pekan where he offended the Bendahara by his insolent and arrogant behaviour. Shortly after the Jelai Chief's return to his district, Ahmad summoned Wan Lingga, who was still at Pekan, and To'Muda Sentul, son of To'Teh the Orang Kaya Sĕtia Lela of Lipis, and ordered them to kill To'Raja's heir. Wan Lingga declared his willingness to act provided that To'Sentul helped him. To'Sentul made a pretence of obeying the ruler's command. They then proceeded to Penjom where To'Muda divulged the plot to his father. The old Chief forbade his son to take any part in the projected attack on the ground that the men of Lipis and of Jelai were one clan (*puak*). He also sent messengers to Bukit Betong to warn the Jelai Chief. Wan Lingga then returned to Pekan and told Ahmad of the turn that affairs had taken, whereupon the Bendahara ordered Wan Lingga and To'Gajah to Pulau Tawar to co-operate in war-like operations against To'Raja and the Lipis Chief. The Jelai and Lipis men successfully withstood the attacks made upon them, and the Bendahara, accepting the position, ordered a cessation of hostilities.

Shortly afterwards, however, Wan Lingga was again summoned by Ahmad and ordered to kill the old Orang Kaya of Lipis who had refused to obey his ruler's command to proceed to Pekan. Wan Lingga accordingly attacked and burnt the Orang Kaya's house at Penjom. The aged Chief, screened by his womenfolk, swam across the Lipis amid a shower of bullets, and made good his escape to To'Mail's village at Tanjong Besar. He then submitted to the Bendahara and, accompanied by his son To'Sentul, proceeded to Pekan where he was detained for two years, during which time the administration of his district was conducted by the Raja's favourite, Tuan Shaikh Kechil, who received all the revenues of Lipis. After a detention which lasted for several years, the Lipis Chief and his son, hearing that Engku Muda Mansur proposed to attack Pahang in the autumn, escaped from Pekan in the summer of 1884, and returned to Lipis. Wan Lingga in the meantime had been disgraced and deprived of his allowances because he had failed to carry out the Bendahara's instructions.

In support of Tengku Samat's account of events in Ulu Pahang, Wan Lingga showed to Hugh Clifford letters which purported to emanate from Ahmad, in which he was ordered to kill certain Chiefs and head-men who were obnoxious to the Raja. The authenticity of these letters is doubtful. Some of Ahmad's favourities who had access to his seal were deadly enemies of the Ulu Pahang Chiefs, and it is possible that the letters were written without the ruler's express sanction.

After the defeat of Raja Mahdi, Haji Muhammad Nor remained in charge of Ulu Selangor for some years. On the

outbreak of the Perak war he accompanied Davidson to Perak, but was recalled to Pahang about 1886. Abu-Bakar, now Maharaja of Johore, paid a friendly visit to Ahmad and the two rulers became reconciled.

In 1882 Ahmad made a tour of the country, in the course of which he visited the wonderful caves of Kota Gĕlanggi. He held court at Pulau Tawar where he pardoned the Dato' Sĕtia Muda of Jelai, Wan Muhammad, and conferred on him the title of Maharaja Perba. The old Maharaja Perba, Wan Idris, who had lived in retirement for some years, had died. The Orang Kaya of Lipis was likewise pardoned and sent back to his native Lipis.

Bendahara Ahmad next paid a long visit, lasting for thirteen months, to Singapore and Johore, where he was welcomed by the Governor and the Johore ruler. During Ahmad's sojourn in Johore Abu-Bakar suggested that the ruler of the eastern State should assume the title of Sultan of Pahang, "as the old allegiance to Lingga no longer existed, that country having been captured by the Dutch."

On 6 August 1882 Ahmad assumed the title of Sultan. In the same year the Jelai Chief struck a seal bearing the legend "Maharaja Perba, Representative of Sultan Ahmad Mu'azzam Shah." He may have been allowed to use this title in return for his support of Ahmad's claim to the Sultanate. On 12 December 1884 Ahmad was formally proclaimed Sultan by his Chiefs with the style of Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azzam Shah (though his title was not formally recognized by the British Government till 1887). His principal wife, Inche Puan Bongsu, was proclaimed Tengku Empuan. His children had their titles raised from *Tun* to *Tengku*. His relatives 'Abdu'l-Rahman ('Engku Ngah') and Mahmud were promoted to the rank of Bendahara and Temenggong respectively. The Sultan of Trengganu went to Pekan, and married Tengku Long, a royal daughter of the Pahang ruler. The festivities were interrupted by an epidemic of small-pox. Tengku Long caught the infection but recovered. The Sultan of Trengganu returned to his country leaving his bride in Pekan.

Ahmad's favourite brother was Tun Mansur whom, after the Selangor war, he had raised to the title of Engku Muda. He gave him the revenue derived from certain imports and exports. But, by 1882, the brothers had become estranged for reasons connected with the succession, and the inadequacy of Mansur's allowances. Engku Muda went off in dudgeon to Johore where he resided in Engku Lah's house, and ignored an invitation to return to Pahang.

Ahmad's enemies in Singapore and Johore urged Mansnr to attack Pahang; he was to be helped by Raja Impeh and Raja Ismail in Raub, Wan Lingga in Budu, and Nong Chik and Tuan Lebar, relatives of Tuan Mandak. Ahmad sent Tuan

Mandak, Che 'Abdu'llah, Haji Muhammad Nor, and Tuan Hitam to give Engku Muda good counsel, and to offer him the revenues of Endau or Rompin. Mansur disregarded the advice and the offer, and continued his war-like preparations. He proceeded to Ulu Selangor in August 1884, and began to levy men for an attack on Pahang. Wan Lingga, in the meantime, threw up stockades at Budu, and Tengku Samat in Raub district, disgusted at Ahmad's treatment of the Orang Kaya of Lipis, (part of whose lands had been given away to To'Gajah), held himself in readiness to assist Engku Muda's faction. Haji Muhammad Nor interviewed the Governor, Cecil Clementi Smith, and informed him of the projected invasion. His Excellency at once instructed the Resident of Selangor to prevent Mansur from entering Pahang, and on 18 September, 1884, informed Ahmad of his action.[1] The threatened invasion was thus rendered abortive, and Engku Muda returned to Singapore. The conspirators in Raub and Budu, Wan Lingga, Wan Selat, and Raja Impeh were summarily ejected by To'Gajah without a fight.

About 1883, two Jelebu Chiefs, Ahat and Raja Balang Long, after quarrelling with their fellow head-men, had initiated intrigues with Pahang regarding the Pahang-Jelebu boundary. Pahang sent an envoy who maintained that Jelebu had always been a part of Pahang, as any one might know who observed the work of God, for was not the river Triang tributary to Pahang?[2] According to Jelebu tradition the boundary was fixed, at various times, in various places including Kuala Poh (where To'Kaya Hassan of Temerloh had planted a clump of bamboos to mark the border).

On 11 November 1884 Governor Sir Cecil Clementi Smith suggested to Ahmad that in order to preserve peace it was necessary to define the boundary. He added that he had discussed the matter with Haji Muhammad Nor, Ahmad's envoy, and with him arranged a provisional boundary, on the grounds of expediency for the present rather than on those of ancient custom, the latter being involved in doubt ; as the people from Kuala Glami down to Jeram appeared to favour the claims of Jelebu, while those from Gantong Labu to Meranti Sembilan seemed inclined to submit to Pahang rule, the Governor had agreed that the provisional boundary should be a straight line drawn east and west to the point of junction of the Sungai Dua with Jeram, mid-way between Gantong Labu and Jeram. The Sultan, in a reply dated 25 February 1885, informed His Excellency that Haji Muhammad Nor was not authorized to settle the matter of the boundary ; he understood that in the time of his ancestors Jelebu and Pahang were one, and he hoped that the Governor would agree to the delimitation of the boundary at Kenaboi.

[1]Appendix IV, Document No. 9.

[2]Sir Andrew Caldecott's " Jelebu."

In the dispute between the Bendahara and his brother Mansur the Governor acted as mediator and, on his suggestion, Ahmad granted Engku Muda an allowance of two hundred dollars a month. In April 1885 Ahmad's representatives in Singapore and Engku Muda signed an agreement whereby it was stipulated that Mansur should be recognized as Raja Muda of Pahang, that is, as Singapore construed it, the heir of the Pahang ruler. This agreement, executed under very inauspicious circumstances as far as Ahmad was concerned, ultimately became ineffective.

It will not be out of place here to give some account of the title *Raja Muda* and its significance. Originally the term *Sultan Muda* or *Raja Muda* was employed in Malay states whose origin was derived from Malacca to designate the heir apparent to the throne—the term *Sultan Muda* is used in the " Annals," and also in a fragmentary inscription on a tomb-stone of the 17th century in Pĕkan Lama. We leave out of account the special local significance which the title *Sultan Muda* acquired in Perak. *Raja Muda* or *Sultan Muda* was the equivalent of *Yang di-pertuan Muda* or *Yam Tuan Muda*: thus the *Yang di-pertuan Muda* of Pahang, the son of Sultan 'Abdu'llah Ma'ayat Shah of Johore, as early as 1642 was designated heir to Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil III. In the Pahang-Riau-Johore kingdom, in the eighteenth century, the Bugis monopolized the title, and towards the end of the century, the Sultan resorted to the style of *Tengku Besar* as the official designation of his heir. Thus the title of Muhammad, while his father Sultan 'Abdu'l-Rahman was alive, was Tengku Besar; and when Muhammad became ruler, he in turn installed his son Mahmud (afterwards Sultan) *Tengku Besar*. In 1885, Singapore, unaware of this change in the title of the heir apparent to a Sultanate sprung from Riau-Johore, induced Ahmad's representatives to sign an agreement recognizing his brother Mansur as *Raja Muda*.

In April 1885 Frank Swettenham, acting British Resident of Perak, was sent by Governor Cecil Clementi Smith to Pahang to persuade Ahmad to enter into a treaty with Her Majesty's Government, to effect a reconciliation between the Pahang ruler and Engku Muda Mansur, and to settle the Pahang-Jelebu boundary dispute. Swettenham proceeded by Ulu Lipis and was the first European official to penetrate Pahang. At Permatang Linggi he met the head-man To'Bakar who confessed that he had never presented himself to the Raja at Pekan. To'Bakar was styled owner of Tresang, a noted gold-producing locality, but it was rumoured that Ahmad had given the place to To'Gajah. The people were forced to pay taxes called *serah* and *banchi*. When the district Chief visited Pekan annually to pay homage to the Raja, a poll-tax of one dollar a head was demanded from the people to defray the expenses of his journey to the capital. Gold could be sold only to the Raja, and there was said to be no fixed

standard of weight ; most imports and exports were taxed, debt-slavery prevailed in parts, and the people were liable to be requisitioned for forced labour. The only white man whom To' Bakar had seen was Cameron (the discoverer of Cameron's Highlands). The country was unsettled owing to the recent attempted invasion of Engku Muda Mansur. The main market for the Lipis folk was at Penjom. The import duties on nearly every necessity and luxury seemed to have been farmed to Chinese at Pekan. Swettenham gave a list of the prices of various commodities at Penjom : kerosene oil $1/- a tin, tobacco $1/- a kati, salt $1/- for six gantangs, 1 ball of opium $1/-, the best rice $1/- for twelve gantangs. The gambling farm at Penjom paid fifty dollars a month to the Orang Kaya of Lipis who also collected a tax of one-tenth on imported cloth. A large quantity of rice was imported from Kelantan, also silk sarongs, but many sarongs were manufactured at Pekan.

At Kuala Sega Swettenham was cordially greeted by the headman To'Kli, a good-tempered, intelligent old man. Below the rapids of Jeram Besu he met Che Wan Da, a son of Orang Kaya Haji Wan Daud, and an argument ensued as to the liability of the owners of buffaloes, a man having been recently killed by one of these animals.

At Pulau Tawar Swettenham received a friendly reception from To'Gajah who had settled in that locality after the Selangor war. He writes :

> " To'Gajah who is a man of about forty, very thick-set and dark, but full of laughter, informed me that he had four wives, twenty-five children, and nine grand-children. To' Gajah's father was a Sumatran Malay, his mother a Pahang woman ; he is reputed to be a great warrior, is the Field-marshal of Pahang and ranks with the Orang Besar Empat or Chiefs of the first-class. He is a man of much energy, greatly feared by the discontented faction in the upper country, and greatly trusted by the Yam Tuan.... At noon, reached Tanjong Blanja the limits of To'Gajah's jurisdiction, and here we stayed for one and a half hours break-fasting, and then parted with the Dato' and continued our journey down-river. The To'Gajah has done everything possible for us. I gave him my Perak *golok* (chopping-knife) and we parted excellent friends. I saw him in the river up to his waist saying good-bye to the Subadar."

On 5 May Swettenham reached Pĕkan where he was courteously welcomed by the ruler, given a ceremonial raft (*balai gambang*) as a residence, and put in the charge of Haji Muhammad Nor. Here he was joined by the Dato Mantĕri of Johore. He disclosed the object of his mission to Ahmad who asked for time to consult his Chiefs and promised a reply by letter to the Governor. Ahmad agreed to the proposals regarding the Pahang-Jelebu

boundary put forward in the Governor's letter of 11 November, 1884, and there was a formal reconciliation between him and Mansur. Swettenham had to be content with this, and after warning Ahmad of the evils of granting concessions of land, and informing him of the disasters which would probably have overtaken the country had Engku Muda Mansur invaded Pahang in 1884, he returned to Singapore. The promised letter was not written. Shortly after Swettenham's departure Engku Muda Mansur, finding the political atmosphere at Pekan rather unhealthy, went back to the Straits.

On 8 June Swettenham recommended to the Governor the appointment of an Agent of the Straits Government to Pahang with a knowledge of Malays, to live at Pekan, watch the interests of British subjects, and make himself acceptable and useful to the people.

The year 1886 was marked by an epidemic of small-pox in the country.

In June 1886 the Governor himself visited Pahang, and tried in vain to establish closer relations. Asked to conclude a treaty with the British Government, Ahmad requested time to consult his Chiefs, and the Governor departed with the promise of a reply by letter. Again the letter was not written. The Governor then commissioned Hugh Clifford to make yet another effort to come to an agreement with Pahang. On 15 January 1887 Clifford, accompanied by Engku Muda Mansur who had been invited by his brother to return, and To'Muda Long, son of To'Sentul the Orang Kaya of Lipis, left Singapore, and travelling by Ulu Slim and Ulu Lipis, descended the Lipis, Jelai, and Pahang rivers to Pekan. Discontent was rife amongst the feudal Chiefs and head-men of Lipis. Part of the Orang Kaya's land had been given away to To'Gajah who was regarded as an upstart, but feared as a warrior and a favourite of the Raja. The Orang Kaya's part of the revenue of Lipis was now said to be only five hundred dollars a year, the major part of the Lipis revenues going to the Sultan who had been giving out tracts of land to Europeans and others without regard to the territorial Chiefs or the peasant occupiers. Fraser was established in a concession owned by the Sultan of Johore at Ulu Tras (Bukit Fraser). At Raub, Engku Muda Mansur was warmly welcomed by his former adherents.

The people were subject to various taxes including *banchi*, a poll-tax, *serah* a monopoly granted by the Raja for the right of the sale of certain articles, *hasil banchi Orang Kaya*, a tax of one dollar a head levied off all circumcised adults by the Orang Kaya of Lipis whenever he was called to Pekan, and another tax collected on his return to liquidate debts contracted by him in the capital. Tobacco, gambier, even common necessities such as onions and curry-stuffs were heavily taxed, for example, the price of a pound of Javanese tobacco which cost forty cents in

Perak was a dollar in Ulu Pahang. The taxation was due to the creation of monopolies, and the farming out of import duties at Pĕkan. Import and export were allowed only at Kuala Pahang. [1] The value of gold was fixed at twenty-two dollars an ounce; in Kuala Lumpur the price ranged between thirty and forty dollars an ounce. On buffaloes exported from Jelai, owners had to pay an export tax of one dollar a head to the feudal Chief, and an additional tax of three dollars a head to To'Gajah's agent at Kuala Lipis. At the time of Clifford's visit to To'Bakar of Ulu Sungai, To'Kĕli of Sega (an old man of eighty years, garrulous but prudent), and To'Mail of Tanjong Besar managed Lipis district under To'Sentul the Orang Kaya.

At Penjom Clifford found a European company operating the mines. On 27 April 1885 Ahmad had granted to Haji Arshad, Muhammad Tahir, and George Scaife a concession :

> " in Penjom where the Chinese are now working, the first measurement to commence from there to the right five miles, to the left five miles, in front five miles, and behind five miles."

The concessionaires had put the most liberal interpretation on this definition of boundaries, and taken ten miles square of land. Chinese miners had worked at Jalis (the old name for Penjom), and had been paying tribute to To'Raja and the lesser Chiefs for generations. [2] They did not take this disturbance kindly. Included too in the land claimed by the new-comers were the Malay gold workings at Gubar (near Ulu Cheneras) and elsewhere which had always been in the hands of the family of the Orang Kaya Haji Wan Daud, a first-cousin of To'Raja.

The new company started operations at Jalis, expelled the Chinese miners to whom they allowed compensation of only seven hundred dollars. This arbitrary and unjust procedure aroused intense resentment among the Chinese, To'Raja, and his headmen. The company were supported by To'Gajah, the Sultan's favourite. This support increased the indignation of the territorial Chiefs who regarded To'Gajah as an interloper. When Clifford arrived at Penjom he found the place seething with excitement. He was informed that the Kapitan China of Lipis and lesser Chinese capitalists had spent thirty thousand dollars in developing the area, and that, with the advent of the company, this outlay was now lost and hundreds of miners thrown out of employment. The Malays too suffered severely, as Malay gold workings had been taken over by the company without compensation. When the Orang Kaya of Lipis protested, a European assistant of the company drew a pistol and threatened to shoot him.

[1] Appendix IV, Document No. 12.

[2] The gold workings at Selinsing were pre-historic. d'Eredia (ca. 1599) mentioned Jelai as a gold-producing district (J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII, part I, p. 52). Abdullah Munshi made reference to the Jelai mines on the occasion of his visit to Pahang in 1838.

Whole villages were included in the concession, and the villagers were liable to be expropriated at the whim of the company. Before Clifford's arrival the dispossessed Chinese miners, to the number of several hundreds, had contemplated an attack on the company's buildings at Penjom, but the Lipis Chief restrained them.

Stuart, the manager of Jalis, presented the company's case. It was admitted that the land had been in the possession of Chinese and Malay miners, but he contended that they had made only a precarious living out of it ; if the Sultan chose to ignore their claims it was no concern of the company which was willing to allow the old occupiers to work, provided that they paid a royalty of ten per cent. Stuart added that he was prepared to employ dispossessed Chinese miners at a good wage. Clifford suggested an arrangement whereby the Chinese should be allowed to continue in occupation of their workings on payment to the company of the tribute of ten per cent which formerly they had paid to the Sultan's agents. The manager agreed to this suggestion and the Chinese agitation ceased.

Shaikh Kechil, one of Ahmad's favourites, was encountered in Ulu Pahang. He had been instructed by his master to obtain a copy of the warrant whereby To'Raja was authorised to hold land, and to issue a proclamation in which the Sultan warned his subjects that those who claimed land in the interior should make good their claim without delay as in another six months European miners in large numbers would arrive in Pahang, and unclaimed land would be handed over to them. This proclamation alarmed the people as they knew of no way by which they could establish their claim to the lands of which they were in possession.

While Clifford was at Penjom, Maharaja Perba arrived with one hundred men armed to the teeth with gun, creese and spear, but on peaceable intent. The advent of European miners was a source of great anxiety to the Jelai Chief ; he foresaw trouble which he was powerless to avert as the Europeans cared nothing for his authority, and the Raja was too far off, effectively to influence them. Maharaja Perba had just received a letter from his ruler in which was defined the attitude that he should adopt towards Engku Muda Mansur ; the Sultan's brother should be advised not to delay in presenting himself to the Raja ; if he omitted to pay his respects, Ahmad would regard the omission as a sign of disaffection ; To'Raja should not countenance any action which savoured of disloyalty to his ruler.[1]

At Pulau Tawar Hugh Clifford met To'Gajah whose services to the Penjom Company had earned the eulogies of the manager. According to Tengku Samat's followers, the enemies of the Pulau

[1]Appendix IV, Document No. X.

Tawar Chief, To'Gajah oppressed his people, forbade them to contract a marriage unless they slaughtered a buffalo and gave him the head ; if they disobeyed he fined them heavily ; if the fine was not paid he raided their houses and property and carried off their wives and daughters ; if they resisted, he killed them ; there was no redress as the ruler would entertain no complaint against his favourite. To'Gajah was a powerful Chief though of lowly origin, feared by his people, and the ruler's " spear-head " in Ulu Pahang. He received the Governor's delegate in a cordial manner, and expressed his pleasure at the anticipated advent of Europeans to the country.

As the Singapore mission neared Pekan, Mansur, fearing death by poison, became nervous. The real reason for Ahmad's dislike of his brother was that, in spite of the fact that he had already agreed to recognize him as his successor, he wished his son Mahmud to be his heir.

On 18 March 1887 Clifford presented the Governor's letter to the Raja, and when a favourable opportunity occurred, suggested that Ahmad should conclude a treaty with the British Government similar to that made by Johore at the Colonial Office on 11 December 1885. The reasons adduced for the making of an agreement were the probable influx in the near future of large numbers of Europeans into the country, the necessity for the establishment of legal machinery to deal with disputes and misunderstandings which were bound to arise between the people of the country and the new-comers, the disturbed condition of Pahang, and the difficulty which would be experienced by the Straits Government, in the absence of a treaty, of helping Pahang in the event of foreign invasion. Ahmad asked for time to consult his Chiefs. Clifford was informed that this consultation was a mere formality as the Raja would be bound to follow the advice of his three most powerful favourites, To'Gajah, Tuan Hitam, and Orang Kaya Bakti to whom a closer relationship between the Straits Government and Pahang would mean a loss of power and perquisites. Negotiations were almost at a standstill and Clifford's mission was likely to have proved a failure when the arrival in Pekan of the Dato' Mantĕri of Johore changed the position. Whatever were the motives which inspired the Johore Sultan, his influence was used in favour of the British, and on 10 April 1887 Clifford left for Singapore with a letter from Ahmad addressed to the Governor in which the Pahang ruler asked for a treaty.

CHAPTER X.

THE BRITISH AGENCY (1887-1888).

At the end of April 1887 Hugh Clifford, appointed by the Governor to conclude the negotiations for a treaty, returned to Pahang in the *S.S. Sea-Belle*, accompanied by the Mantĕri of Johore, Raja Haji Mahmud of Selangor, and Raja Uteh a foreign Malay who had made his home in Perak.

He persuaded Ahmad to agree to the creation of a Council to advise the Sultan on matters of State, including the definition of the boundaries of the Chiefs' districts, their jurisdiction, and their status.

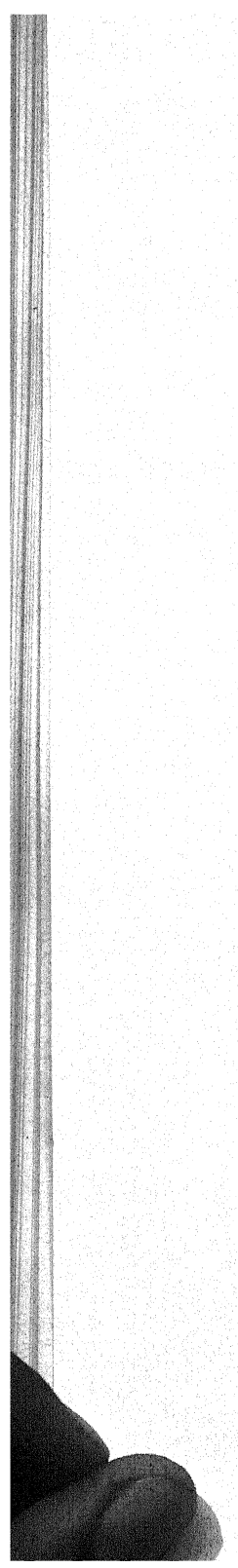
Hearing that the British were about to establish a protectorate over Pahang, Singapore business men had lost no time in obtaining a footing in the country, wisely forwarding their interests by associating with themselves Malays or Arabs. By the expenditure of a few thousand dollars scattered among Ahmad's favourites they had little difficulty in securing huge tracts of land. In one day (April 6th 1887), in the same month in which Hugh Clifford arrived in Pahang, Saiyid Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Sakaf to whom, it was rumoured, the Sultan was heavily indebted, was granted concessions to exploit the district of Cheka (in which venture he was joined by Engku 'Abdu'l-Majid of Johore), Raub and Yong. Within the next few days he succeeded in obtaining rights over the regions of Tanum and Kechau. In the same month F. G. Davidson was granted a concession over the watershed of the Telom. Siah Song Siah, in the preceding March, had been given a licence to prospect the Tras. Many of these undertakings were financed by European and Chinese firms in Singapore.

At the end of 1887 the greater part of Ulu Pahang was covered by concessions for the privilege of which it was stipulated that the holders should pay to the Sultan a royalty of ten per cent on the value of minerals and produce exported from the land "in accordance with the custom of the country." The territorial Chiefs watched with impotent rage this wholesale bartering away of their fiefs.

The Sultan cordially greeted Mr. Clifford and introduced him to his royal consort Tengku Empuan and their daughter Tengku Long, the wife of the Sultan of Trengganu. In reply to a question by Ahmad, Clifford explained that the British Government did not propose to intervene in Trengganu because that country was under the suzerainty of Siam.

On May the 21st the Sultan provided an entertainment in honour of the Governor's delegate, and his guests from Johore: the Mantĕri, Dato' Sĕri Amar 'diraja, Dato' Jahya, Engku Haji Muhammad, and Engku 'Abdu'llah. The feast lasted till 1 a.m.,

His Highness Tengku Mahmud ibni Sultan Ahmad, Tengku Besar and Regent (later Sultan).



Ahmad called at Clifford's home at 5.30 a.m., bade farewell to his Johore guests at 6.30 a.m., and returned to Clifford's residence which he did not leave till 8.30 a.m.

In June 1887, in spite of Clifford's protests, the Sultan approved the application of Tan Hay Seng of Singapore for a concession in the "rivers and creeks" of Tresang. In these bargainings the Sultan was invariably represented by one or more of his favourites who took good care that their services did not go unrewarded. Tan Hay Seng paid ten thousand dollars for Tresang. The Sultan gave a small fraction of this sum to the Bendahara, Engku Muda and Temenggong in order that the responsibility for the sale of the lands might not be fastened on him alone by the objecting Lipis Chief.

At a meeting of the State Council held on June 10th it was decided to recall the warrants under which the territorial Chiefs held their land, and to promulgate a penal code based on Islamic law modified by the Pahang version of laws known as the *Kanun*.

Abu-Bakar had sent to Pahang a translation of his treaty with Britain. Clifford suspected that the Sultan of Johore had advised his neighbour to reject the clause in the proposed treaty whereby it was stipulated that land should not be alienated without the Governor's concurrence, and to oppose the granting of authority to the British Agent to entertain complaints from Pahang subjects. Ahmad, supported by the members of Council, claimed that he should have a say in the appointment and removal of his Agent. He suggested an amendment to the draft treaty to provide for the succession of his descendants to the throne. Engku Muda Mansur, whom Singapore had forced Ahmad to acknowledge as his heir, stood aloof. The Sultan, ever eager to humiliate his brother, and fearing that he would gain adherents, forbade him to redeem debt-slaves.

Ahmad despatched To'Gajah, Imam Pĕrang Indera Makhota, the Chief of Chĕnor and Haji Muhammad Nor to Singapore in August. It was rumoured that the Pahang emissaries engaged the services of a lawyer to advise the Sultan on the best method of blocking the negotiations for a treaty. To' Gajah, the chief opponent of the agreement, with his companions then visited the Johore ruler from whom, report had it, he bore a message to his master to the effect that Abu-Bakar had addressed a remonstrance to the Secretary of State complaining of the Governor's pressure on Pahang.

On November 16th 1885, the Sultan had granted to Knaggs, Gower, and Cameron the Selinsing concession: "exclusive mining rights over the land in the upper reaches of the Kermoi and other rivers as far as the mouth of Telom on the left hand-side of the river Jelai going up stream," the southern boundary being the Penjom concession. As it was worded, the lease included

the Jelai Kechil, Maharaja Perba's especial preserve. To'Raja, who had not realized that his river was affected until the lessees commenced prospecting operations there in 1887, wrote a furious protest to the Sultan. On July 19th 1887 the Sultan replied in a conciliatory but misleading letter in which he stated that Knaggs and his partners had been given the Selinsing only, and authority merely to prospect other lands. He requested To'Raja, without fail, to come at once to Pekan where the Governor was expected to arrive presently, and invited him to attend a meeting of Council at which critical affairs of State would be discussed :

> " When the Chiefs assemble we shall be able to take counsel, to arrange the organization of the government of the country, and to define the respective territories of the Chiefs .... However grave the misunderstandings which have arisen between us you should come down-stream and meet us in order that our differences may be amicably composed. We have no divergent interests .... "[1]

To'Raja obeyed the Sultan's command and proceeded to the capital where he informed Hugh Clifford that he intended to make a strong protest against the leasing of his land. On August the 19th Maharaja Perba interviewed the Sultan who issued a sealed warrant to the Jelai magnate confirming his title to the Jelai Benar (Jelai Kechil).

On August 20th three of To'Gajah's sons were detected in intrigues with women of the palace, but the Sultan was afraid to inflict the usual penalty for such misdemeanours, death. To' Gajah was in disfavour because, the tobacco farm having been abolished on his recommendation, he bought fifty to eighty pikuls of tobacco to do a little trading on his own account. The Sultan confiscated the tobacco and revived the farm.

Knaggs promised To'Raja two thousand dollars for a mining concession at Kuala Selinsing, and five thousand dollars for every engine installed by his company, capable of crushing three hundred pikuls of quartz in twenty-four hours. Tuan Hitam and Haji Mat Nur asked Knaggs to pay the Sultan and to ignore To'Raja. They then handed Knaggs a lease, written in Malay, according to the terms of which he was required to pay ten thousand dollars for every engine. Knaggs, angry at the deception, declared the deal off whereupon the Sultan's favourites, having been promised fifty dollars each if they got the concession signed, induced the Sultan to put his seal to a lease on the original terms.

Wan Koteh, a younger brother of To'Raja, informed Clifford on August 29th that the Sultan had forbidden his Chiefs, under pain of incurring his displeasure, to pay unauthorised visits to the Governor's Agent. He added that he proposed to lodge a

[1]Papers of Maharaja Perba (MS.).

protest with the Sultan against the alienation to Saiyid Muhammad of the Tanum district which, Wan Koteh claimed, belonged to him.

Earlier in the month the Governor, Sir Frederick Weld, had called at Pekan with a draft treaty for Ahmad's signature. The Sultan could not, however, be induced to agree to the terms, and Sir Frederick Weld returned to Singapore. Hugh Clifford who had been left behind to carry on negociations found progress well-nigh impossible. Ahmad declared his willingness to sign a treaty, but expressed his inability to act because of the opposition of the Chiefs. The latter, when consulted by Clifford, pointed out that their ruler had absolute authority and that the decision lay with him. And thus the game went on. The Chiefs were divided. To'Gajah while welcoming the advent of European mining companies, a material source of revenue to him, did not relish the prospect of curtailment of his power by British officers. The Jelai and Lipis magnates, dissatisfied at the alienation, without their consent, of large areas of land comprised in their fiefs, and jealous of To'Gajah, were inclined to support an agreement with Singapore.

Clifford negociated direct with both Ahmad and the Chiefs. A letter from him to To'Raja, dated September 18th, is extant. He informed the Jelai Chief of the Sultan's declaration that the conclusion of a treaty was a matter for decision by the Chiefs; he had been instructed by the Governor to obtain a reply without further delay, and he pointed out the resentment that would undoubtedly be felt by his Government if the promise made by Ahmad in April were not implemented by a treaty.[1]

The State Council now made up its mind to accept the draft agreement, and on October the 8th a treaty was concluded in the following terms:

> "AGREEMENT on certain points touching the relations of Her Majesty's Government of the Straits Settlements with the Government of the Independent State of Pahang, made between His Excellency Sir Frederick Aloysius Weld, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor of the Straits Settlements, and His Highness Raja Ahmad Yang-dipertuan of Pahang.
>
> ARTICLE I.
>
> "The two Governments will at all times cordially co-operate in the settlement of a peaceful population in their respective neighbouring territories, and in the joint defence of those territories from external hostile attack and in the mutual surrender of persons accused or convicted of any crime or offence under such conditions as may be arranged between the two Governments.

[1] *Op. cit.*

ARTICLE II.

"His Highness the Raja of Pahang undertakes if requested by the Government of the Straits Settlements to co-operate in making arrangements for facilitating trade and transit communication overland through the State of Pahang with the State of Johor and other neighbouring States.

ARTICLE III.

" If the Government of the Straits Settlements shall at any time desire to appoint a British Officer as Agent to live within the State of Pahang having functions similar to those of a Consular Officer, His Highness the Raja will be prepared to provide free of cost a suitable site within his territory whereon a residence may be erected for occupation by such Officer.

ARTICLE IV.

" Any coinage in the currency of the Straits Settlements which may be required for the use of the Government of Pahang shall be supplied to it by the Government of the Straits Settlements at rates not higher than those at which similar coinage is supplied to Governments of the Malay Protected States and under the same limitations as to amount.

His Highness the Raja on his part undertakes that the applications of his Government for subsidiary coinage shall be strictly limited by the legitimate requirements of the inhabitants of the State of Pahang and that the coinage so issued shall be subject to the same limitations as regards legal tender as are in force in the Straits Settlements.

ARTICLE V.

" The Governor of the Straits Settlements will at all times to the utmost of his power take whatever steps may be necessary to protect the Government and territory of Pahang from any external hostile attacks, and for these or for similar purposes Her Majesty's Officers shall at all times have free access to the waters of the State of Pahang ; and it is agreed that those waters extend to three miles from the shore of the State.

ARTICLE VI.

" The Raja of Pahang undertakes on his part that he will not without the knowledge and consent of Her Majesty's Government negotiate any treaty or enter into any engagement with any foreign State, or interfere in the politics or administration of any native State, or make any grant or

concession to other than British subjects or British Companies or persons of the Chinese, Malay or other Oriental Race, or enter into any political correspondence with any foreign State.

It is further agreed that if occasion should arise for political correspondence between His Highness the Raja and any foreign State, such correspondence shall be conducted through Her Majesty's Government, to whom His Highness makes over the guidance and control of his foreign relations.

ARTICLE VII.

"Whereas His Highness the Raja of Pahang has made known to the Governor of the Straits Settlements that it is the desire of his Chiefs and people that he should assume the title of Sultan, it is further agreed that, in consideration of the loyal friendship and constant affection His Highness has shown to the Government of Her Majesty the Queen and Empress and of the stipulations contained in this Memorandum, he and his heirs and successors lawfully succeeding according to Malay custom shall in future be acknowledged as His Highness the Sultan of Pahang and shall be so addressed.

In witness whereof the said Sir Frederick Aloysius Weld, and his said Highness the Raja of Pahang have signed this Agreement the eighth day of October the year of Christ one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven, answering to the twentieth day of Muharrum the year of the Hedjira one thousand three hundred and five....."[1]

The appointment of British Agent, for which Article III of the treaty made provision, was filled by Hugh Clifford. His influence in the country was only gradually felt, but from the beginning he adopted an uncompromising attitude towards acts of cruelty and injustice to which the mediaeval-minded government was sometimes prone. While he was absent in Singapore, just before the conclusion of the treaty, two women were tortured, and two Sakai boys who had stolen a minute fragment of gold off a creese were ducked and flogged; one died and the other was not expected to recover.

On October 9th 1887 signed documents of the treaty were sent to Singapore. All business was suspended for a month in celebration of the marriage between the Sultan's daughter and the Bendahara's son Che Engku Ali.

Clifford, in November, commenced the erection of a new house on the down-stream side of the Sultan's palace: on the site of the

[1] "Treaties and Engagements Affecting the Malay States and Borneo" by W. G. Maxwell and W. S. Gibson (pp. 66-68).

ancient fort called Kota Biram.[1] Ahmad had objected to a site chosen up-stream.

On December 3rd Shannon, the new manager of Penjom mines, accidentally shot and killed himself in pulling a Winchester rifle out of the rack by the barrel. He was buried at Ketapang.

One of Clifford's men, Dollah, was assaulted by one of the Sultan's followers on December 10th and fought a crowd of assailants. Weapons were drawn but the arrival on the scene of Clifford and the Sultan put an end to the quarrel. Ahmad made it known that his follower would be severely punished, but insisted that Clifford's man should be fined twenty dollars for fighting in the precincts of the palace. Mr. Clifford admitted the infringement of the Malay law and paid the fine (for which, on the Governor's authority, he was subsequently recouped from the public funds).

On December 17th The Sultan commanded To'Gajah and Imam Pĕrang Indĕra Mahkota to discuss with Mr. Clifford the matter of reforms. The Agent suggested (i) the introduction of a code of laws based on the English or Johore model modified to suit local conditions, (ii) the creation of a high Court to sit at Pekan, and (iii) the conferring of power in varying degrees upon the Chiefs and village head-men to enforce the code in their districts and villages respectively. The Sultan expressed his pleasure at the proposal and asked Clifford to prepare a code. The Agent completed the draft code on December 22nd. It was considered premature to remedy debt-slavery, but the code put slaves on the same footing as free-men in respect of injuries done to them.

On December 28th a dispute arose regarding the Kuantan concession which had been granted to Paterson by the late Bendahara. The Sultan's men drove out Paterson's employees, and Shelford, on behalf of the lessee, claimed reparation.

In Ulu Pahang alone, by the end of 1887, huge concessions of land had been granted at Penjom, Cheka, Selinsing, Liang, Raub, Sempam, Serau, Tanum, Telom, Tras, Tresang, Ulu Lipis and Yong. Early in 1889, in Singapore, there were extensive gambling transactions in these undertakings. It may be said here that the Raub concession was the only one in Ulu Pahang which justified itself, though serious efforts were made to develop, and a large amount of capital was invested in the Penjom and Selinsing lands. The Raub grant still continues as the Raub Australian Gold Mines. The Penjom and Selinsing companies ceased operations early owing to poor management, depletion of capital, and to difficulties

[1]Probably the stockade known to the author of the "Malay Annals" as Kota Pahang (*Sejarah Melayu*, Shellabear, 2nd edition, re-printed, 1915, p. 197).

encountered during the Pahang rebellion. The other concessions in Ulu Pahang (on which little serious work was done) were cancelled early in the nineties.

On January 12th 1888 the Sultan approved the draft code of laws but added provisions regarding the harbouring of runaway slaves. Clifford opposed Saiyid Hasan's effort to obtain a monopoly to introduce miners and sell land for the Sultan. The Arab was unsuccessful, though he was prepared to pay ready money for the privilege. Raja Mahmud of Selangor, the captain of Clifford's body-guard, obtained leave of two months to attend the funeral ceremonies of his father Tengku Penglima Raja.

On January 21st Clifford accompanied the Sultan to a bull-fight and, as they walked back, took the opportunity to urge Ahmad to give the necessary powers to the Chiefs before the distribution of the printed code of laws. He was anxious to gain the prince's confidence by making it clear that no action would be taken without the royal sanction. Mr. Clifford again met Ahmad at a bull-fight on January 23rd and warned him that the alienation of huge tracts of land would imperil the development of the country and dwarf the public revenue. The Sultan and many of his Chiefs, regardless of justice to the peasants, were responsible for this reckless bartering away of lands.

On the death of Su Kim, the holder of the salt monopoly, on January 26th the Orang Kaya Bakti (a Tamil) seized his property, which was valued at ten thousand dollars, to secure a debt of one thousand five hundred dollars to the Sultan, and of one thousand dollars to himself. The relatives of the deceased were ready to pay his debts, and the Orang Kaya promised to restore to them the net assets of the estate. The Sultan's favourite did not carry out his promise and in the following month the Agent protested to Ahmad against the seizure. The Sultan replied that a will had been discovered in which he himself, an old friend of the deceased, had been named sole beneficiary, but it was unlikely that he would gain anything out of the estate as the debts exceeded the assets.

The Chiefs of the interior had been detained at Pekan for six months. As cholera raged in Trengganu, the British Agent requested the Sultan to impose quarantine regulations.

By January 30th, it appeared to Clifford that the Sultan of Pahang was amply fulfilling his engagements; if he continued to allow necessary reforms to be effected, it was anticipated that Pahang would soon be governed at least as well and as justly as the neighbouring State of Johore. But striking results could not be expected while the Government was administered by the present Chiefs.

In the following month Fraser, the manager of mines at Ulu Tras (Bukit Fraser), obtained further concessions for his company at Kuantan, Triang, Rompin, and the coast rivers—a total area of

about two thousand square miles. In 1887 his rights in Kuantan had been extended for a period of two years on promise of payment of a sum of twenty thousand dollars, but, as the money was not forthcoming, the concession was cancelled.

Clifford proposed that legal powers be given to the various Chiefs as follows :

(1) to the Major Chiefs (Orang Besar Berempat)—power to inflict imprisonment up to a maximum period of six months, to impose fines up to one hundred dollars, and to hear civil suits up to an amount of five hundred dollars ;

(2) to the Secondary Chiefs (Orang Besar Berlapan)—power to inflict imprisonment up to three months, to impose fines up to fifty dollars, and to hear civil suits up to an amount of two hundred and fifty dollars ;

(3) to the Minor Chiefs known as To'Muda—power to inflict imprisonment up to one month, to impose fines up to ten dollars, and to hear civil suits up to an amount of fifty dollars ;

(4) to village head-men (Ketua Kampong)—power to impose fines up to five dollars, and to hear civil suits up to an amount of twenty-five dollars.

In February 1888 Go Hui, a Chinese British subject who carried on the business of a shop-keeper in Pekan, was stabbed in the mouth, near the palace, at night. Clifford requested the Sultan to offer a reward for the capture of the aggressor, pointing out that, if the Chinese were intimidated from settling in Pahang, the country would never be developed. The Bendahara, the chief judge, attributed the deed to devils! Clifford retorted that no one had seen devils, but many had seen the creese-stab. Rumour had it that Tuan Muda, commander of the royal body-guard, had stabbed Go Hui on the orders of his master, who coveted the wounded man's wife. No one, without the Sultan's instructions, would have dared to attempt a murderous assault in the vicinity of the palace, or to lay hands on a Pĕkan Chinese, a member of a community that had always enjoyed the special protection of the Raja. It appeared that the weapon employed was a *kĕris melela* which, in Pahang, was used only by Pĕkan Malays.

The response to the Agent's request was the issue of an unsigned and unsealed proclamation offering a reward of one hundred dollars to any person who revealed the identity of the author of Go Hui's " accident," whether it was caused by " man, spirits, or Satan ! " Go Hui handed all his possessions to Clifford for safe keeping, including one thousand three hundred dollars in cash, as he was afraid to keep them in his house. The Sultan sent word to Go Hui's wife that of course he would not detain her

(a British subject) if she desired to go to Singapore, but he felt disgraced that she had given her valuables to Mr. Clifford. He added that he would rather allow Pahang to become jungle than to be governed by the English. As he had not been accorded an interview since 11th February Clifford sent a letter to Ahmad in which he announced his intention to send Go Hui to Singapore, and enquired whether the Sultan meant to bring into force the draft code of laws. Early in March the Sultan replied that he would not prevent Mr. Clifford from sending Go Hui out of the country, but that it was only just that his wife, Ah Chu, should first settle her debt of three thousand two hundred dollars on which a monthly interest of five per cent was chargeable. Regarding the draft code, Ahmad declared that he would govern Pahang as long as life lasted.

It was proposed to tell the Sultan that if Ah Chu owed him money it was open to him to sue her in Singapore. Clifford saw Engku Muda, and the Bendahara who warned him that the removal of Go Hui might "end in loss of life." He then interviewed the Sultan who asked for "mercy and consideration," and stated that the debt was incurred by Ah Chu's mother. Clifford refused to let the woman stay in Pekan, and declared that he would remove these British subjects to Singapore on the morrow. On the same night Go Hui died. The Agent then visited the *Capitan China* whom he found gambling with the Bendahara and Engku Muda, and informed him of Go Hui's death. The Sultan agreed to leave the widowed Ah Chu at her house till the arrival of her relatives from Singapore.

The first court of justice was opened, on March 5th, by the Bendahara, the Temenggong, Che Engku Ali, Imam Pĕrang Indera Mahkota, To'Raja and others. The Judges were Haji Andak, and Haji 'Abdu'r-Rahman.

On March 10th Ah Chu complained to Clifford that the Sultan was about to have her removed to the house of the *Capitan China* where there were no women.

On March 15th it came to the Agent's notice that the Bendahara and the Temenggong were interfering with the decisions of the new Judges. Some accused persons were not allowed to call witnesses. People were fined without trial. Occasionally the court thought fit to penalize both complainants and accused. One Zainal had bought a buffalo, thirty years before, which produced five calves now increased to twenty-two: the heirs of the original owner claimed the twenty-two animals. The Bendahara, who tried the case heard no witnesses, confiscated all the buffaloes, and fined Zainal one hundred and two dollars for perjury. In addition he confiscated Zainal's house, land, and the balance of his movable property on the ground that he had wounded and seduced a woman.

The fact that the offence had occurred twenty years earlier, and that the aggrieved woman had subsequently married Zainal did not weigh with the court.

Tengku Mahmud, the Sultan's eldest son, at this period gave considerable assistance to Clifford who noted a striking improvement in his conduct.

At an interview on April the 1st at 2 a.m., Ahmad, who greeted Clifford with his usual cordiality, promised to do his best to remedy the mal-administration of justice, but the Agent doubted whether the Sultan really desired any change in the government of the country. In Clifford's opinion, physical or mental exertion no longer appealed to the Raja who cared only for power and mundane pleasures. His cousin, the Bendahara, was interested only in his share of the fines.

The Agent advised the Sultan to grant to the Pahang Mining Company one thousand acres of the area which they were working at Kuantan, but feared that he would restore to the company the whole concession for cash or sell it to others.

Clifford made a tour of the interior in April. At Pulau Ganchong he found that the Sultan had just appointed one of his favourites as head-man, and had ignored the claims of the family of the hereditary chief. Wan Husain of Chini showed the Agent a sealed document given to him by Bendahara Ali whereby all men were forbidden to interfere with him except " the Bendahara and the Sultan of Lingga." Clifford reached Temerloh on April 15th. The Orang Kaya Indĕra Sĕgara of Temerloh had died in Klang during the Selangor war, and the vacancy thus created had not been filled as none of the dead Chief's relatives could afford to pay the customary nomination fee of one thousand dollars demanded by the Raja. The Council of four consisted, therefore, only of the Shahbandar, the Orang Kaya Indĕra Pahlawan of Chenor, and the Maharaja Perba of Jelai.

To'Muda Ueh (Ismail), head-man of Kerdau, complained that one of the Sultan's men had been promoted over him. Many of the elders in the interior informed the Agent that they were awaiting the help of the Governor against rampant injustice and oppression *saperti bumi menantikan hujan*, "like the earth awaiting the rain."

McFadyen was encountered on his journey to Jelai, to prospect the Yong concession. Sayid Muhammad al-Sakaf held the rights over the Gunong Raja concession on the Selangor frontier, Cheka, Tanum, and all Raub. McFadyen informed Clifford that he was unable to prospect his area within the period of five years allowed by the lease, and that no European company could pay, on a gold-mine's gross output, the royalty of ten per cent which was imposed. The timber on the Jelai grant was more valuable than the minerals.

A Mr. Watson had been given a lease of land comprising an area of two miles square in the Bentong district (one of the smallest of the concessions). He was required to commence mining within three years. At the time of the Agent's visit, Watson was chiefly engaged in purchasing tin from the local Malays at twenty dollars a *pikul*, but he hoped soon to procure Chinese coolies to work his mines. Not long afterwards he obtained a lease for a period of fifty years over two thousand acres of land at Gambang (Ulu Lepar). The lease was liable to cancellation after two years if mining operations were not seriously undertaken.

At Pulau Tawar the Agent met two of the sons of To'Gajah, Mat Kilau (of whom we shall hear later) and Awang Long, and established friendly relations with them. He records that, while their father was at Pekan, he had far less difficulty in getting business done than he had after To'Gajah's departure from the capital, as the Pulau Tawar Chief had access to the Sultan at all times, and did not hesitate to voice his opinions.

Clifford found that Lipis and Jelai were without their Chiefs as the Orang Kaya of Lipis and To'Raja were still being detained at Pekan, under various pretences, by Ahmad who, after Engku Muda Mansur's venture in 1884, was inclined to distrust the activities of the territorial magnates of Ulu Pahang. To'Gajah, backed by the Sultan's authority, was extending his influence in Raub and Lipis, but was meeting with sturdy opposition from the people of Dong who protested that they could understand the Sultan's written command only when it was interpreted to them by their hereditary Chief, the Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa of Lipis.

The rural population was sparse owing to the prolonged internal feuds which had the effect of driving the peasants into other States. Rice and sugar were grown; there were many buffaloes. The people were poverty-stricken owing to the failure of the rice crops; padi was sold at five dollars a hundred *gantang* (double the usual price at that season); the peasants sold many fowls and buffaloes at Klang. The Chinese did not yet dare to settle in Pahang in any numbers. The Agent had often impressed upon the Sultan the importance of obtaining a large Chinese population to develop the country.

On May 8th, a week after Clifford had left Pekan for the interior, a fight occured between the Sultan's men and the followers of his son Tengku Mahmud, in the course of which one on each side was killed.

To'Muda Long, the second son of Sentul, the Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa of Lipis, distinguished himself by eloping with one of the palace serving girls. Two hundred men turned out to kill him, but owing to the representations of Clifford's followers he was allowed to go unmolested. The women in the palace were not the

Sultan's concubines and owed no money, but were shut up by him, forbidden to marry, and severely punished if they misbehaved.

In Clifford's absence, the Sultan had headed a party that removed Ah Chu, screaming, to the house of the *Kapitan China* where she was forcibly detained. On the Agent's return to Pekan, the Bendahara requested him to permit her detention till the arrival of the Sultan who happened to be absent from the capital. Clifford insisted on her release, but undertook not to send her to Singapore till Ahmad's return.

On June 13th the Sultan commissioned his son, Tengku Mahmud, to sit in the Criminal Court, and instructed him to consult the Bendahara only in very grave cases. This new arrangement greatly facilitated the administration of justice.

Go Hui died early in March 1888. According to the *Hikayat Pahang*, he was not a British subject and there was no indication that his death was not accidental. He certainly met with foul play, and Clifford was not likely to have been deceived as to his nationality. The Agent's attempts to procure redress for the murder were unavailing, and on June 23rd the Governor himself, in spite of Ahmad's request for a postponement of the visit, arrived at Pekan. His Excellency demanded that the Sultan should accept the advise of a resident British officer. " The more vehement was the Governor in his demands the more obstinate was the Raja in refusing them." Tengku Mahmud helped in the cause of peace. The Governor left Pahang on June the 29th without having effected a settlement. The Chiefs held meetings daily. It was rumoured that the Sultan intended to ask His Excellency to allow him more time for consideration. He hoped for help from the Sultan of Johore. The Chiefs of the interior were summoned to Pekan. The people became panic-stricken, packed their valuables, and prepared for flight on the first sign of disturbances.

The Pahang account states that, on his return to Singapore, the Governor accepted an offer of assistance from the Johore ruler, Abu-Bakar, who, with his Chiefs, Dato' Mantĕri and Dato' Amar, proceeded to Pĕkan. There, Abu-Bakar swore a solemn oath that his efforts were entirely directed towards the best interests of Pahang, and advised the Sultan to submit to the Governor's demands. Ahmad summoned his Chiefs of Jelai, Chĕnor, Semantan, To'Gajah and others to a council. A few were in favour of fighting, others recommended the payment of blood-money (*diat*) and, if it were refused, passive resistance: " If we are shelled by a war-ship let us retreat without fighting." Other Chiefs agreed to let the decision rest entirely with the Sultan. Ahmad at once vetoed the proposal to offer armed resistance. He did not disdain to seek the advice of a Mr. Hole, a European merchant who resided at Pekan (after whom Hole Island on the Pahang river is named). Finally, the influence of the Johore

ruler, Tengku Mahmud, and the more moderate Chiefs carried the day, and on August 24th 1888 the Sultan wrote a letter to Governor Sir Cecil Clementi Smith of which the following is a translation :

> " We make known to our friend, with reference to the correspondence between ourself and our friend, that we have reconsidered our friend's words, and all that our friend has written. We have also had time to consult with our relation His Highness the Sultan of Johor. Our friend will remember that we have already acknowledged our responsibility for the murder of Jo Hui (Go Hui), a British subject. We hope that no more will be said about this matter, and that Her Majesty the Queen will be satisfied with our expression of regret for what has occurred, and with our giving a guarantee for the future, that is to say, that Her Majesty the Queen should send us a British Officer in order that he may assist us in matters relating to the Government of our country, on a similar system to that existing in the Malay States under English protection. We now ask for such an Officer. In asking this we trust that the British Government will assure to us and our successors all our proper privileges and powers according to our system of government, and will undertake that they will not interfere with the old customs of our country which have good and proper reasons, and also with all matters relating to our religion. There is nothing more but our best respects to our friend.
>
> Written on the 16th of Zal Hejah 1304. (24th August, 1888)." [1]

On September 8th the Governor replied, accepting the settlement proposed by Ahmad :

> " I inform my friend that the Sultan of Johore duly delivered to me my friend's letter of 24th August. The contents of this letter I forwarded by telegraph to England to be laid before the Great Queen, and I prayed that Her Majesty would accept the expression of my friend's deep regret at what had taken place in regard to the murder of British subjects, and would approve of the proposed request of my friend that a British Resident should be placed in Pahang, who would assist my friend in the administration of the Government of the country, which would be taken as a guarantee against all future similar and other troubles.
>
> " To-day I have received the commands of the Great Queen authorising me to carry out the arrangement which my friend has set out in his letter of the 24th instant, and I will therefore soon send a British Resident to my friend—an

[1] " Treaties and Engagements Affecting the Malay States and Borneo " by W. G. Maxwell and W. S. Gibson (pp. 68-69).

Officer of experience, who knows Malay manners and customs, and who is well-intentioned towards my friend personally and desirous of promoting the best interests of my friend's country. I rely on my friend treating the British Resident with entire frankness, taking him into full confidence as regards all public matters. and loyally carrying out the arrangement which has now been finally made.

" In conclusion, I send my best wishes for my friend's health, and for the prosperity of my friend's country. Singapore, 8th September, 1888." [1]

[1] *Op. cit.*, (p. 69).

CHAPTER XI.

EARLY YEARS OF THE PROTECTORATE (1888-1891).

John Pickersgill Rodger was appointed the first Resident of Pahang in October, 1888, but full administration was not assumed until the 1st of July, 1889, on which date Collectorates, under European Officers, were established in the Districts of Pekan, Kuala Pahang, Kuantan, Rompin, Temerloh, and Ulu Pahang. These officers, then styled " Collector and Magistrate, " like the District Officers of the present day, had magisterial as well as executive powers. In addition, they had charge of the local police. The European personnel of the new administration were : F. Belfield at Pekan, W. C. Michell in Ulu Pahang, A. H. Wall at Kuantan, E. A. Wise at Temerloh, and W. W. Michell at Kuala Pahang.

Courts were established, and a police force organized by Captain Syers who had been temporarily seconded from the Selangor Police. The Supreme Court consisted of Tengku Mahmud, the Sultan's eldest son, the Bendahara, the Temenggong, and the Resident. A State Council was formed, comprising the Sultan, the Resident, Tengku Mahmud, Engku Muda Mansur, Engku Andak, Maharaja Perba of Jelai, To'Gajah, the Orang Kaya of Chenor, the Orang Kaya Shahbandar, the Bendahara, and the Imam Pĕrang Indera Mahkota.

The Sultan's revenue for 1888 was estimated to have been $3,000 *per mensem*, and the population was reckoned at 35,000 souls.

On the 22nd July 1889 the Sultan appointed Tengku Mahmud Regent, with full powers :

> " We Sultan Ahmad Muatham Shah, son of the deceased Ali, to whom belongs the throne of the Kingdom of Pahang with all its dependencies hereby declare and proclaim that we have granted a *Titah* of authority to our eldest son Tengku Mahmud, and whereas we feel the burden of increasing age and infirmities and wish to retire from the cares of Government we with judgment and (after) full deliberation have established and confirmed our said son as our representative, in consultation with the British Resident to enact laws and issue regulations with reference to all matters concerning the administration of Government, and we acknowledge all his acts in settling State affairs as if they were our own.
>
> " And further we have granted a *Titah* to our said son, conferring on him full and complete authority, so that all our

Chiefs and Headmen must absolutely obey whatever commands are issued by him, since they are in every respect the same as our own."[1]

Tengku Mahmud's appointment greatly facilitated the transaction of public business, and later the Resident brought to the Governor's notice "the invaluable services rendered by this young Raja of whose character and ability I have a very high opinion."

Fifty years had elapsed between the date of the visit to Pahang of Abdullah Munshi and the establishment of the British Protectorate but conditions had changed little within that period. The common people lived under the severest disabilities. They were crushed by taxation and imposts levied on them by ruler and Chiefs alike. There were import or export duties on almost all commodities. Throughout many of the States in the Malay Peninsula the system of forced labour (*kerah* or *corvée*), whether in civil or war-like employment, was common and none suffered from this burden more than the Pahang peasants. During the internal struggles which preceded Ahmad's accession to power they were engaged, now with one set of contestants, now with the other. Their position corresponded with that of the serfs in the Middle Ages in Europe: they were inarticulate and had few, if any rights.

The commoners were divided into two classes, free-men (*merdheka*), and slaves. Three kinds of slavery were known in Pahang: *abdi*—non-Muhammadan slaves acquired by purchase or captured in war; *hamba berhutang* or *anak mas*—debt-slaves; and *orang hulur*—"outcastes" for debt.[2] The system of debt-slavery bore heavily on the people. If they got into debt and were unable to meet their liabilities they were declared slaves, and the persons of themselves and of their families were seized by the creditors. Once they became debt-slaves it was almost impossible for them to regain the status of free-men. Their children shared their fate; the offspring of slave-parents were born slaves. In other Malay States female slaves were often compelled to lead a life of prostitution to bring in money for their masters, but there is no record of the existence of this practice in Pahang. The *Kanun*, one of the few written codes of law known to the Malays, dealt mainly with slavery, but only from the viewpoint of the owner: the slave, apart from his value as a chattel, was ignored. On the establishment of the Protectorate no inconsiderable part of the population was found to be in a state of bondage for debt, and the problem thereby created was one of the first which had to be solved.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

[2] "Reinstatement of an Orang Hulur," (J. M. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV, Part II, 1926).

The Sultan exercised the ruler's immemorial prerogative of *droit du seigneur*, the right to compel all girls to pass through his harem. In 1888 there were three or four hundred girls and women attached to the royal house-hold, but only few of them were royal concubines.

The Sultan's orders were carried out by a band of men known as *budak raja, hamba raja*, or *juak-juak*, a lawless and turbulent rabble who terrorized the peasants, and were constantly engaged in intrigues with the women of the palace. Many of them were notorious criminals who had fled from the anger of their district Chief and taken refuge with the Sultan. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they were the scourge of the common people in Pahang.[1] The internal feuds of the nineteenth century, and the burden under which the people lived, had the effect of depopulating those parts of the country which had before been populous, and by 1888 the population had dwindled to about thirty-five thousand souls.

The most pressing problems which Rodger had to face were: the suppression of slavery, the regulation of the *corvée* or *kerah* system, the fixing of allowances for the Sultan and Chiefs and the withdrawal of the Chiefs' customary privileges of taxation, and the framing of regulations to govern land-tenure. The first two matters were dealt with by the enacting of the Slavery Regulations and Forced Labour Regulations. Slaves thenceforth had to be registered, their redemption fee was fixed, and no new slaves could be created. The peasants could not be compelled to work for more than two months in one year, they were allowed to provide substitutes, or they could compound their liability for a small payment. While engaged in forced labour they were entitled to food or, in lieu thereof, to payment. The Resident's object was, without at once effecting a change so radical as to be unworkable, to whittle away the Chiefs' powers of *corvée* until they had disappeared. It was the irony of fate that the *corvée* regulations, introduced by him to afford some measure of protection to the people, was one of the instruments used to influence the head-men and people against the new system.

The matter of political allowances was fraught with great difficulties, and in the event, was one of the main causes of the Pahang rebellion. Tengku Mahmud, the Regent, worked in close co-operation with the Resident, and it was his advice that Rodger sought when the Civil List was being prepared. According to the *Hikayat Pahang*, Che Abu-Bakar, the Penghulu of the Balai, was entrusted with the drafting of the List; he was an untrustworthy person who inserted the names of his friends and suppressed the names of his enemies; the List was submitted to the Resident who sent it to the Regent for confirmation; Tengku Mahmud, though he perceived that the names of many deserving

[1] *Supra*, pp. 61-62.

persons were omitted, raised no objection as he mistakenly thought that the document had received the Resident's approval; the List was then submitted to the Sultan at Pulau Tawar; Ahmad declared his intention to have it revised but forgot about the matter with the result that the original List was taken as confirmed, and allowances were allocated accordingly. This version of the *Hikayat Pahang* is mentioned as it bears upon the discontent which subsequently flared up owing to the omission to grant allowances, and to the inadequacy of the allowances which were granted.

The basis of the Land Regulations was a recognition of the old Malay law that, in the absence of written records, effective occupation constituted the occupier the owner of the land occupied. The new Regulations required owners to record their ownership in the Land Offices, and prescribed small annual rents to be paid to the State.

The establishment of a district head-quarters at Kuala Lipis brought the Government into conflict with the Orang Kaya Maharaja Sĕtia Raja, Haji Wan Daud. This Chief, an old man in 1889, was a grand-son of Maharaja Perba Wan Muhammad I of Jelai, and a cousin of the ruling chief To'Raja Wan Muhammad II. He was one of the most powerful personages in Ulu Pahang in his younger days. He was mentioned in Tengku Embong's warrant,[1] and Ahmad's letter to the foreign head-men in Ulu Pahang.[2] He organized the rebellion in Ulu Pahang on Ahmad's behalf during the conflict with Bendahara Mutahir. On the 30th December 1863, Ahmad had conferred upon him the title of Maharaja Sĕtia Raja, with jurisdiction over the valley of the Lipis.[3]

By the year 1887 the Orang Kaya Haji, as he was called, had developed a homicidal mania. He was described by Sir Hugh Clifford as an "old and cross-grained mad-man." He murdered two of his wives, and the favourite amusement of his declining years was said to have been to sit on the promontory at the junction of the Jelai and Lipis rivers, and shoot indiscriminately at the occupants of boats passing up and down stream. The land at Kuala Lipis belonged to him. It was necessary, from a strategic point of view, that the Government should occupy it, as it commanded two main waterways. Clifford, who had been appointed Superintendent of Ulu Pahang, was on leave in 1889, and his place was taken by W. C. Michell. This officer entered into negotiations with the Orang Kaya Haji's sons for the purchase of the land, and they agreed to accept two hundred dollars as compensation. The sum was duly paid, but the old man refused all inducements to give up the land. Matters came to a head when

[1]Appendix IV, Document No. III.

[2]Appendix IV, Document No. IV.

[3]Appendix IV, Document No. V.

Michell tried to take possession, and was fired upon by the Orang Kaya Haji or one of his followers.[1] The Regent then issued instructions for the arrest of the Orang Kaya. The Chiefs To'Raja, To'Gajah and the Orang Kaya of Lipis acted in concert. They proceeded to Kuala Lipis and called upon the old man to surrender. His reply was to rush upon them from his house armed with a spear. He was met by a volley from To'Raja's men and killed outright. The town of Kuala Lipis was built upon the land thus acquired. The Sultan was deeply distressed at the death of a Chief who had been one of his most staunch adherents in the past, and, in after-years, when it was suggested that the capital of Pahang should be changed to a more suitable site, Ahmad declared that he would never agree to the abandonment of Kuala Lipis as the ground had been hallowed by blood-shed.

The European officers in charge of the various Districts had instructions to seek the co-operation of the local Chiefs in the administration of their respective areas. The response was not encouraging. Engku Muda Mansur (who still entertained a vain hope that Singapore would continue its support of his claim to the succession) and, to a lesser extent, To'Raja gave valuable assistance to the Superintendent of Ulu Pahang. The Chiefs elsewhere tended to hold aloof.

In December 1889 the Sultan quitted Pekan and established himself at Pulau Tawar. He thenceforth returned to the capital only at rare intervals.

Earlier in the year he had visited the Mukims of Tebing Tinggi and Burau and organized a drive of wild cattle (*seladang*) on a large scale at Tanjong Balik Angin. Over sixty head were killed. Several were captured alive in a corral (called *genyat* or *pendiat* by the Malays). The finest of the living specimens, over 18 hands high, died after a few days. A young bull was sent to the Governor who presented it to the Zoological Gardens, London. It was the first living specimen of the *bos gaurus* ever received in Europe.

At the first meeting of the State Council, held on 31st December 1889, from which only the Bendahara, and To'Bandar were absent, the following bills were read: Land and Mining Regulations, Slavery Regulations, and Kerah Regulations.

The State revenue for the last six months of 1889 was $30,000. The expenditure for the year was: Public Works, $32,000; Establishments, $45,000; Allowances to Chiefs, $24,790.

The Sultan, Engku Muda Mansur, the Bendahara and the Temenggong were absent from the second meeting which was held on 11th January, 1890. The Resident informed the Council that

[1] A head-man acquainted with these occurrences states that the shot was accidentally fired by one of Michell's police.

he had received a letter from To'Bandar, To'Raja, To'Gajah and the Orang Kaya of Temerloh, Chĕnor, and Lipis in which they asked for :

(*a*) increased allowances ;

(*b*) State recognition of, and allowances for the head-men appointed with the approval of His Highness ;

(*c*) written regulations defining their powers and duties. Rodger pointed out that the existing allowances to Chiefs equalled two-thirds of the total revenue of Pahang, that the Government had to meet the expenses of administration, and that a heavy and increasing debt was being incurred. To establish a claim to allowances it should be shown by the head-men that their former revenues were greater than what they now got. If they were unable to demonstrate that they suffered financially under the new system they should wait till the State revenue was increased; they should endeavour to effect this result by encouraging immigration especially Chinese, and by developing the mining and agricultural resources of the country.

The Chiefs then produced their lists of head-men as follows :

Maharaja Perba of Jelai :
- To'Muda Usop of Telang,
- Wan Tanjong of Telang,
- To'Muda Kiri of Kuah,
- To'Muda Ahmad of Kuah,
- To'Muda Abas of Jeram Besar,
- To'Muda Usop of Perlak,
- To'Mamat of Kechau,
- Penghulu Teh of Rantau Panjang,
- To'Muda Rahmat of Cheka ;

The Shahbandar :
- Tuan Haji Andak,
- Che Mat Bontal,
- Che Musa of Tanjong Medang,
- Che Mat Abas of Langgar,
- Che Mamat of Pulau Keladi,
- Haji Jenal of Blukar Acheh ;

The Orang Kaya of Chenor :
- Che Junus of Kertau,
- Penglima Muda Kunyit,
- To'Muda Awang Chut,
- Penglima Bebas of Nyak,
- Penglima Kanan of Sekara,
- To'Ahmat of Chenor, and
- To'Muda Ambong of Sentang ;

The Orang Kaya of Temerloh :
- Imam Teh of Senggang,
- To'Muda Draman,
- To'Mamat of Tengoh ;

To'Gajah :
- Khatib Aris of Budu,
- Mohd. Kilau of Kedondong,
- Che Ahmat Burok of Budu,
- To'Jenang of Kangsa,
- To'Muda Sajak of Budu,
- Che Rendah of Kangsa,
- To'Muda Mat Sah,
- To'Muda Usop ;

The Orang Kaya of Lipis :
- To'Muda Sĕtia of Tanjong Besar,
- Mentri Dollah of Penjom,
- To'Kĕli of Sega,
- To'Bakar of Batu Talam,
- Penghulu Dagang of Semantan (Ulu),
- To'Muda Long.

The Resident pointed out the impossibility of allowances for so many, and suggested that the two most important head-men be selected in each *pegangan* (Major Chief's district), and given allowances. Tengku Mahmud supported the proposal. The Chiefs of the interior unanimously declared that differentiation would be unjust and invidious. To'Raja proposed an increase in the annual grants to the Major Chiefs who would then be able to provide for their head-men. To'Gajah supported the Jelai Chief. He stated that the Orang Besar Berempat, he himself, and the Orang Berlapan (the Secondary Chiefs) possessed the right to appoint head-men, and added that the Orang Berlapan were now represented only by the Orang Kaya of Lipis, the Orang Kaya of Semantan, and To'Lela ; To'Bangau had recently died, and the other four appointments had not been filled. The Resident agreed to To'Raja's suggestion, and the annual allowances of the Orang Berempat and of To'Gajah were accordingly increased to $1,200/- each, the allowances of the Orang Kaya of Lipis and Orang Kaya of Semantan to $840/- each, and of To'Lela to $600/-. Saiyid Ali of Badoh, captain of the Sultan's body-guard, was allowed $360/-, and Che Awang Benting of Pasir Penyor, eldest son and representative of one of the Orang Berlapan, $240/-. Regulations defining the rights and duties of Government head-men were passed.

The Orang Kaya of Temerloh stated that disputes between buffalo-owners and padi-planters, sometimes leading to blood-shed, were of frequent occurrence in his district. The Indĕra Pĕrang Makhota remarked that, according to the old law of Pahang, cultivated land should be fenced, and buffaloes should be secured at night in a stall (*kandang*). The following Regulations were unanimously adopted :

(*a*) to obtain compensation for damage by buffaloes the land-owner should prove that he had substantially fenced his land ;

(*b*) if a buffalo entered cultivated land by night and caused damage, the buffalo-owner was liable, as buffaloes should be properly secured at night ;

(*c*) if a buffalo entered by day the owner was not liable as it was the duty of the land-owner to protect his land in the day-time.

The amount of the allowances approved to the Chiefs caused dissatisfaction. They considered that the sums approved were very inadequate compensation for the privileges which they were asked to forego. The increases approved to them by the Council on January 11th 1890 did not satisfy them, and shortly afterwards, To'Raja, To'Gajah, the Chiefs of Chenor and Temerloh, the Shahbandar, the Orang Kaya of Semantan and Inche 'Abdu'llah of Bĕra sent an ultimatum to the Resident, in which they declared their intention of refusing to recognize the laws which had been passed by Council, or to put them into force among their people, unless they were given an opportunity to review them. They referred to the Council as " Your Council." [1] Rodger replied, on February 2nd 1890, to the Major Chiefs and To'Gajah, ignoring the Orang Kaya of Semantan and Inche 'Abdu'llah. He pointed out that decisions of the State Council could be altered only with the approval of Council, and that the Chief's allowances could be fixed, not by the Chiefs themselves, but by the Government. He threatened with punishment any person who refused to obey an order of Council, all the more if the offending party were himself a member. The Resident concluded by declaring that he would decline to entertain any further communications unless they were couched in more courteous terms. [2] The Resident's reply quieted the Chiefs temporarily but did not allay their discontent.

The Collectorate of Kuala Pahang, hitherto a sub-District of Pekan, was constituted a separate District at the beginning of 1890. Hugh Clifford returned to Pahang on March 1st, and relieved W. C. Michell. During the year, C. E. M. Desborough was appointed secretary to the Resident, Penrose, Superintendent of Public Works Ulu Pahang, D. B. Lockhart, Superintendent of Police, T. C. Fleming, Inspector of Police, and E. F. Townly, Surveyor.

In March 1890, W. E. Maxwell, Resident of Selangor, had been commissioned by the Governor to investigate a boundary-dispute which had arisen between Pahang and Negri Sembilan. In June, the Residents of Selangor, Pahang and Negri Sembilan met at Kuala Lui and held an enquiry, as a result of which Maxwell advised the Governor that a boundary line should be delimited between Pahang and Negri Sembilan from Lubok Serampang on the Serting to Bukit Senorong, and thence to Sungai Dua on the

[1] Papers of Maharaja Perba (MS.).
[2] *Op. cit.*

Triang, and that the territory south of that line should be recognized as part of Negri Sembilan. This was, in effect, the boundary claimed by the latter State, and thus Paso and Telang, both mines of some importance, were lost to Pahang.

In July 1890, Maharaja Perba of Jelai complained to Hugh Clifford, the Superintendent of Ulu Pahang, that the mining company who then worked the Selinsing, under the authority of Knaggs' grants from the Sultan, had commenced operations in the stream of Merbau, a tributary of the Jelai Kechil which was owned by the Jelai Chief. Clifford replied that, according to the terms of the Selinsing grants, in his view, the Jelai Kechil was not expressly excluded from the company's area, but he advised To'Raja not to press the matter until he had examined the original documents of concession which were deposited in the Sultan's office in Pekan.[1] When he subsequently got an opportunity of inspecting the originals, Clifford found interpolated the words " The Jelai is excluded," (*di-kechualikan Jelai*), the stream thereby referred to being the smaller Jelai (*Jelai Kechil*). The interpolation had been made after the execution of the original documents apparently on the orders of the Sultan who thus attempted to retrieve the mistake he had made in alienating land which belonged to To'Raja.

Rodger left Pahang on furlough in September. The Malay verdict on him, on his departure, was that " he was a good man but stiff-necked," (*satu tuan yang baik juga tetapi laksana tali ada-lah sering-nya sedikit*). F. Belfield remained in charge of headquarters at Pekan until November 24th when Clifford was appointed acting Resident.

In October a Kelantan robber who styled himself " Tengku Ali," at the head of a gang, raided Pahang. He escaped capture but some of his men were taken.

In November, there died at Kuala Rompin the famous adventurer Marie-Charles David de Mayréna who had settled on the island of Tioman to avoid arrest by the French authorities. While visiting J. F. Owen, the Collector at Kuala Rompin, he was bitten by a poisonous snake, died shortly afterwards, and was buried at Kampong Jawa on the Rompin.[2]

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[1] *Op. cit.*

[2] For an account of this romantic figure, a hero of the Franco-Prussian war during which he was wounded and won the Croix de Guerre, a disgraced banker, a gun-runner according to his own version for the Achinese during their struggle with the Dutch, an *explorateur de theatre*, a " king " of the Sedangs, *vide* Jean Marquet's " Un Aventurier du XIXe Siecle : Marie Ier roi des Sedangs 1888-1890," Hue, 1927, (Extrait du Bulletin des Amis du Vieux Hue) ; Maurice Souliés " Marie Ier, roi des Sedangs 1888-1890 ", Paris, Marpon et Cie, 1927 (Collection " Les Aventures Extraordinaires ") ; Professor Marcel Ner's " Marie ler Roi des Sedang " (BEFEO., Tome XXVII, 1927) ; and Sir Hugh Clifford's " Heroes of Exile." Mayrena's grave is marked by a plain block of chengal wood.

The Sultan who had quitted Pĕkan in December 1889 and established himself at Pulau Tawar, To'Gajah's district, which was about one hundred and twenty miles distant from Kuala Pahang, did not pay a single visit to the capital in 1890. Affairs of State on which it had been necessary to consult him had been transacted at Pulau Tawar. It appeared that Ahmad did not intend to return to Pĕkan in the near future as his residences there had been allowed to fall into disrepair. He was joined at Pulau Tawar by Tengku Empuan and the Bendahara.

The third meeting of the State Council was held on 11th December, 1890, when Hugh Clifford was acting as Resident. The absentees were the Bendahara, the Temenggong, Engku Andak, the Orang Kaya of Chĕnor and the Orang Kaya of Temerloh. The Resident raised the question of an allowance to Wan Husain of the Tembĕling, and explained that in Tembĕling were two Chiefs, the Penghulu Raja, and Wan Husain, the former being the head-man of the district, and the latter holding an authority from the Sultan to rule over the *Wan* class and any others who might care to follow him. The Penghulu Raja had an annual grant of $20/-. It was decided to give Wan Husain a similar amount.

The Resident then introduced a bill which dealt with land held by Malays under customary tenure and prescribed rents. To'Gajah begged that rents be not imposed for another year: the people would be taken by surprise, and ill-feeling might be caused. To'Raja considered that the imposition of rents would not arouse resentment but thought the proposal at present impracticable, and suggested one year's postponement. The Resident pointed out that this matter had already been long postponed: Chiefs clamoured for larger allowances but an increase was impossible unless the revenue was also increased. His Highness agreed with the Resident and it was decided to bring the Land Regulations into force from 1st January 1891.

The question of the registration of slaves was discussed. Many slaves had not yet been registered, and an extension of the period for registration was suggested. To'Gajah thought that many of his people would refuse to register slaves. Four months' further grace was given.

During the year, old gambier plantations were discovered in the upper Tembĕling, planted by " former generations of Malays." Later, gambier in a semi-wild state was found to be growing profusely in Ulu Bebar. The existence of these long-abandoned plantations calls to mind the flourishing trade in that product that was once carried on with Malacca by the Peninsular-Menangkabau " betre-sellers " in the 17th century.

The Sultan, accompanied by his Chiefs and bodyguard, paid a friendly visit to Kuala Lipis in the Christmas of 1890, as the guest

of the acting Resident. He then moved on to Bukit Betong where he was entertained by the Jelai Chief.

In his report for the year 1890 the acting Resident wrote: "The past year has been one of unbroken peace, and although from time to time, rumours of intended risings among the Malays in Pahang have been originated and circulated by the natives of neighbouring States, I am happy to be able to report, possessing as I do a somewhat intimate knowledge of all the important natives in Pahang, and after having had many opportunities of gauging the feeling of all classes of natives, that these reports have been entirely without foundation, and that, so far as can be judged, there is no more danger to be apprehended of such a rising occurring in Pahang, than may be supposed to exist in the old established States of Perak and Selangor. As already mentioned, an increased confidence and good-will between the natives and the European Officers is noticeable throughout the country, and forms a marked contrast to the feeling which existed amongst most influential natives in the years 1887 and 1888."

Subsequent events were to prove that the Resident's report was unduly optimistic.

At the fourth meeting of Council, held on 18th May 1891, no important business was transacted. The fifth meeting of Council, held on 8th October 1891, was attended by all members except To'Raja, the Bendahara, and Tuan Mandak. The boundaries of the *pegangan* (or districts) of the Chiefs were fixed as follows:

the Orang Kaya Shahbandar: from Sungai Bĕbar to Kuala Lepar;

the Orang Kaya of Chenor: from Kuala Luit to Buntut Pulau Kening, also Sungai Krau District, *i.e.* from Batu Wan Pak to Batu Redap;

the Orang Kaya Sĕgara of Temerloh: from Kuala Tekoh to Pasir Puron;

To-Gajah: from Batu Redap to Kuala Piul; from Tanjong Sakti to Kangsa; from Pedah to Tanjong Lindong; also Sungai Budu in Lipis;

Maharaja Perba of Jelai: from Tanjong Lindong along the *Sungai Jelai*[1] to Perak and Kelantan (excepting Sungai Lipis), and from Kuala Tembĕling to Pasir Durian;

the Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa of Lipis: the Lipis and its tributaries excluding Sungai Budu;

the Penghulu of Bentong: from Kuala Klau to the source of the Bentong river;

[1]The Resident here followed the map issued in 1887 by the Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, according to which the name *Jelai* was given to the main stream down to Kuala Bĕra.

the Penghulu Raja of Tembeling : from Pasir Durian to the source of the Tembeling, excluding the Districts of Wan Husain and Wan Ismail.

Minor head-men were required to observe the boundaries mentioned in the respective warrants which they already held.

The acting Resident, Hugh Clifford, brought forward the matter of the Orang Kaya of Semantan who had refused not only to help Government but to allow his people to obey orders issued by His Highness' officers. The recalcitrant Chief had been repeatedly warned, and hitherto treated with the greatest clemency, but it was clear that any person disobeying His Highness' Government was guilty of treason and merited punishment. The Resident proposed that the disaffected leader be deprived of his office and forbidden to return to Semantan district. He added that if the Orang Kaya had not been an old follower of the Sultan, he would have been arrested like an ordinary criminal. The Regent remarked that a few days earlier the Orang Kaya had been arrested by a single Sikh when attempting to leave the State without a pass, and considered that his re-arrest would not be difficult if that course were thought advisable. The Sultan expressed surprise at the Orang Kaya's attitude, and stated that he and his Chiefs had repeatedly written instructing him to obey orders. The Resident counselled severity as the Orang Kaya's presence would be a constant source of trouble in Semantan. The Sultan then agreed to issue an order under his seal depriving the Orang Kaya of his position.

The sixth meeting of Council was held on 11th October, 1891, while Hugh Clifford still acted as Resident. The Regent, Tuan Mandak and To'Raja were absent. It was decided to confer the title of Tengku Besar on Tengku Mahmud the Regent. A letter from the Governor to His Highness was read :"..... I should be glad of my friend's concurrence in appointing Tengku Mahmud as ' Tengku Besar ' in order that my friend's seed may be perpetuated as Rulers of the State even unto the end of time...."

In paragraph 5 of the Resident's report for 1891 it was stated that a special meeting of Council was convened " to secure the succession of the throne of Pahang to the Sultan's eldest son, Tengku Mahmud, as ' Tengku Besar '."

The census of Pahang for 1891 gave a total population of 57,444 souls, including 50,509 Malays, 3,241 Chinese, 2,032 aborigines and 102 Europeans.

His Highness Sultan Mahmud ibni Sultan Ahmad.

CHAPTER XII.

REVOLT OF THE ORANG KAYA OF SEMANTAN.

The personal name of the Semantan Chief was 'Abdu'l-Rahman, Rahman, or Bahman. He was of humble, partly Jakun origin, and in his youth had been a menial servant attached to the Sultan's household. A born fighter, he distinguished himself in the war between Ahmad and Mutahir in which he fought under the style of Penglima Kakap, and in recognition of his services was raised to the rank of Secondary Chief (*Orang Besar Berlapan*) with the title of Dato' Sĕtia Perkasa Pahlawan of Semantan. He gained further distinction in the Selangor war at the conclusion of which he was for a time in charge of Ulu Klang. On his return to Pahang he took advantage of the absence of a Major Chief in his district (due to Ahmad's failure to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the Orang Kaya Indĕra Sĕgara of Temerloh) to extend his influence, and by 1887 or earlier was sometimes called to the Sultan's Councils, and claimed to be ranked on an equality with the Major Chiefs. He had a unique knowledge of jungle craft gained from his scouting expeditions all over Pahang and Selangor, and was intimately acquainted with the language, customs and forest-lore of the aboriginal tribes of his district.

Before the British ever came to Pahang the Semantan Chief, fearless, and turbulent, had once refused to obey an order of the Sultan prohibiting him from collecting taxes, and it was not until a force led by the principal Chiefs had been sent against him that he submitted, and obeyed the order calling him to Pekan. When he was commanded to surrender his letter of authority he threatened suicide, and the Sultan who, in spite of the Orang Kaya's misdeeds, had always retained a certain affection for him because of his past services, ultimately pardoned him, and permitted him to retain his title and post. At the time of the establishment of the Protectorate Bahman had a following of about three hundred men.

In 1889 the Orang Kaya had been accused of levying illegal taxes but the complainants, petty traders, were afraid to proceed against a powerful Chief, and the Government contented itself with warning him that irregular imposts would not be tolerated. In spite of the warning it was rumoured that he still levied taxes in the Semantan. He was known to be disaffected towards the Government because of its refusal to grant him an allowance on the same scale as a Chief of the rank of *Orang Besar Berempat*.

In December 1890 the Semantan Chief addressed an insulting and threatening communication to the magistrate at Temerloh (E. A. Wise), the ostensible reason for which was a dislike which he professed for the site selected at Lubok Trua for the erection of a police station. About the same time he wrote to the Resident of

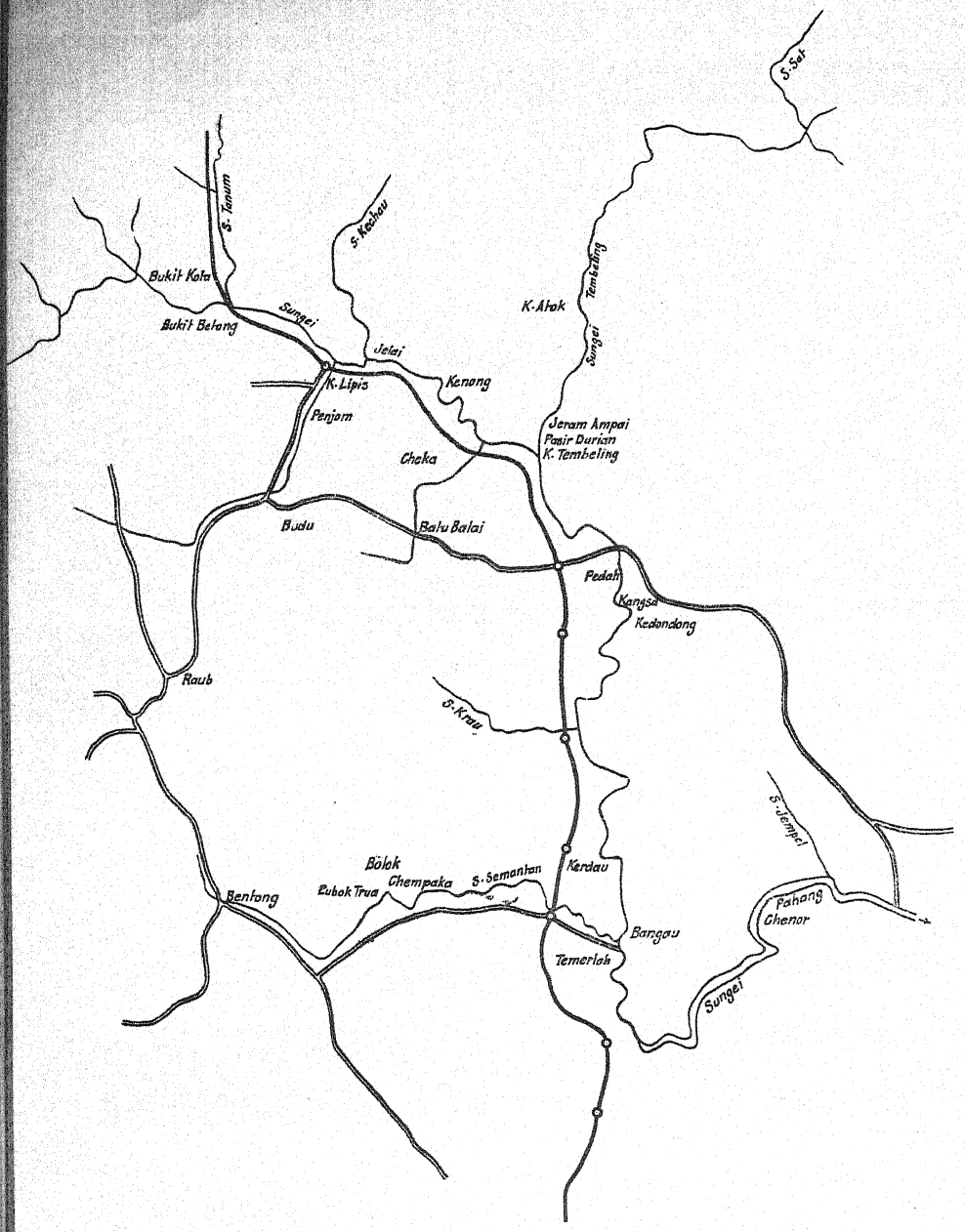
Selangor (W. E. Maxwell) asking that his district might be attached to that State. In this letter he referred to the other Chiefs in Pahang as traitors to the Sultan, and boasted that he alone had not submitted to the British Government.

The Acting Resident of Pahang (Hugh Clifford) brought these matters to the notice of the Sultan who called the Orang Kaya to Pulau Tawar. The Semantan Chief denied the authorship of the letters, and the Sultan ordered him to Pekan so that his conduct might be investigated. The Orang Kaya disobeyed the command and took refuge in the jungle. It would not have been difficult to arrest him at this period had such a course been deemed advisable, but the Government was loath to take severe measures against an important Chief who held a warrant from the Sultan, except through the Sultan's agency, and in a manner fully approved by him. In pursuance of this policy the matter was placed in Ahmad's hands, and in February 1891 Maharaja Perba of Jelai was despatched to the Semantan in an effort to bring the recalcitrant Chief to Pulau Tawar for detention at the Sultan's pleasure, unless he gave an adequate pledge for his future good conduct. The Jelai Chief's mission proved abortive as Bahman again fled into the jungle. Not long afterwards the disaffected leader, probably the most expert woodsman in the peninsula, made his way to Kelantan through the Tembĕling.

On his return to the Semantan Bahman was seen by the Magistrate (J. F. Owen) to whom he declared that he refused to obey the laws, or to permit his people to observe them, unless he were given an annual allowance of six thousand dollars. Nothing less, he stated, would compensate him for the loss of his customary privileges of taxation. In pursuance of his plan Bahman proceeded to defy the orders of the Government in the Semantan. He forbade his people to apply for permits for the extraction of jungle-produce, incited them to resist all State regulations, and prevented the enumeration of his people in the census of 1891.

In accordance with his promise made at the Council meeting held on the 8th of October 1891, the Sultan signed an order whereby Bahman was deprived of his title and position. In the words of the *Hikayat Pahang*, the Orang Kaya " reverted to the name Bahman which he had received when he was brought into the world," (*balik-lah nama kerat pusat-nya Si-Bahman*). This order was circulated in the Semantan district. Shortly afterwards, in view of Bahman's threats, the strength of the police force at the station of Lubok Trua was increased to twenty-five men of whom seventeen were Sikhs. The Sergeant in charge of the post was instructed to arrest Bahman if he again threatened the police, or committed any other unlawful act.

On the 15th of December 1891, C. E. M. Desborough, Collector of Semantan district, with the Inspector of Mines, entered the Semantan river, taking with them fifteen Sikhs and six Malay



Scale:- 16 Miles to an Inch

police, with the intention of strengthening the force at Lubok Trua with another thirteen men. On their way they met and arrested three of Bahman's followers on a charge of removing jungle-produce without a permit. Instead of releasing them on bail, or sending them to Temerloh, the head-quarters of the district, they resolved to convey the prisoners to Lubok Trua for trial.

Bahman, believing that the expedition was really designed to capture him, collected his men, and ambushed the Collector's boats on the second day after they had entered the river. The Inspector of Mines, a Malay boatman, and one of the Sikh police were wounded and some of the boats capsized. Desborough, with the remaining boats, then returned to Temerloh (Kuala Semantan) where it was found that four of the Sikh police and the Malay Sergeant were missing, and that the prisoners had effected their escape. Of the missing Sikhs, one afterwards made his way to Temerloh, but the other three were killed by the rebels and their bodies shockingly mutilated. The Malay Sergeant who, with the Sergeant in charge of Lubok Trua, had been taken prisoner, took refuge with one of the Semantan head-men, and afterwards escaped. The rebel leader and his followers then took the Lubok Trua police station, meeting with little resistance, and captured stocks of food-supplies and goods in the store-houses of the Raub and Bentong mining companies. Here Bahman openly proclaimed his intention to resist the Government by force of arms.

The success attending the attack on Desborough's ill-starred expedition on the Semantan had the effect of emboldening the rebels and considerably strengthening their forces. The followers of Bahman did not at first exceed one hundred. After the capture of Lubok Trua that number, swollen by the accession of the men of Bentong and others, rose to six hundred. This force was accompanied by about one hundred aborigines who acted as bearers. The rebels now proceeded to sack Temerloh from which the Collector had retired with his police. Some of the principal shop-keepers were robbed and murdered, and forty old muskets were taken.

Rodger, who had been acting as Resident of Selangor during Maxwell's absence, on hearing of the outbreak on the 21st December, at once returned to Pahang with an escort of twenty-five Sikhs under the command of Captain Syers, Superintendent of the Selangor police. At Raub he was met by Clifford, Wise, and Inspector Fleming (who was in charge of the Ulu police) with twenty-five Sikhs. The police detachments in the out-lying stations were withdrawn, and the garrisons at Kuala Lipis and Kuala Tembĕling strengthened. Rodger proceeded to Pulau Tawar to arrange for the Sultan's co-operation in an attack on the rebels from Kuala Semantan. It was evident that the Pahang police who numbered less than three hundred men

(partly Sikhs, partly Malays) would be unable to cope with the outbreak, so Rodger determined to concentrate them in the more important stations surrounding the Semantan, namely Bentong, Tras, Raub, Kuala Lipis and Kuala Tembĕling, and to rely upon the Sultan and his forces to suppress the outbreak.

On December 29th Clifford, with sixty Sikhs under Inspector Sumner, and accompanied by the Regent Tengku Mahmud with about two hundred followers, entered the Semantan, and found the first rebel stockade abandoned. On the 1st of January 1892 they met with a repulse at Kelubi (where the rebels had thrown up their second fort) owing to the reluctance of the Malays to act with the Sikhs. The government forces then erected two stockades there—one for the Malays, the other for the Sikhs. Ahmad now issued a proclamation denouncing the Semantan leader as a traitor, exhorting his Chiefs to arrest or slay him, and threatening with punishment any person who consorted with the rebels.[1]

Shortly afterwards the Governor accepted the Sultan's offer to suppress the rebellion with his own men and sent to Pahang two hundred rifles, ten thousand rounds of ammunition and a seven-pounder gun with equipment. Heavy floods forced Clifford to abandon operations at Kelubi and he fell back on Temerloh.

On January 14th the Sultan arrived from Pulau Tawar to take command of the expedition in person. On the following day he and Rodger, accompanied by his second son Tengku Ali, many chiefs and about one thousand men, entered the Semantan while Clifford returned to Kuala Lipis, and Tengku Mahmud, who was ill, to Pekan. At the first stockade at Batu Hampar which was held by To'Muda Bidin two of the rebel head-men were killed. Thenceforward little resistance was encountered up to Bentong which place the expedition reached on the 31st of January, having destroyed twelve stockades on the way. The rebels had fled into the jungle. At Bentong Rodger found Syers and Wise from whom he learnt that their camp had not been attacked, but that, in skirmishes, they had sustained casualties of three men killed and five wounded. Their transport communications with Selangor had been harassed, and some shop-keepers in Bentong had been robbed and killed by the rebels.

A force of Selangor and Perak police under the command of Major McCallum had been despatched to Pahang to assist in the operations on the Bentong side, but on the recommendation of the Resident this contingent was shortly afterwards withdrawn. The whole course of the river Semantan was then provisionally garrisoned by Pahang Malays under the command of Che Abdullah of Bĕra and Saiyid Ali of Badoh. At the same time the Sultan proclaimed an amnesty to all persons (with the exception of about

[1]Papers of Maharaja Perba (MS.).

twenty ring-leaders) who had taken part in the insurrection, provided that they returned to their villages within a month. Advantage was taken of this indemnity by many of the insurgents.

The month of February 1892 was spent in completing arrangements for the administration of the Temerloh district, and Tengku Ali was appointed to assist Wise in his duties as District Officer. Scouts were sent out, but Bahman made no movement. Rumour had it that he was lying concealed among the aboriginal tribes.

On the 9th of March Bahman with about fifty men again attacked and captured Lubok Trua, Che Abdullah, the head-man in charge of the station, having negligently or deliberately allowed most of his own men to return to the Bĕra, and replaced them with levies from the villages of Chempaka and Bolo in the vicinity of Lubok Trua, who were in secret sympathy with Bahman. Only eleven out of fifty rifles were saved. Bahman's success had the effect of increasing the number of his followers to two hundred. Clifford, Wise and Tengku Ali, with three hundred men, at once proceeded to Lubok Trua, but the rebels fled before them. Here the Resident who had just returned from an interview with the Governor in Singapore joined them. The villages of Bolo and Chempaka were destroyed. At the request of the Sultan and his Chiefs Rodger reluctantly consented to suspend operations during Ramadzan the fasting month of Islam which began on the 24th of March 1892. The Resident, with Tengku Mahmud and Tengku Ali, returned to Pulau Tawar, Clifford went back to Kuala Lipis, while Wise with the Chiefs and their men, established in strong stockades, remained at Lubok Trua. A proclamation was now issued offering a reward of one thousand dollars for the capture of the rebel leader.

During the insurrection several Europeans in Pahang, notably Watson at Bentong, Fraser at Tras, Bibby at Raub, Hole at Pekan, and Kinsey at Kuala Pahang rendered valuable assistance to the Government.

In a report to the Governor, written at this time, the Resident stated :

" The Sultan of Pahang is admittedly a proficient in Malay warfare, and I was much impressed by the manner in which he arranged his scouting and attacking parties, by the facility of organizing transport and commissariat services for Malays, and by the excellence of his men as guerilla soldiers, when fighting in dense jungle. Such jungle, through which Malays move with ease and rapidity would be almost impervious to Sikhs or European Troops, both of whom would require to be supported by a strong force of Malay auxiliaries, or by Ghoorkas, or other natives accustomed to jungle fighting, before any really successful campaign could be conducted in Pahang.

" Writing with a somewhat intimate knowledge of native affairs in Pahang, and with a full sense of official responsbility, I have no hesitation in asserting that only the Sultan in person could have cleared the Semantan river so rapidly and effectively as was done in January, and that, had the wishes of His Highness been disregarded, when expressing his readiness to take action with his own men, and an attempt made to suppress the outbreak by means of British Troops, or otherwise, the ensuing campaign would probably have been long, certainly expensive, and possibly disastrous. It must never be forgotten that the Sultan is a sovereign to whom his Chiefs and people are devoted, that it would not be difficult to collect five thousand fighting men in Pahang, and that Pahang Malays, above all others, resent the interference of strangers. No stronger exemplification of the Sultan's loyalty to the British Government could have been shown than his readiness to endure the discomfort of an expedition into the jungle, lasting for more than a month, during the whole of which time he was separated from his Household, and the extent of this self-sacrifice can only be fully appreciated by those who are personally acquainted with the Sultan, and with the conditions of his usual life. At the same time, having regard to the renewal and possible extension of the Semantan outbreak, it is obvious that, unless soon finally suppressed, some fresh means must be devised, and no arrangement for the future tranquillity of the State will be satisfactory, unless it provides for the removal of the Sultan's residence at Pulau Tawar, where His Highness is surrounded by intrigues, to Pekan or some place in the immediate neighbourhood.

" As to the original causes of the Semantan outbreak, I can add little to the report of Mr. Clifford, but, from such enquiries as I have been able to make on the subject, I think it probable that the Ex-Orang Kaya had made some preparations to create a disturbance in the Semantan district, sooner or later, and that he relied on receiving active assistance from other Chiefs, and on the quiescence of the Sultan, but I consider that the actual outbreak was precipitated by the manner in which the Acting Collector of Temerloh and the Inspector of Mines commenced their progress up the Semantan river."

Late in 1891, or at the beginning of 1892, there occurred an event of which it appeared that the British authorities had, at the time, no cognizance. The Sultan and all the important Chiefs met at Pulau Tawar, and made a sworn agreement whereby the Chiefs avowed their loyalty to their Ruler, and engaged not to address any communications to the Resident or Governor except through the Sultan, who reserved unfettered discretion to deal with the matter as he thought fit, while Ahmad, on his part, agreed to uphold the ancient rights and privileges of the Chiefs, to allow no interference with them, and, except in certain abnormal cases, not to entertain any complaint against a Chief unless it was presented through the magnate concerned. The agreement was

sealed by the Sultan and signed by the four Major Chiefs, and by To'Gajah, the Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa of Lipis, and Saiyid Ali of Badoh.[1] The Chiefs, holding a copy of the Koran provided by Tengku Empuan on their head, swore to abide by the pact.

The Kĕrah Regulations had been promulgated by W. C. Michell in Ulu Pahang while he was acting as Superintendent of that district. They were regarded by the people as arbitrary rules issued at the whim of European officers. The peasants of Penjom were called upon to provide labour for the construction of a road after the harvest of 1891-1892. On the 24th of January 1892, Mantĕri Dollah, the head-man, wrote a protest to his Chief, the Orang Kaya of Lipis, in which he said: "All the people declare that had the Regulations been issued on the command of His Highness and on your order, they would have obeyed them without question even if there were no wages."[2] The inhabitants of Penjom were preparing to remove themselves and their belongings to another State, not, as Mantĕri Dollah went on to say in his letter, because of the activities of the police in impounding stray buffaloes, but because of the disturbed condition of the country and the ugly rumours that were afloat regarding the attitude of the Chiefs of Ulu Pahang towards the Government.

A few days after the temporary cessation of operations, Che Embok brought word to Rodger that Maharaja Perba who, it appeared, had recently returned from Kelantan, was about to join the rebels. On the 23rd of February, the Sultan had written to this Chief acknowledging a communication from him dated 20th February, expressing his regret at the news that the Jelai magnate was in poor health, informing him of the result of his expedition on the Semantan, and requiring him to proceed at once to Pulau Tawar to take part in the deliberations of the Chiefs. If To'Raja were too ill to appear he was ordered to appoint a delegate in his place. With the letter, the Sultan despatched Imam Pĕrang Makhota and Penglima Dalam Muda to expedite To'Raja's movements.[3] The tone of the letter indicated that the Sultan was working in close co-operation with the Resident.

On the 29th of February, Engku Muda Mansur, who was about to proceed to Pulau Tawar, doubtful of To'Raja's attitude, warned him and his head-men to refrain from any action that might endanger the officers of the Government at Kuala Lipis, instructed the Jelai Chief to comply with their orders, and exhorted him to remain well-affected towards the Government.[4]

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[1]Papers of Maharaja Perba (MS.).

[2]*Kata sekalian orang jika sudah dengan titah Ka-bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia dan hukum Dato' jika tiada dengan belanja sekali pun ia apa hendak gagah-lah juga kerjakan.*—(Papers of Maharaja Perba, MS.).

[3]*Op. cit.*

[4]*Op. cit.*

Early in 1892, the Penjom Mining company had discovered and were working rich " pockets " of gold at Gubar (Ulu Cheneras) near Kuala Lipis, a locality that had always been claimed by Maharaja Perba as his ancestral property—it was really within the boundaries of the land at one time held by his first cousin the mad Maharaja Sĕtia Raja, Haji Wan Daud, who was killed in 1889. The predecessors in title of the Penjom company, who obtained their grant on the 27th of April 1885, had been among the first in the general scramble for concessions which followed the rumour that Singapore was about to interest itself in Pahang. The find of gold in abundant quantities at Gubar intensified the anxiety of the Jelai Chief to regain land to which he considered himself entitled, and increased his political restlessness. At the beginning of April he wrote to Hugh Clifford at Kuala Lipis maintaining that the boundaries of the Penjom company's grant did not reach Gubar, (which was situated only a short distance from the Jelai river), and concluding: "I hope that you will weigh the claims of the people of the country with the claims of the company who are working gold in the locality and district of Jelai".[1]

On April the 8th, Rodger replied to a letter which he had received from To'Raja. He explained that he had refrained from answering before as he had assumed that the Jelai Chief would have obeyed the Sultan's command (dated the 23rd of February) that he should present himself at Pulau Tawar. The Resident proceeded :

> "....Regarding your complaint which Mr. Hugh Clifford brought to my notice that your mining land at the mines of Gubar has been included in the concession granted by His Highness the Sultan to the Penjom Company, with the result that you canot work any longer there, in view of the gravity of the Semantan affair and the fact that it is a most inopportune time for a Chief to bring forward a complaint when the State is involved in difficulties, I cannot see my way to deal with the matter at the present time. But if it is true that the mines of Gubar are your ancestral property, and a place of livelihood for you and your people, and have always been in your possession, and the possession of your people, and that you can no longer work there, when the Semantan affair is satisfactorily concluded with the counsel and assistance of you and of the other Chiefs, I shall be in position to deal with the matter ; and if you cannot get back the Gubar mines, as they have been included in the Penjom Company's concession, and have been worked by the Company, I shall help you to get a share or a profit from their working...."[2]

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[1]Papers of Maharaja Perba (MS.).

[2]*Op. cit.*

It is not easy to gauge accurately the Sultan's attitude at this period. He felt keenly the loss of power and privileges which the new regime, and the appointment of Tengku Mahmud as Regent involved, and he had in his inner council a war party led by To'Gajah who pressed him hard to declare against the British. Had he proclaimed a general rising at this stage, he could not have chosen a time at which the outbreak would have had a better prospect of success. The Perak and Selangor forces had been withdrawn ; the Malays were tolerably well supplied with arms, ammunition and supplies ; the padi crops had just been reaped, rice was more abundant than at any other time of the year, and the peasants were free for war-like employment ; large Malay forces were ready mobilized, and the breathing space afforded by the cessation of operations against Bahman during the month of Ramadzan provided an opportunity for the Sultan and Chiefs to meet and draw up plans.

To'Gajah schemed to force the Sultan's hand. Ahmad had repeatedly declared to his Chiefs that he would not offer armed resistance to the British, but, over-borne by the extremists, he appears to have allowed To'Gajah, who was in secret communication with Bahman and the Jelai Chief, to assume direction at this period. It was said that the Sultan's royal wife, Tengku Empuan, exerted her influence in favour of the rebels.

There was reason to believe that To'Gajah had evolved a plan whereby the Government forces in Ulu Pahang should be over-whelmed : the Sultan was to hold Chenor ; the Penglima Muda of Jempul was to over-run Pekan District ; To'Gajah himself was to mobilize the Tembeling men ; and the united levies of his son Mat Kilau in Budu and To'Raja in the Jelai were to attack and annihilate Clifford's small force at Kuala Lipis. The Sultan was aware of this plan. Did he approve it? To'Raja subsequently declared that he had Ahmad's authority for the projected attack on Kuala Lipis in April, but the Jelai Chief, at this period, needed little encouragement to take up arms against the Government.

On the 5th of April 1892 the Penglima Muda of Jempul raided Pĕkan District, and murdered two Europeans, Harris and Stewart of the Pahang Exploration Company, who were supervising the extraction of timber from the jungle at Sungai Duri near Kuala Chini. The mistress of one of the victims, Siti,a young Kelantan girl, was severely wounded in a heroic attempt to save her lover. The bodies of the murdered men were mutilated. The Penglima Muda was next seen at Tanjong Langgar, on April the 7th, with about thirty men. On the following day he retreated up-river. Belfield who, with Engku Muda Mansur, was in charge at Pĕkan, instructed the Shahbandar to arrest the Penglima Muda. The Orang Kaya ignored the instructions. The Jempul head-man's declaration that To'Gajah had conveyed to him the Sultan's command to take up arms caused a panic at Pĕkan.

The handful of Europeans in the capital prepared to defend themselves in the gaol, but their anxiety was soon allayed by the return of the Resident from Pulau Tawar and the arrival at Kuala Pahang of *H.M.S. Hyacinth* (Captain Cragie), *Plover* (Commander Bell), and *Rattler* (Commander Heugh) and a detachment of Sikhs from Singapore. It was not considered necessary to call upon the naval authorities to land their men, but the mere presence of the warships, which cruised off the coast for a month, inspired confidence in the European community, and tended to check a threatened extension of the disturbances. Captain Cragie, the senior naval officer in the Straits, and his officers gave advice and assistance in the strengthening of the defences at Kuala Pahang, Kuantan and Pĕkan. Stockades were thrown up from Sungai Ma'Dulang to Tanjong Parit, and all the villagers as far as Kuala Luit were accommodated in Pĕkan. Some of Tuan Mandak's people who lived on the banks of the Parit fled to Tanjong Pakra where they hoped to get a boat to take them from Pahang. According to the Malay record, Tuan Mandak was wrongly blamed for this panic.

Early in the month the Resident was with the Sultan and Tengku Mahmud at Pulau Tawar. On 10 April he and the Regent moved down to Kuala Semantan, there to await the Sultan before attacking the rebels in the Semantan. He returned to Pulau Tawar on the following day on the receipt of an urgent message from Ahmad. At Pulau Tawar he learnt of the murder of Harris and Stewart. He immediately left for Pĕkan escorted by some of the Sultan's body-guard. At Sungai Duri he recovered the head of Stewart and took it to Pĕkan for burial. He arrested one of the murderers. On the 13th of the month he reached Pĕkan where he found Tengku Mahmud who had arrived the preceding day. The Regent then left for Kuantan to re-assure the people of that district. In the meantime Tuan Kechut, inspector of police, had entered the Jempul, and arrested twenty-one men who were said to have been concerned in the raid.

At the beginning of April Mat Kilau, a son of To'Gajah, had gone to his father's district of Budu to collect men ostensibly to accompany the Sultan to Semantan, but really to join To'Raja in an attack on Kuala Lipis which was held by Hugh Clifford with thirty Sikhs and a force of Malays. On April the 10th Mat Kilau arrived in Kuala Lipis where his men looted the shops, the Government forces not being strong enough to resist them. In the meantime the Sultan at Pulau Tawar issued instructions to To'Raja cancelling the projected attack. This order Ahmad gave to Haji Muhammad Nor to deliver to the Jelai Chief. The Sultan's envoy with a force of ninety men, twenty of whom were armed with rifles and ammunition, proceeded up-river. According to the *Hikayat Pahang* his instructions were to dissuade Mat Kilau from attacking Kuala Lipis, and if he were unsuccessful, to aid Clifford in repelling the attack. The Sultan was safe in any event !

At Pulau Samas Haji Muhammad Nor met Haji Abdul Latif of Pedah who informed him that the assault on Kuala Lipis was fixed for the next day. On the same evening he arrived at Kuala Lipis where he saw crowds of Mat Kilau's followers looting the shops. The disaffected leader met him and asked him why he had come. Haji Mat Nor replied that he had been sent to help Mat Kilau, that he was bringing a letter from the Sultan to To'Raja, and that His Highness' command was that before any action was taken, To'Raja should first be consulted. The Sultan's envoy then went to interview Clifford in the latter's house to assure him of his help. While they were engaged in conversation Mat Kilau appeared, followed by about one hundred men armed with spears and muskets, and with drawn swords. Clifford invited Mat Kilau and Haji Muhammad Nor to sit down while the Budu leader's followers stood around. The *Hikayat Pahang* gives the following description of the interview :

> " Haji Muhammad Nor spoke half-jestingly to Mr. Clifford : ' *Tuan*, have you seen this creese of mine ? ' When Mr. Clifford replied in the negative, Haji Muhammad Nor drew his creese and handed it to him saying : ' This creese is named *Marhum Kadaton* :[1] it is very deadly ; it has forty-seven waves ; there is a taboo that *Marhum Kadaton* cannot be used except in time of war.' Mr. Clifford took the creese. Haji Muhammad Nor's object was to provide him with a weapon of defence. Haji Muhammad Nor himself held a sword in his hand. Mr. Clifford said that he had got a letter from the Penjom Company informing him that Mat Kilau intended to attack him that night or on the morrow ; he had only thirty Sikhs in the fort, but if he died, the British Government would be certain to avenge him. At this, Mat Kilau's face grew grim but he kept silence. Haji Muhammad Nor said : ' I have come here on the Sultan's instructions. His Highness' command to Mat Kilau was to employ the Budu men, who had been collected, in an attack on Bahman, but it seems that an honourable undertaking has become dishonourable, and a dishonourable undertaking honourable, (*pekerjaan yang baik jadi jahat dan yang jahat jadi baik*).' Mr. Clifford expressed his readiness to face any eventuality. Mat Kilau agreed to Haji Muhammad Nor's suggestion that they should interview To'Raja. He then left the house with his men while Haji Muhammad Nor remained behind to complete arrangements with Mr. Clifford who agreed that Haji Muhammad Nor should proceed up-river to meet To'Raja. Report had it that Mr. Clifford posted

[1]The weapon was called after Sultan Muhammad Shah of Riau whose posthumous name was *Marhum Kadaton* ; originally it may have belonged to him.

four detectives to watch the movements of Haji Muhammad Nor and Mat Kilau."[1]

On 11 April, Gilbert B. Whyte of the Raub Australian Syndicate wrote to the Resident:

"....There has been any amount of Malay rumours brought here last week, these have been persistently circulated amongst the natives, who are now in a terrible state of funk. Raja Imphey called me out of bed on Friday night at 12 p.m. to tell me that his men had just brought in the news that Toh Raja and Toh Gajah had invited the ex-O.K. to co-operate with them and with their united forces attack Kuala Lipis and Raub also that all the small chiefs had been called to Kuala Lipis for above purpose. These reports were carried by Fraser to Kuala Kubo who expressed his opinion that they were not true...."

Mat Kilau and Haji Muhammad Nor proceeded to Bukit Betong, To'Raja's head-quarters on the Jelai, where they found the Jelai Chief awaiting them. He had collected his followers in readiness for an attack on Kuala Lipis. When To'Raja read the Sultan's letter, he exclaimed in disgust: "I get all sorts of contradictory commands!" (*Ini titah ini pun titah*). Haji Muhammad Nor then suggested that Mat Kilau should go down to Kuala Lipis, but with the strict understanding that he was not to open hostilities until To'Raja had joined him. The Jelai Chief undertook to follow him on the next day. When Mat Kilau had departed, the Sultan's envoy, after a long argument, succeeded in persuading To'Raja not to render active assistance to the rebels. On the following day, the 13th of April, Mat Kilau, on being informed of To'Raja's defection, abandoned his project of attacking Kuala Lipis and retired to Budu.

It is not certain that Mat Kilau adopted such a threatening attitude towards Clifford at the interview as the author of the *Hikayat* would have us believe, for about this time, in a telegram to the Governor sent through Raub, the Superintendent of Ulu Pahang reported that he believed all the Chiefs to be pacifically inclined, but had provisioned the stockade. He sent a letter to Rodger on 13 April, forwarding a copy of his telegram. This letter and Whyte's communication to Rodger appeared never to have reached their destination, but to have been intercepted by To'Raja, among whose papers they were found on his death.

To'Raja sent two letters by the hand of Haji Muhammad Nor to the Sultan and the Resident. On 17 April, To'Raja and To'Kaya

[1] Of Clifford, the Malay annalist says: "Men as valiant as *Tuan* Clifford are seldom met with. When he confronted Muhammad Kilau he showed his courage and his complete indifference to the menacing weapons that were brandished in his face...." And, elsewhere: "..*Tuan* Clifford was very kind to the people of Pahang and had their interests at heart...."

Sĕtia Wangsa of Lipis, with seven hundred men, halted at Kuala Lipis on their way to Pulau Tawar. The crisis was now over.

When they reached Pulau Tawar, the *Hikayat Pahang* goes on to narrate, the Sultan ordered them to proceed with him back to Kuala Lipis : " so that the eyes of all intending traitors might be witness to the sincerity and good faith that characterized His Highness in his dealings with the Government." On 25 April Ahmad arrived at Kuala Lipis where he informed Clifford that the Chiefs no longer obeyed him, and that he had not authorised the projected attack on the town. On the following day the Sultan returned to Pulau Tawar. Two days later To'Raja and the Orang Kaya of Lipis went back to their homes. The Jelai Chief fell ill, and did not appear again till October when he proceeded to Singapore.

After the murders at Sungai Duri and the frustrated attempt on Kuala Lipis, the Sultan was warned that he would be made personally responsible unless he suppressed the disturbances.

At the beginning of May, Ahmad sent friendly letters to the Resident and the Governor and proceeded to Temerloh with a thousand men. Rodger, with thirty Sikhs from Perak, at once left Pekan for Temerloh which place he reached on 5 May. The District Officer reported that the Sultan's men had abandoned Batu Hampar and Lubok Trua, two stockades on the Semantan, which the rebels promptly re-occupied. It was said that the insurgents had cut off supplies by placing a chain across the river, but withdrawal was unjustifiable at least beyond Batu Hampar which had ample stores ; the garrison were strong enough to drive back the rebels, but were bored, and afraid of being surrounded. Three men of the Lubok Trua garrison had been wounded in attempting to cut the river-chain.

On 6 May Rodger met the Sultan, Tengku Ali, To'Gajah, the Orang Kaya of Chenor and others, and it was decided to take the offensive against the rebels. The Sultan insisted that Malays lead the attack for fear that Bahman and his men would disappear at the sight of the British or Sikhs. On the following day Tengku Ali and To'Gajah entered the Semantan with three hundred men. They attacked and captured Batu Hampar on 8 May, killing one of Bahman's sons. The rebel leader fled. Here To'Gajah was said to have shown the first signs of disaffection by refusing to join in the pursuit. Tengku Ali and To'Gajah next proceeded to Lubok Trua where they were joined by E.A. Wise, District Officer of Temerloh, with Malay re-inforcements. Haji Muhammad Nor, the Sultan's trusted hench-man, assisted by Imam Pĕrang Teh of Senggang, the Orang Kaya of Temerloh, To'Umbi, Pahlawan Lawi, To'Jenid of Chenor, Wan Ahmad of Tembĕling, and Penglima Raja Yakob unsuccessfully pursued the rebels for a month between the Semantan and Lipis districts.

During May the Resident and the Sultan were at Kuala Semantan organizing forces. A station was established at Kuala Jempul; the stockade at Kuala Semantan was strengthened; and Clifford was instructed to join in the pursuit of the rebels from the Lipis side.

On 8 May, at Sungai Baloh, J. F. Owen, District Officer of Kuantan, had surprised a gang of thirty Kelantan robbers who had murdered a Chinese. He captured two of them. The raid was due to the disturbed state of the country, and was considered to be of no political significance.

In the meantime help to quell the rebellion had been arriving in Pahang. On 5 May Lieut-Colonel Walker, commandant of the Perak Sikhs, arrived at Raub from Selangor with 35 Sikhs, the manager of the Raub mines having telegraphed that Mat Kilau threatened to attack the town. On the next day arrived forty more Perak Sikhs under Lieutenant Reid, assistant commandant. They were fired at by the rebels near Raub and had one casualty. Several Chinese were murdered and others robbed by armed Malays between Kuala Lipis and Selangor.

On 9 May, Walker had at Tras four European officers, (Reid and three inspectors), two jemadars, one hundred and seventy-two Perak Sikhs and a few Malay police. Kuala Lipis was garrisoned by one European inspector, forty-five Pahang Sikhs, and thirty-two Malays.

On 18 May, Walker, accompanied by Clifford, who acted as political officer, left Raub for Budu with three European inspectors, two jemadars, and one hundred and five Sikhs (including thirteen gunners with a seven-pounder gun). On the following day this force was joined by the Orang Kaya of Lipis and others. Mat Kilau declined to negotiate, and on 21 May Budu was attacked and burnt, Mat Kilau with sixty men and their women and children escaping into the jungle. Clifford intervened to save from destruction the property of the inhabitants of other villages in the vicinity. Mat Kilau, with half a dozen followers, presented himself to To'Raja but was refused shelter. He then joined forces with Bahman at Ulu Cheka.

In June Duff, acting superintendent of police, with forty-five Pahang Sikhs, and Husain the Orang Kaya of Chĕnor with Malay levies entered the Jempul in pursuit of Penglima Muda. They killed four men and arrested eleven. At Semantan and elsewhere the conduct of the Chĕnor Chief had aroused suspicion but he showed no lack of enthusiasm in the present expedition. In the course of the fighting in the Jempul he was fatally wounded by Khatib Omar (a follower of Penglima Muda) who was pursued and killed. On the death of the Orang Kaya, the Temenggong was appointed to take charge of the Chĕnor district. The Jempul outbreak was not finally quelled till October when the Penglima

Muda was killed in the Jempul by a Malay force despatched by the Regent. Among the rebel chief's effects was a seal cut from the Sultan's warrant appointing his father head-man of Jempul. The Penglima Muda had caused his people to believe that the seal covered a warrant authorizing him to take up arms. The thirty-two men arrested for complicity in the Sungai Duri murders were tried before the Regent and the Resident in August; seventeen were acquitted, five executed, and ten imprisoned in Kuala Lumpur gaol.

At the beginning of June Tengku Ali and To'Gajah returned to Kuala Semantan with four hundred prisoners (including women and children) who were settled at Jenderak in the charge of Tengku Chik the local head-man.

The Resident now proposed that To'Gajah be arrested because of the outbreak of his son Mat Kilau, his suspicious conduct during the Semantan expedition, and his suspected complicity with Penglima Muda. The Sultan strongly objected to the proposal, but promised to bring him to Pĕkan and send him to Mecca.

In the middle of June Haji Muhammad Nor's party returned. The Resident sent Duff and Wise with Sikhs up the Semantan to re-garrison Lubok Trua, and re-open communications with Raub by way of the Semantan and Bilut rivers. They met with no resistance. Wise returned to Temerloh and Duff joined Clifford in Ulu Pahang.

During June and July the Resident was engaged in arranging for the Sultan's withdrawal from Pulau Tawar. He visited Kuala Lipis and Kuala Tembĕling, and took re-inforcements to Inspector Fleming who had been attacked by rebels at Kuala Cheka. On 22 June, the Sultan, accompanied by To'Gajah, proceeded to Pulau Tawar on his way to Pekan.

On 13 July Walker and Clifford, accompanied by Captain Byrne, Inspector McKeon, one Jemadar, and sixty-three Sikhs marched from Lechok near Budu to Batu Balai where the rebels were reported to be encamped. Inspector Fleming and twenty-five Pahang Sikhs guarded Kuala Cheka. At Batu Berapit Walker's scouts were fired upon and one was killed. The rebels were soon dislodged after sustaining losses of one killed and one wounded. They then proceeded to attack Fleming at Kuala Cheka. On 14 July Walker found the Batu Balai camp deserted and, owing to lack of supplies, fell back on Lechok.

Six days later Fleming, Penglima Garang Yusoh, and their Malay levies were attacked for five hours by the rebels who were repulsed after inflicting two casualties. On the same day the rebels captured a small out-post held by four Sikhs and some Malays, and drove the defenders back to Kuala Cheka. The insurgents were trying to cross the Pahang river near this spot in

order to flee to Kelantan, For three days Bahman and Mat Kilau held the right bank of the Pahang. On 23 July Rodger took some of the Sultan's men from Pulau Tawar, and fifteen Sikhs from Kuala Tembĕling, and concerted a joint attack with Fleming ; the rebels fled without firing a shot.

At the beginning of August Walker had in Pahang thirteen European officers, Capt. Byrne R.M.L.I. from *H.M.S. Hyacinth*, Cuscaden, Superintendent of Police, Malacca, Lieut. St. Clair S.V.A. (in charge of Raub), and Duff with nine inspectors, one subadar, two jemadars, four hundred and twenty Sikh N.C.Os and men, fifty Malay police, and levies under the Orang Kaya of Lipis, Penglima Garang Yusoh and other Chiefs.

On 2 August Ahmad left Pulau Tawar for Pekan. On that night To'Gajah, with his wives and children, deserted the Sultan and fled to the Tembĕling on his way to Kelantan. In that river he was joined by his son Mat Kilau. The villagers of the Tembĕling, panic-stricken, fled in all directions and, except for the armed forces, the river became deserted. On 22 August, Mat Kilau and Awang Nong attacked Duff and Penglima Garang Yusoh at Kuala Atok. Duff lost two boats and two Perak scouts were killed, but the attack was repulsed. Penglima Garang Yusoh distinguished himself in this engagement. Walker and his Sikhs, accompanied by Wise, now political officer, reached Kuala Atok on the following day but the rebels had disappeared. On 26 August, Clifford joined Walker. On the following day the Government forces reached Pagi, three days' march from Kelantan, only to hear from Wan Ahmad that To'Gajah and Mat Kilau had crossed the border and taken refuge in Ulu Lebir. Walker returned to Kuala Tembĕling, and Clifford to Kuala Lipis. On September 6th a Eurasian government officer had his boat looted by a party of rebels under Bahman at Jeram Changkong (between Kuala Tembĕling and Kuala Lipis) in which locality they had been lurking for a month. Bahman released his captive after questioning him as to the Sultan's movements.

To'Gajah, who was now in Kelantan, on 28 August despatched a letter to Maharaja Perba, in which he said :

> "....I have arrived safely in Kelantan. If you intend to fight, inform me without delay, but let there be no holding back once a decision is made. The Sultan told me that if you rose in the Jelai His Highness would take up arms at Chĕnor. I have waited all this time but you have taken no action. In the meantime the British attacked me. I went to the Sultan and informed him of the attack. What was His Highness' reply? 'You had better retire to the Tembĕling first of all ; I do not know whether you have friends here.' I accordingly fled with my children, and three nights elapsed before the Sultan went down-stream. His Highness' command was : 'If To'Raja takes up arms you must help

him. If he remains quiet it would be folly for you to engage in operations, single-handed, for you have no men.' My intention was, on reaching the Tembĕling, in company with the Tembĕling men to wait for you to move, but when I arrived all the people fled with the exception of the Penghulu Raja. What could I do? I had no men. I followed on the heels of the Tembĕling folk and suddenly found myself with my children in Kelantan. I hope you will take up arms. If your messenger bringing the news that you will fight arrives in the evening, that very evening will I set out; if he arrives in the morning, that very morning will I start. I am going downstream to interview the Raja of Kelantan. Even if you will not fight I hope that you will reply to this letter for I am anxious to hear news of Pahang."[1]

To'Raja did not respond to the Pulau Tawar Chief's advances.

On 7 September, near Jeram Changkong occurred a skirmish between Walker and the rebels who had four casualties. Walker pursued the enemy to Kenong, but mistaking the Kelantan border, abandoned the pursuit and returned to Kuala Tembeling.

On 12 September To'Raja, in a letter to Che Harun of Sungai Galas Kelantan, wrote: "....I am very distressed because I alone am left: To'Kaya of Chenor has been killed in the Jempul, To'Gajah has fled from Pulau Tawar and entered the Tembĕling, the Orang Kaya Pahlawan has left the Semantan, and the Sultan has gone down to Pekan....If you do not pity me I shall die in misery...."[2]

On 16 September Walker, Clifford, and the Sikhs hurried to Kechau where they were joined by Duff and forty Sikhs from Kuala Tembĕling. They pursued the enemy from Kechau to Kuala Temasu on the Tanum which place they reached on 24 September. The rebels escaped into Kelantan and the pursuit was abandoned. Bahman was said to be at Ulu Nenggiri near Pulai, and To'Gajah and Mat Kilau on the Lebir, near the Pahang border. Representations were made to Kelantan to have them removed. By the end of September all the rebels had been driven out of Pahang. A month later Walker, with most of his men, returned to Perak. The danger of a general rising was at an end.

Rodger, in his report to the Governor, eulogized the masterly retreat of Bahman, burdened with women and children, and confronted with superior forces. The Semantan leader had probably not more than sixty followers armed with guns while Mat Kilau and To'Gajah had thirty-five rifles. The government forces lost fifteen men killed and twenty wounded; the rebel losses were twenty-five killed and ten wounded. The casualty list was not reliable as many of the enemy must have died of starvation.

[1] Papers of Maharaja Perba (MS.).

[2] *Op. cit.*

Of the twenty men excluded from the original Semantan amnesty three surrendered and were deported, one was killed, the Penghulu of Bentong and his brother Che Ali awaited trial, the rest had fled to Kelantan. The Orang Kaya Indĕra Sĕgara of Temerloh who had offered no opposition when Bahman looted Temerloh had been deprived of the greater part of his monthly allowance and removed to Pekan, his district being provisionally entrusted to Tuan Chik of Jenderak. The Semantan was placed under the charge of Saiyid Ali of Badoh. On the flight of To'Gajah, Pulau Tawar was handed over to Penglima Garang Yusoh, while the district of Budu, also controlled by To'Gajah, was restored to its ancient Chief, the Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa of Lipis. To'Lela of Kerdau, one of the Secondary Chiefs, who had joined Bahman, was deprived of his rank.

In August the Governor, accompanied by Major McCallum, had visited Pekan to hold a consultation with Ahmad who had come from Pulau Tawar. The Sultan of Johore, with the Mantĕri Besar and Dato' Sĕri Amar'diraja, also attended the conference. It was decided that a general amnesty should be proclaimed, applicable to all who had taken up arms, except Rasu and Bahman and those who had been guilty of crimes. In the case of the two rebel leaders, a promise was to be made to spare their lives if they surrendered. In September the Sultan of Pahang, on the Governor's invitation, visited Singapore.

While Ahmad was in Singapore, Sir William Maxwell, the Colonial Secretary, (who played no small part in the conciliation of the Sultan and his Chiefs), on 7 September, sent an invitation to Maharaja Perba to visit the Straits; the appearance of the Jelai Chief would be a gesture demonstrating to the public his good-will towards the Government. To'Raja, suspicious, read into the letter his death warrant, and he was induced to accept the invitation only when Saiyid Hasan bin Ahmad-al-Attas, the bearer of the message, pledged himself as a hostage for his safety.

In October, at an interview with the Governor in Singapore, the Jelai Chief, invited to voice his grievances, put forward several requests. He applied for increased allowances for himself and his head-men To'Muda Akir of Gua and Penghulu Teh of Rantau Panjang whose stipend should be made equal to that of To'Muda Yusoh; allowances for his relatives, including his son Wan Tanjong, and for his unpaid head-men, Rahmat of Kuala Cheka, Penghulu Muda of Kenong, To'Mat Penghulu of Kechau, To'Amit of Tanum, To'Imam Abbas of Atas Biau (successor of To'Sembab), Mukim Seman of Kuala Tanum and Yusoh of Perlak (successor of To'Muda Ahmad Tahir). He asked the Governor to confirm the grant to him of the water-shed of the Jelai Benar, and to exclude from the Penjom Company's title the locality of Gubar. He prayed that the proposal to diminish To'Raja's authority by raising Penglima Garang Yusoh of Kuala Tembĕling to the rank of a Chief

independent of To'Raja and directly responsible to the Sultan be abandoned ; the ancestral jurisdiction of Maharaja Perba covered the territory which extended from Tanjong Lindong to the borders of Perak, Selangor, and Kelantan, and the inhabitants of that area acknowledged him as their Major Chief. To'Raja went on to protest against the Penjom Company's claim to land which had long been in the occupation of his people. He asked that the Major or other Chiefs be not deprived of their rank without grave reasons : he had heard many rumours in Ulu Pahang to the effect that this Dato' and that Dato' would be deposed; where dismissal was warranted the deposed Chief should, in accordance with custom, he replaced by his son or one of his other relatives. The Jelai Chief enquired whether the Governor would entertain a petition from the people praying for the repeal of certain of the laws which had been passed: he referred particularly to the Kĕrah Regulations which, he maintained, bore heavily on the peasants. To'Raja concluded by asking for the release of six of his men who had been arrested on suspicion of consorting with the rebels.

The Maharaja Perba's representations emphasized some of the factors which had caused unrest in Ulu Pahang ; the inadequacy of allowances to the Chiefs, the disturbance by mining companies of the occupation by To'Raja and his people of ancestral lands, the circulation of unsettling rumours, and the Kĕrah Regulations,

At a conference held in October between the Governor. Ahmad, and the Johore ruler it was decided to proclaim a general amnesty to all, excepting Bahman and To'Gajah, who had taken part in the rebellion provided that they returned to their homes. The amnesty was to apply to rebels in respect of rebellious acts committed during the rising ; criminals were excluded. Maharaja Perba and Saiyid Hasan bin Ahmad al-Attas (a member of a well-known Pahang-Arab family) were appointed envoys of the Government to treat with the two rebel leaders who were exhorted to surrender themselves on a promise that their lives would be spared and that they would not be treated as common malfactors. Sultan Abu-Bakar of Johore, on behalf of the Pahang ruler, on 24 October, issued a proclamation to that effect. A few days later Abu-Bakar's Mantĕri, at Maxwell's request, wrote to the envoys explaining the exact purport of the proclamation.

By the end of 1892 there was a marked improvement in the relationship between the people and the government. The people showed themselves disposed to obey the laws and the Chiefs more ready to co-operate with European officers.

Most of the rebels took advantage of the amnesty and returned to their homes, but their leaders Rasu (formerly To'Gajah) and Bahman, men who could recall instances in which fugitives, induced to surrender by Malay rulers on a promise of mercy, were summarily put to death, anxious though they were to come to terms, were deeply suspicious of the advances made to them by the

Government. The rebel leaders, whose armed followers now numbered not more than a dozen, had taken refuge in Sungai Ampul, a tributary of the Lebir, in Ulu Kelantan where there were settled a colony of Pahang peasants who had fled from their native State during the civil war of the sixties. They had lost most of their supplies when their boats capsized in the rapids of the river, but the Kelantan people gave them assistance in food and money.

To'Raja lost no time in entering into negociations with the fugitives. Haji 'Abdu'l-Raof, a younger son of Rasu, who had not been deeply implicated in the rising, and now resided in Pahang, acted as an intermediary for the rebels. On 9 January 1893, Rasu sent a message to To'Raja by Haji 'Abdu'l-Raof informing him that as he was on his way to meet Wan Tanjong (To'Raja's eldest son) he fell ill and had to turn back. He enquired whether his son would be allowed to realize his property in Pahang. His messenger would recount to the Jelai Chief the circumstances attending Rasu's flight from Pulau Tawar. He suggested that the Sultan and the Government be informed of his illness. Rasu concluded by asking for a formal written assurance from To'Raja that the Government did not impute guilt to him.[1]

On 17 February, the rebel leader informed the Jelai Chief that only his son Haji 'Abdu'l-Raof had his complete confidence: "His words are my words." He expressed his pleasure at hearing that To'Raja had returned safely from Singapore after having been kindly treated by the Sultans of Pahang and Johore and the Governor. He was delighted, he wrote, that all the charges against him had been dropped. He requested a loan of six hundred dollars wherewith to repay his debts to the Kelantan people, and again asked for a written declaration from To'Raja and from the Resident that he and his sons were exculpated. He ended his message with the words: "If my requests above-mentioned are not acceded to, let me die in the jungle for I am afraid to return. I will attach no credence to mere verbal assurances no matter by whom given."[2]

On 3 October 1893, Rasu and Bahman wrote to Wan Tanjong enquiring whether his father had returned from Pekan and seeking his advice; they would return at once if he advised such a course, as their condition of living was not that of human beings. They asked what would be their position if they did return.[3]

The fugitive Chiefs now suggested that To'Raja should meet them in Ulu Tembeling. On 21 November 1893 Clifford, the acting Resident, agreed that Maharaja Perba should interview them and instructed him to explain clearly the terms of their

[1] *Op. cit.*
[2] *Op. cit.*
[3] *Op. cit.*

surrender, and to advise them to return quickly to Pahang. If they returned, To'Raja was ordered to escort them straight to Pekan.[1]

In December, To'Raja reported the result of the negociations. He had met Rasu, Bahman and Mat Kilau at Chekuas, and carried out his instructions to recall them to Pahang. They declined to agree to surrender on the terms set forth in Sultan Abu-Bakar's proclamation of 24 October 1892. They asked that the Sultans of Pahang and Johore, and the Resident should call them once more and give a pledge that the fugitive leaders would suffer no untoward fate. They asked that their sons and daughters should be placed under To'Raja's charge at Bukit Betong. If their request were granted they expressed themselves ready to proceed, in company with To'Raja, to the Sultan at Pekan, and afterwards to Johore. To'Raja added that the rebels had left for Ulu Tanum there to await a further communication from the Government, and that, after he had received letters from the Sultan and the Resident, he would enter into further parley with them and, if he were successful, escort Rasu and Bahman to Pekan.[2]

On 27 December Clifford thanked To'Raja for his services in the negociations, asked him to inform the fugitives that the Sultan and the Government would abide by the promise made by the Governor and the Pahang ruler, and agreed that the rebel leaders' children, with the exception of Mat Kilau, should take up their residence on the Jelai.[3]

The prospects of the fugitives' return at this stage seemed bright. 'Abdu'l-Raof entered into details with To'Raja regarding the disposal of his brothers and sisters when they returned to Pahang, and enquired where the Jelai Chief proposed to meet them. They all expressed their desire to settle in the Jelai, except Mat Kilau: "whose case is entirely different." Rasu asked that the Jelai Chief should provide him with money "even if it were only one cent, as a sign of friendship."[4]

The Resident, in his report for the year 1893, wrote:

> "....It is probable that before long both the ex-Datoh Gajah and the ex-Orang Kaya Pahlawan will surrender themselves to Government. These chiefs have now been deserted by nearly all their followers, the people who left the State in their company having since come in large numbers and given themselves up to Government, and it is probable that they could not at the present time muster more than a dozen fighting men should they desire to create further trouble.

[1] *Op. cit.*
[2] *Op. cit.*
[3] *Op. cit.*
[4] *Op. cit.*

There is little reason to anticipate that any of the chiefs now in Pahang would be willing to afford active assistance to the rebels, should the latter contemplate a renewal of hostilities, and so long as this continues to be the case, the presence of the rebel chiefs on our frontier cannot be regarded as a subject for any very serious anxiety."

The insurgents who were now back in Ulu Lebir, still suspicious, dreading the degradation from their former rank in Pahang, and morally supported to a large extent by both Kelantan and Trengganu, still refrained from surrender though they continued negociations.

In February 1894 E. A. Wise, Superintendent of Ulu Pahang, on Clifford's instructions, sent a messenger with letters from the Sultan and the Resident to Awang Nong, one of Rasu's sons who resided at Kuala Tembĕling, with orders to deliver them to the rebel leaders. Awang Nong, fearing to leave Pahang, asked Che Mat Idris of Kuala Tembĕling to take his place. Che Mat Idris deputed Wan Hamid of Jeram Ampai to report on the condition of the rebels, Wan Hamid accordingly proceeded to Kelantan where he met his relatives. On his journey back he encountered Bahman and Rasu on the Sungai Ampul. Rasu, who was seriously ill, informed him that he was only waiting for the arrival of Awang Nong to return to Pahang. Bahman also expressed his intention to return after his wife's confinement. Wan Hamid visited Mat Kilau at Pasir Durian (Kelantan). With Mat Kilau were Yusoh and Teh Ibrahim. On Rasu's proposed return to Pahang his son Mat Kilau, and Mat Lela son of Bahman, did not intend to accompany him. Wan Hamid did not meet the rebel, Mat Kelubi. It appeared to him that Rasu and Bahman, judged by the wretched conditions under which they lived, did not contemplate any further adventures in Pahang.[1]

On 20 April 1894 Rasu and Bahman wrote to To'Raja:

"....We are afraid to return to Pahang as the place is full of rumours brought from Tembĕling by way of Kuala Kelantan that the Government has furnished Kelantan people with rifles to kill us. That is the reason why we have not yet returned and are living in the jungle. The interior of Kelantan and Trengganu and all countries are closed to the four of us[2] for the Government has issued instructions in all States that we are to be shot at sight, and have offered a reward of one thousand dollars for our capture. We cannot go anywhere to seek food because many people are awaiting the opportunity to betray us. We are deeply distressed for you had told us that the Government had dropped proceedings against us and that we were absolved. At the present time we are leading a precarious

[1] *Op. cit.*

[2] The rebel leaders and their sons Mat Kilau and Mat Lela.

existence on hills at the source of unknown rivers, waiting for the confinement of the Orang Kaya's wife, which event will take place this month.

"We do not fear the reports from the Tembĕling for we are anxious to return to Pahang this very moment, but are delayed by the expected confinement of the Orang Kaya's wife. We hope to return after her delivery: we solemnly swear it!"[1]

This mischievous and baseless rumour, coupled with the influence of Engku Saiyid of Trengganu, destroyed all hopes of a voluntary surrender, though Rasu and Bahman still pretended an anxiety to return, and did not break off negociations.

About the end of April To'Raja made one more appeal to Bahman to surrender himself. He had often, he said, informed the Government that Bahman had arranged to meet him but the fugitives had failed to appear. He pointed out the folly of continuing the struggle against the Government.[2]

At this time there lived in Trengganu a fanatical holy man, Engku Saiyid of Paloh. He enjoyed a great reputation for sanctity and was endowed, in the popular mind, with supernatural attributes. Pilgrims came to see him from far and wide. He got into touch in May with the rebel Chiefs who had taken up their residence at Sabĕrang Engku Ngah (a place at Kuala Trengganu opposite the Sultan's enclosure), and preached to them a holy war against the infidel, assuring them that if they fought they would be invulnerable and victorious. Urged by this incitement the rebels prepared to attack Kuala Tembĕling. Engku Saiyid gave them several charms, among others, a sword apiece, on the blade of which he had traced a text from the Koran with his own hand. One of these weapons was afterwards captured at Jeram Ampai. The rebel Chiefs had only a dozen effective fighting men among their following, but backed by the influence of Engku Saiyid, they raised a force of about one hundred men in the Besut district of Trengganu, and in Ulu Lebir, Kelantan. A Kelantan man, Saudagar Awang Ngah, succeeded in smuggling arms and ammunition for the rebels from Singapore. The forces were concentrated at Paloh.

In the meantime negotiations with the Pahang Government had not been broken off, and even while preparations were being made for an attack, envoys from Pahang arrived at Ulu Lebir to treat with the rebels. They were To'Muda Akir of Goa, To'Muda Awang Tanggok of Kechau, and Che Wan Husain, the Penghulu Raja of the Tembeling. In response to the envoys' enquiries the

[1] *Op. cit.*

[2] *Op. cit.*

rebel leaders professed themselves ready to return to Pahang to surrender themselves in a few days, but it did not take long to discover that no peaceable design was afoot.

Two days after the arrival of To'Muda Akir and his companions, Mat Kelubi reached Ulu Lebir with the rebel forces from Paloh. On their journey up-stream they were feted as heroes by the people. All pretence was now dropped. On the night following their arrival Rasu, Bahman, Mat Kilau and Mat Kelubi with about a hundred men began their raid. To'Muda Akir and his friends (who were left behind by the rebels and subsequently returned by Pulai) were unable to warn Pahang of the impending foray owing to the speed with which the raiders moved. The rebels crossed the border into Ulu Tembĕling on 12 June 1894, and made a rapid descent of the Tembĕling, impressing on the way all the adult male inhabitants of that river. Before dawn on 14 June they made a successful surprise attack on the stockade at Kuala Tembĕling. This fort, built in 1892 to accommodate two hundred men, and designed to be the head-quarters of the Government forces operating against the rebels, at the time of the attack was occupied by only eleven Sikhs who were inadequate to defend it. The assault was cleverly managed in the darkness of a moon-less night in the hour before dawn. The sentry was struck down and the station-house captured before the Sikhs were aware of the presence of the enemy. Five of the defenders were killed, their bodies being afterwards mutilated ; the remainder, one of whom, Ram Singh, received more than thirty wounds, escaped. Ram Singh, grievously wounded though he was, succeeded in making his way to Pulau Tawar where he reported the raid to Penglima Garang Yusoh who had taken the ex-To'Gajah's place as chief of that locality, and to To'Raja who then happened to be in Pulau Tawar. The two Chiefs at once collected their men into a stockade and prepared to resist the rebels.

In the meantime Bahman, Rasu and Mat Kilau, after their successful morning attack, looted the trading boats moored at Kuala Tembĕling and, the same day, moved down river towards Pulau Tawar with the object of inducing To'Raja and Penglima Garang Yusoh to join them in the revolt. The rebels halted at Kedondong, a village about two miles above Pulau Tawar, and sent messages to the Chiefs asking them to take up arms against the infidels, and invoking the names of Tengku Long and Engku Saiyid of Trengganu. To'Raja replied that he would give an answer in the morning. The messengers came back asking for a definite answer and stating that the rebel Chiefs threw themselves on To'Raja's mercy. He returned a fatalistic reply : " If we are to live we shall live, if we are to die we shall die," and refused to treat further with them.[1] The insurgent chiefs, finding that their efforts to gain adherents were unsuccessful, retreated at midnight to Kuala Tembĕling and thence to Jeram Ampai, about

[1] *Op. cit.*

four miles from the mouth of the Tembĕling, where they constructed stockades on the right and left banks. To'Raja and Penglima Garang Yusoh followed them as far as Kuala Tembĕling.

Mat Kelubi, one of the rebel leaders who, with fifty men, had been left in charge of the captured post at Kuala Tembĕling, went up the Jelai with a dozen scouts to secure that warning should be given against a possible atack from Kuala Lipis. On 15 June To'Raja and Penglima Garang Yusoh, with their men, fortified themselves on both sides of the river at Kuala Tembĕling, gathered together such arms, ammunition and men as they could collect, and sent news of the raid to Kuala Lipis and Temerloh. On 16 June Mat Kelubi and his party returned to Kuala Tembĕling where they were attacked by the Ulu Pahang Chiefs who killed him and seven of his men. The *Hikayat Pahang* describes the fight :

> " The enemy went up-stream to Kuala Tembĕling and looted the Chinese shops. They first thought of making a stand there and using the place as a base for an attack on Kuala Lipis, but their courage failed them, and they retreated up the Tembĕling and constructed stockades at Jeram Ampai. Mat Kelubi was ordered to take a party of eleven scouts as far as Kuala Lipis. Their intention was to burn various villages on the Jelai. They went up-stream arrogantly, not like scouts; they made no attempt to conceal themselves and boasted of their prowess in war. In the meantime Penglima Garang and To'Raja with their forces appeared, took possession of Kuala Tembĕling on both banks and constructed stockades. Penglima Garang knew that Mat Kelubi had gone up the Jelai and ordered his men to be on the alert. In a short time Mat Kelubi was seen coming down-river. Penglima Garang and To'Raja awaited his arrival below the mouth of the Tembĕling. When Mat Kelubi came near he shouted out boastfully and conducted himself like an actor in a play (*bersila panggong*). The forces of Penglima Garang fired a volley which was replied to by the rebels. Mat Kelubi and his men then leapt into the river. They were followed in a boat by Penglima Garang who speared them as one would spear fish (*seperti orang menuba ikan*). Only two of the rebels escaped, the rest were killed. Penglima Garang and To'Raja strengthened the stockades and collected their men."

Walter Egerton, acting Resident of Pahang, on hearing of the attack on Kuala Tembeling, accompanied by R. W. Duff, Superintendent of police, with a small body of Sikhs at once left Pĕkan for the interior. He reached Kuala Tembĕling on 18 June. There he was joined by E. A. Wise, acting Superintendent of Ulu Pahang, with another detachment of Sikhs. It was considered that the united force was not strong enough to attack the rebel positions at Jeram Ampai. By 28 June detachments of

Colonial, Perak, and Selangor Sikh police under the command of Assistant Superintendent Stewart, Lieut.-Colonel Walker, Captain Talbot, and Captain Lyons had arrived at Kuala Tembeling. On the morning of 29 June an attack was launched on Jeram Ampai, Walker, Lyons and Talbot with the main body of Sikhs and Malays proceeding up the left bank of the Tembĕling, while operations on the right bank were entrusted to Duff who was accompanied by Stewart. One mountain-gun was taken with Walker's column, but was sent back as it retarded the progress of the attacking party. No medical officer of any kind accompanied the troops though two dressers were available at Kuala Tembĕling. Wise accompanied Walker's column in the capacity of political officer. The Government force on the left bank reached a spot in the jungle from which, unnoticed, they could hear the rebels in their stockades. A somewhat impetuous attack headed by Walker and Wise would then seem to have been made ; no steps had been taken first to surround the enemy and cut off his means of retreat. As he was hacking his way through the fence of the stockade Wise was shot in the leg by some of the Sikhs who were in his rear engaged in firing at the stockades from the cover of the surrounding jungle. He died of his wound, and was buried at Kuala Tembĕling. The rebels after a short resistance fled with a loss, it was reported, of forty men killed. On the Government side Wise and four Sikhs were killed, and Talbot and four Sikhs wounded. The attack on the right bank miscarried. Duff, misled by his guides, did not reach the scene of action until the fighting was over.

Of Wise, Clifford wrote: "....By the sad and untimely death of this officer the Pahang Government sustained a loss the severity of which it is difficult to exaggerate. Mr. Wise possessed, to a degree by no means common among Europeans, a natural and peculiar aptitude for native work. During the last five years of his life, years that were spent without once quitting Pahang, he had acquired an intimate knowledge of the country, the people, and the dialect of the State, which when coupled with his undoubted ability and his unswerving devotion to duty rendered him an ideal officer for the charge of a difficult Malay district, such as Ulu Pahang. His firmness, his tact, and his great personal charm inspired feelings of respect and attachment in men of all classes and races with whom he came into contact...."

An organized pursuit of the rebels was commenced early in July when Clifford had resumed charge of the State. On 21 July Clifford, with a force of one hundred and thirty Malays, crossed the border into Trengganu territory through unexplored country, and after a slight brush with an isolated band of rebels, reached Kuala Alor in Ulu Pertang on 29 July. There he was joined by Walker, Duff and a column of Sikhs and Malays. On 1 July the combined forces came up with the rebels, and in the ensuing engagement Clifford lost one Sikh, one Dyak and three Malays

killed, and one Malay Chief (Wan Abdullah son of Wan Ismail of Pulau Besar), and one Dyak wounded. The rebels suffered no casualties but had to abandon their belongings. Among their effects were found letters incriminating in the rebellion persons of high rank in Kelantan and Trengganu.

On 7 August, the rebels were completely surrounded, cut off from all supplies, and their capture seemed imminent when they were afforded an avenue of escape owing to the bad faith of Engku Selia Raja of Kemuning and Dato' Penglima Dalam, two Chiefs who had been sent by the Raja of Kelantan under the pretence of aiding the Pahang force. By this time the Governor's orders not to cross the border had come to hand and Clifford reluctantly withdrew his forces. The Perak and Selangor Sikhs were at once returned to their respective States.

A few days after Clifford's departure, the rebels emerged from their hiding places in the jungle, and accompanied by the Kelantan ruler's emissaries, proceeded to the residence of Engku Selia Raja at Kemuning (Machang) in Kelantan. Here they were relieved of their non-combatant followers who were despatched to Siam. Rasu and Bahman spent a few weeks in Engku Selia Raja's compound. After a pretended attempt at arrest by a Malay noble whose Siamese title was Luang Pati Pak Pachakon they proceeded to Besut in Trengganu, where they remained until May 1895.

The raid by Bahman and Rasu and their followers embarrassed Pahang but little damage was done to life and property, and communications on the Pahang river were interrupted for only five days. The development of the State was not seriously retarded by this isolated foray.

The inhabitants of the Bentong and Semantan districts who had fled when Bahman was driven out in 1892 had now returned to their homes. The Sultan continued to reside at Pekan. He visited Singapore twice during the year. His Excellency Sir Charles Bullen Mitchell rode into Pahang from Kuala Kubu in September 1894. He was the first Governor to perform the journey by land.

The immediate punishment of the raiders was rendered impossible by the political considerations which dictated Clifford's recall from Kelantan, a State under Siamese suzerainty, but it was now clear that the safety of Pahang depended upon the complete crushing of the rebels. Failure to avenge the raid would encourage its repetition on a bigger scale, and stultify the newly established Protectorate.

On 7 January 1895 Clifford received approval of his proposals for a punitive expedition to Kelantan and Trengganu against the rebels. It was arranged that Siamese Commissioners should accompany the Government forces. In February news was

brought that the rebels had established themselves on the Kembiam river in Besut, and were endeavouring to raise a following for a second raid. By March, the Siamese Commissioners, Luang Visudh Parihar and Luang Senasti Borirom, had arrived in Pahang. Clifford's force which consisted of two Europeans, R. W. Duff, Superintendent of police, and A. B. Jesser Coope, Residency Surgeon, and an effective fighting strength of about one hundred men (fifty-five Malays, thirty-nine Dyaks and eight Sikhs) assembled at Kuala Tembeling. The principal Malay Chiefs who accompanied him were Penglima Garang Yusoh (who after the foray at Kuala Tembeling had been promoted to the rank of Imam Perang Sĕtia Raja), Penglima Kakap Husain, and Che Wan Ahmad of Ulu Tembĕling.

The party left Kuala Tembĕling on 17 March 1895. Clifford did not contradict the rumour current among the Malays that his proposed route lay along the Sat into Kelantan, but at Kuala Sat he suddenly turned off and followed the Sĕpia into Trengganu. At Kuala Pring ninety-five bearers and personal attendants were sent back to Pahang. All his men, including Europeans, owing to difficulties of transport, were required to live on a diet of rice. An exception was made in favour of the Sikhs who, though they behaved well, seemed totally unsuited for jungle operations. The party reached Malaka on the 1 April, and Kuala Trengganu two days later. At this village, at Kampong Melur, Tapah in Ulu Nerus, and elsewhere stockades had been erected by the orders of the Sultan ostensibly as a protection against the rebels, but really to repel any attack which might be made on Trengganu by the Pahang forces.

In the meantime the Trengganu ruler, who had received a letter from the Siamese Government informing him that an expedition was contemplated against the rebels, sent Raja Ismail (Weng) to Besut to warn them. Mat Kilau thereupon visited Paloh at the end of March, and had returned to Besut only a few days before Clifford's arrival on 10 April. During their stay at Paloh the rebels had been assured by Engku Saiyid that he and the people of Trengganu would protect them.

When Clifford arrived at Kuala Trengganu he was courteously and hospitably received by the Sultan who professed his willingness to give what help he could to the expedition. Clifford was convinced that, friendly though the Sultan seemed, little assistance was to be expected from him. The Raja issued conflicting sets of orders, one designed to please Clifford, the other to be obeyed by his people. In April he issued a public proclamation in which he enjoined his subjects to assist the expedition, and gave certain wide powers of investigation to its leader. In a secret proclamation, circulated among his Chiefs, he forbade the people of Stiu and Besut to disclose the hiding-place of the rebels, and

ordered them to rescue the fugitives if they were captured. The Trengganu Chiefs might well re-echo To'Raja's perplexity under similar circumstances: "*Ini titah ini pun titah*!"

On 12 April Engku Saiyid was interviewed by Clifford. He denied any association with the rebels.

On 25 April a force commanded by Duff departed for Besut to attempt to drive the fugitives from that district into Lebir, where it was arranged that Clifford should await them. Many members of the expedition, including Imam Pĕrang Sĕtia Raja, having fallen seriously ill, were sent back by sea to Pahang.

On 5 May, 1895, Clifford, who had left Trengganu about a week earlier, crossed the border into Kelantan. At Kuala Aring and Kuala Miak he found watch-houses (*pendiat*) erected by the orders of Dato' Lela Deraja as a protection against the rebels. Duff returned from Besut on 10 May with the news that the people there were entirely hostile, and that if Clifford and his force entered the district there would be a general rising against him. The Resident considered that his party was strong enough to deal with the Besut men, but the Governor had not authorised hostile action against the people of Trengganu.

On 23 May, near the mouth of the Pertang, the Pahang forces narrowly missed capturing the rebels, who by this time had been reduced to some seven men, including Rasu, Mat Kilau, Awang Nong, and Teh Ibrahim. Clifford then concentrated the people and rice supplies in a few villages in order to deprive the rebels of food and harbourage. These methods were successful in driving the fugitives out of Ulu Kelantan into Trengganu. They found life so intolerable that they fled down-stream to the protection of Engku Saiyid at Paloh. Clifford followed on their heels but they reached Kuala Trengganu a few hours before his arrival. The Resident demanded their surrender but the Sultan denied knowledge of their whereabouts. A large force was then despatched on a pretended search for the rebels, but the search party was unsuccessful, as it was meant to be. Clifford thereupon made strong representations to the Ruler but without effect.

No good was to be gained by further operations in Trengganu, and on 17 June, 1895, Clifford, on instructions from Singapore, withdrew his forces to Pahang after having spent three months in the "Benighted Lands." This was the last phase of the Pahang rebellion. The expedition had failed to capture the rebel leaders but it succeeded in its main object, which was, to discourage any further raids by thoroughly cowing Rasu and his comrades, and demonstrating to the neighbouring States of Trengganu and Kelantan the determination of the Government not to allow these countries to be used as a base for attack on Pahang.

The Malays who accompanied Clifford had lent their services willingly and without remuneration. The total cost of the expedition amounted only to seven thousand dollars.

In November, 1895, six of the rebel Chiefs, Bahman, Awang Nong, Yusoh, Teh Ibrahim, Haji Mat Wahit and Mat Lela surrendered to the Siamese authorities, and were taken to Siam. Rasu and Mat Kilau were reported to have died in Trengganu.

His Highness Sultan Abdullah al-Muktasim Bilah ibni Sultan Ahmad.

APPENDIX I.

THE DESCENT OF THE EARLY SULTANS.

For an account of the early Sultans of Pahang, apart from information gleaned from epitaphs on tomb-stones, the writer is dependent upon four original Malay authorities:

(*a*) the *Sejarah Melayu*, Shellabear's MS., (the references here are to the third edition, reprinted, published by the Methodist Publishing House, Singapore, 1915, and designated *Sej.*);

(*b*) The Batavian recension of the *Sejarah Melayu* (here designated *Sej. Bat.*);

(*c*) a variant version of the *Sejarah Melayu* published by Dr. Blagden in J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. III, Part I, 1925, (here termed *Sej, V.V.*); and

(*d*) the *Bustan-al-Salatin*, partly published in J.S.B.R.A.S., No. 81, 1920, p. 39 *et. seq.* (here called *Bust.*).

Portuguese writers help us, in a very small way, to unravel the tangle of the Pahang succession.

The author of the *Bust.* had a copy of the *Sejarah Melayu* before him when he wrote his account of the Pahang Sultans ("Source of the Malacca, Johore, and Pahang Genealogies in the *Bustan-al-Salatin*", J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XI, Part II, 1933, p. 144), and it is likely that the MS. to which he had access was that on which the Shellabear MS. was based.

In considering the various aspects of Pahang history from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries we must bear in mind that the author of the *Sejarah Melayu* was chiefly interested in the history of Pahang in so far as it related to Malacca-Johore, and that the writer of the *Bust.* had the Pahang descent of his Achinese master mainly in view.

The descent of Sultan Muhammad, the first Malacca-Malay ruler of Pahang (who died in 1475 A.D.), as given in the epitaph on his tomb, strikingly corroborates the version of the *Sejarah Melayu*. But after this Sultan's death there is doubt as to the exact identity of some of the rulers: the uncertainty is due, in no small degree, to the confusion which arose in our Malay authorities between names such as Ahmad (احمد), Muhammad (محمد), Mahmud (محمود), and Jamal (جمل) which, particularly in old manuscripts where diacritical points are often omitted, and where a *dal* may often have been misread for a *lam* (and *vice versa*), may have been mistaken one for another, and to the practice (unfortunate for the historian !) of calling princes after their uncles and grand-fathers.

The descent of the early Pahang Sultans has been discussed by Sir Richard Winstedt (" The Early Rulers of Perak, Pahang, and Acheh," J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. X, Part I., pp. 32-44), and by Mr. Wilkinson (" The Early Sultans of Pahang," *loc cit.*, pp. 45-54).

Below is given a reconstructed descent (" A ") of the rulers who are the subject of this appendix. The list attempts to reconcile the information given by our original authorities in so far as it can be reconciled, and to correct it where the evidence seems sufficiently strong to justify correction. The numbers in brackets refer to the persons whose names are marked by corresponding numbers in genealogical tree " A ".

According to the *Sejarah Melayu* it was after Sultan Mansur of Malacca (1) had come to the throne (*ca.* 1458) that he conquered Pahang and married Putĕri Wanang Sĕri (also known as Puteri Lela Wangsa) by whom he had two sons Ahmad (3) and Muhammad (2). The latter became Sultan Muhammad of Pahang and died in 1475. The name ' Ahmad Muhammad ' by which he is sometimes designated in *Sej.* and *Bust.* is due to a passage in the former which, the context reveals, is obviously corrupt : *Sej.* p. 85 : *Maka tersebut-lah perkataan anak Sultan Mansur Shah yang bernama Raja Ahmad Muhammad itu ; maka kedua pun besar-lah* : " Now it is told of the *son* of Sultan Mansur Shah, Raja Ahmad Muhammad, *how both of them* grew up...."

The author of the *Bust.*, who appears to have had a version of the *Sejarah Melayu* on which *Sej.* was based before him when he wrote, perpetuated the ' Ahmad Muhammad ' myth. *Sej. Bat.* does not use the name.

The *Sej.*, *Sej. Bat.*, and *Bust.* agree in saying that Sultan Muhammad (2) had, by a Kelantan princess Mengindera Putĕri, three sons Raja Ahmad (7), Raja Jamal (or Jamil) (6), and Raja Mahmud (9), (though in two passages of *Sej.*, pp. 141 and 193, and in the corresponding passages of the *Sej. Bat.* the name Raja Muzaffar is given in place of the last-named prince), and that he was succeeded by one of these sons. Mr. Wilkinson (*loc. cit.*) is of opinion that the first Sultan was succeeded (after a short reign by Mansur, an infant son of the deceased ruler, who was murdered) by Sultan Mahmud (or Ahmad) (3), a full brother of Sultan Muhammad (2), and that the above-named princes were the sons, not of the first ruler but of this brother (3). There is no doubt that Mr. Wilkinson is correct in saying that (3) ruled in Pahang, but the identification of the princes (6), (7) and (9) as the sons of (3) is open to question. Mr. Wilkinson bases his argument (*a*) as to the succession of (3) to the Pahang throne, and (*b*) as to the paternity of (6), (7), and (9) on :

(*i*) the improbability, in the natural course of events, of Sultan Muhammad (2), whose mother did not marry his father until after the conquest of Pahang (which

event, according to the *Sejarah Melayu*, took place after the accession of Sultan Mansur of Malacca to the throne *ca.* 1458), having before he died in 1475, at the age of not more than fifteen years, begotten several sons by one mother;

(*ii*) certain passages in the *Sejarah Melayu*.

According to one of these passages (*Sej.*, p. 148) the Bendahara of Pahang remonstrates with the Sultan for the killing of Tun Telanai of Trengganu: "Your younger brother of Malacca will be angry." The Sultan retorts: "Why should I fear the king of Malacca for I should have ruled in Malacca being the elder: my late father at Malacca (1) proclaimed me the heir!" (The *Sej. Bat.* gives a different version.) Sultan Mansur of Malacca did not die till 1477, two years after the decease of his son Sultan Muhammad (2), and was succeeded by a younger son Sultan Alauddin I (4). The Sultan of Pahang described in this passage, an elder brother of (4), cannot have been the first ruler (2) as the latter predeceased his father (1), and must have been no other than (3). In another part of the Annals (*Sej.*, p. 141) we are told: "Raja Ahmad, the ruler of Pahang, son of Sultan Mansur Shah, married the daughter of Bendahara Sĕri Amar 'diraja and begot a son Raja Mansur. And he who was styled Sultan Mahmud Shah begat three sons, and a daughter, (the sons were named) Raja Jamal (6), Raja Muzaffar Shah (? Mahmud), and Raja Ahmad. Sultan Alauddin (4) married his daughter Raja Fatimah (12) to the son of Raja Ahmad the ruler of Pahang. Sultan Alauddin (4) reigned in Malacca, and Raja Muhammad (3) went to Pahang to his *elder brother* (2); he married a grand-daughter of Sultan Iskandar and begat a daughter Raja Wati (10)...." Here we have some confusion between "Raja Ahmad the ruler of Pahang" whom Mr. Wilkinson puts as (2), but I identify as (3), "Sultan Mahmud Shah" whom Mr. Wilkinson regards as (3), I as (2), and "Raja Muhammad" who is (3). The *Sej. Bat.* gives a different reading.

Bust. (p. 42) records that: "Raja Muhammad Shah (3), who reigned in Pahang, asked permission of his younger brother Sultan Alauddin Shah (4) to go to His Highness of Pahang and Sultan Alauddin ordered his men to escort him to Pahang." If "His Highness of Pahang" refers to (2), who, we know, died in 1475 then Alauddin at this time must have been junior Sultan (*Sultan Muda*) of Malacca as his father (1) did not die till 1477.

Sej. (p. 181) says: "We now proceed to speak of Sultan Mahmud the eldest ruler of Pahang. He died leaving three sons, named Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamil, Raja Muzaffar, and Raja Ahmad." The corresponding passage of *Sej. Bat.* calls him "Sultan Muhammad" and leaves out "eldest." Mr. Wilkinson does not interpret this passage of the *Sej.* as above but would take the words *Raja Pahang yang tua itu* to mean "the old ruler of Pahang" and

identifies him as (3). But a passage in *Sej. V.V.* quoted below indicates that the reference is to (2).

There are two other references which bear on the subject: *Bust.* pp. 144-146: "....Now Raja Muhammad, son of Sultan Mansur Shah of Malacca, had a daughter named Putĕri Olah (10), very fair in appearance"—this lady was apparently *Raja Wati* of *Sej.* p. 141.—" The princess married Sultan Mahmud Shah (9), and had two sons, the elder named Raja Muzaffar (16), the younger, Raja Zainal (17)". The "Raja Muhammad" here described appears to have been (3).

The other reference is in *Sej. V.V.* (p. 39) where a prince who must be none other than (9) is described as *anak raja Pahang raja yang asal*: "the son of the original ruler of Pahang," *i.e.* of Sultan Muhammad (2).

On the evidence available it seems irrefutable that Sultan Muhammad (2) was succeeded, not by a son (6) or (7), but by a brother Sultan Ahmad (also called Mahmud or Muhammad) (3), though our Malay authorities do not plainly so inform us, and that this Sultan Ahmad was the ruler of Pahang who, in consort with Inderagiri, according to Portuguese sources, instigated the poisoning of Sultan Alauddin of Malacca (4) in 1488. But a case is not at all made out for accepting Raja Ahmad (7), Raja Jamil (6) and Raja Mahmud (? in places called Muzaffar) (9), as sons of the second Sultan (3). The weight of evidence is in favour of regarding them as the sons of Sultan Muhammad the first ruler (2). Mr. Wilkinson's objection that (2), by the time of his death was not sufficiently old to have begotten three children by one mother, may be met by assuming that Sultan Mansur of Malacca (1) when he conquered Pahang was not Sultan in the full sense of the word but Sultan Muda, *i.e.* that the conquest of Pahang, Mansur's marriage with the captive Siamese princess, and the birth of the first Sultan of Pahang (2), took place some years before Sultan Mansur's accession in 1458 A.D.: it is reasonable, and not out of accordance with precedent, to suppose that Mansur's father, Muzaffar Shah, who according to *Sej.*, p. 82 had reigned for forty-two years, a tired man, some years before his death handed over the reins of government to his son who, even while he acted as regent, would naturally be described as Sultan.

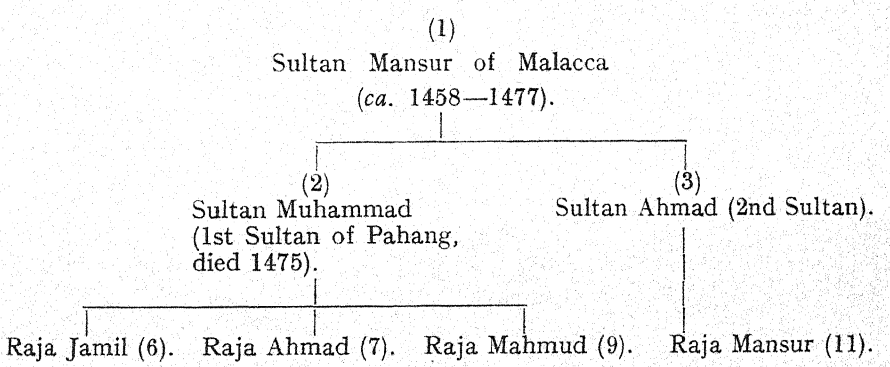
According to the view here accepted Sultan Muhammad of Pahang (2) who died in 1475 A.D. was succeeded by his full brother Sultan Ahmad (3).

Mr. Wilkinson mentions a Raja Mansur an infant son of the first Sultan who, he infers, for a short period succeeded his father, and was murdered by his warriors (Wilkinson *loc. cit.*, p. 48), apparently basing his authority on *Bust.* p. 45. But according to that passage Mansur was a son of Raja Ahmad who was a son of the first Sultan. This Mansur appears to have been the son (11) of the second Sultan (3); he shared the government for a time with

his first cousin Jamil and ended by being killed but not till he had reached maturity : anyhow the term " slain by all his warriors," *di-bunoh oleh segala hulubalang-nya*, seems rather inappropriate when describing the murder of an infant. We shall come again later to the Mansur to whom this passage of the *Bust.* probably refers.

Sultan Muhammad who died in 1475 A.D. (2) was succeeded by his full brother Sultan Ahmad (3) who, we know, was alive and reigning in 1488 A.D. Sultan Alauddin of Malacca (4) died in that year, poisoned, according to d'Albuquerque's " Commentaries," at the instigation of the rulers of Pahang and Inderagiri. Who could have had a greater interest in the death of Alauddin than his elder brother Ahmad, the second Sultan of Pahang, who had been passed over for the Malacca throne in Alauddin's favour ?

We have now reached this stage in the reconstruction :



According to d'Albuquerque's " Commentaries " a ruler of Pahang, son of Sultan Mansur of Malacca, by a daughter of the king of Pahang (*i.e.* Putĕri Wanang Sĕri), was poisoned. The murdered ruler was either the first or the second Sultan of Pahang, probably the first.

The next problem that confronts us is : which of Sultan Muhammad's sons succeeded the second ruler Sultan Ahmad (3), and who was *Marhum Shaikh* ? Malay authorities, as usual, diverge : *Sej.* (p. 123) names them in the order Ahmad (7), Jamil or Jamal (6), and Mahmud (9). The corresponding passage in *Sej. Bat.* calls Ahmad (7) the eldest. From *Sej.* (p. 141) it may be inferred that Jamal (6) was the senior. Following *Sej.* (p. 181) Jamil (6) was the first of his brothers to be Sultan. According to *Sej.* (p. 193), when Sultan Jamil ('Abdu'l-Jamil) abdicated, his young " son " Mansur was placed under the guardianship of " uncles " including " Raja Ahmad ". From *Sej.* (p. 238) we gather that Raja Ahmad (7) was never Sultan, and predeceased his brother Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamil (6). The *Sej. V.V.* does not

touch on these events, but the *Sej. Bat.* and the *Sej.* agree in saying that Jamil (6) abdicated in favour of a son Mansur, retired to Lubok Pĕlang, and was posthumously called *Marhum Shaikh.*

The *Bust.* (pp. 44-46), deliberately rejecting the view of the author of the *Sejarah Melayu* as to the identity of *Marhum Shaikh,* says that Raja Ahmad (7) was the eldest of his brothers, that by a commoner wife he had a son Mansur, that he retired to the interior of Pahang and was known as *Sultan Shaikh,* that he was succeeded by his son Mansur, and that the latter married Raja Fatimah (12) a daughter of Alauddin I of Malacca (4), was murdered by his warriors and was succeeded by his uncle Jamil (6), the " second son " of Sultan Muhammad (2), who took the title of *Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamil Shah,* and after death was known as *Marhum Ziarat.*[1]

We know that Raja Fatimah died in 1495 and was buried in the grave-yard situated in Pekan Lama known as *Ziarat Raja Raden,* that, by the side of her grave, is the tomb of an *'Abdu'l-Jalil* who died in 1511, and that there is another grave there with tomb-stones of the same type as those of *'Abdu'l-Jalil.* (We note in passing that the lapidary style of the inscriptions on the latter's tomb is similar to that of the inscriptions on the grave-stones of Sultan Mansur of Malacca—died 1477—which are preserved in Raffles Museum, Singapore—in fact some of the same prayers appear on both tombs.) We also know that at Lubok Pĕlang, to which place *Marhum Shaikh* retired and where he was buried, is a grave marked by carved, uninscribed tomb-stones, and that the spot, to the present day, is revered as a miraculous shrine, the resting place, according to tradition, of an ancient ruler whose consort was abducted.

Portuguese, records (" Commentaries " of d'Albuquerque, J.S.B.R.A.S., No. 17, 1886, p. 129) tell us that Sultan Mahmud of Malacca (*Marhum Kampar*) (13), after his expulsion from Malacca, died of grief in Pahang during his sojourn there (in 1511-1512). We know that this fugitive Sultan did not die in Pahang, and that his death did not occur till much later (1528). But we shall be justified in taking the " Commentaries " to be correct to the extent of inferring that a personage, important enough to be taken for the deposed ruler of Malacca, did die in Pahang while *Marhum Kampar* was in that country in 1511-1512. This potentate can have been none other than 'Abdu'l-Jamil (6), described by *Bust.* as *Marhum Ziarat,* and he must have been the *'Abdu'l-Jalil* buried in *Ziarat Raja Raden,* whose death, the inscription on his tomb tells us, occurred in 917 A.H. (1511-1512 A.D.).

Our Malay records, in places, confuse Jamil (6) with his uncle Sultan Ahmad (3), and this Sultan Ahmad with his nephew

[1] In old Malay MSS., in the absence of diacritical points, it is easy to misread 'di-Baroh' (دبارہ) for 'Ziarat' (ذيارة).

of the same name (7), *e.g.*, stories of the elephant *kepenyang* are told in connection with both Sultan Ahmad (3) and Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamil (6), *Sej.* pp. 148, and 190-2. The events connected with the abduction of Tun Teja, according to the *Sejarah Melayu*, occurred in 'Abdu'l-Jamil's reign ; the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* seems to indicate that the events took place in the reign of Sultan Ahmad (3)—the *Hikayat Hang Tuah* is a collection of historical fables but its evidence must not be ignored. Ahmad (7) is regarded as the eldest of the brothers and is said by *Bust.* to have succeeded (2). The *Sejarah Melayu* says that the Sultan who abdicated and retired to Lubok Pĕlang and was buried there and was called *Marhum Shaikh* was Jamil (6). According to the *Bust.* it was Ahmad (7) the brother of Jamil to whom those events referred and who was known as *Marhum Shaikh*, not Jamil who was called *Marhum Ziarat*. But Jamil (6), according to other passages of the *Sej.* was alive and reigning in 1500 (sharing the government with his " son " Mansur) when the Siamese invaded Pahang (p. 196 *sq.*), and lived to greet the fugitive ruler of Malacca in Pahang in 1511 (p. 225). The *Bust.* account in this respect seems the more correct and *Marhum Shaikh* was probably Ahmad : the author had the *Sejarah Melayu* before him when he wrote, and must have deliberately rejected the view in that record that *Marhum Shaikh* was Jamil (6).

It is tolerably well established, from what has been written above that (6) was *Marhum Ziarat* not *Marhum Shaikh*.

But, though *Marhum Shaikh* was Ahmad, it seems that this Ahmad was not the brother of Jamil of the same name (7) but his uncle the second Sultan (3) who was variously designated *Ahmad*, *Muhammad* or *Mahmud*.

The *Bust.* records that the first Mansur of Pahang was the son of Ahmad whom we have taken here to be the second Sultan (3). This version of the *Bust.*, modified to the extent of identifying Ahmad as the second Sultan (3), seems correct.

A help in unravelling the Pahang dynastic problem is the bearing in mind of the fact that there were two families struggling for supremacy : the descendants respectively of Muhammad the first Sultan (2) and of his successor and brother Ahmad (3).

Mansur (11), the second Sultan's son, shared the government of Pahang with his first cousin Jamil (6). In 1511 he strengthened his position by an alliance with a daughter (18) of *Marhum Kampar* (13), and shortly afterwards—in the same year in fact—his elder cousin Jamil (6) died. Jamil's status as co-ruler with Mansur may have been impaired by *Marhum Kampar's* arrival in Pahang, and by the alliance between Mansur and the fugitive Sultan's daughter. Matters solved themselves, (whether in the course of nature, or not, we do not know), by the death of Jamil (6). The title and descent of the latter (the *'Abdu'l-Jalil* of *Ziarat Raja Raden*) are not given in the epitaph on the tomb erected,

apparently, on the orders of his royal cousin the ex-Sultan of Malacca. Did *Marhum Kampar* refuse to recognize Jamil's title as ruler, or are we to ascribe the omission to the lack of space on the tomb-stones which may have been turned out, complete with prayers, for such funereal occasions? It is not unlikely that the latter conjecture is correct.

Why is 'Abdu'l-Jamil's name given on his tomb as *'Abdu'l-Jalil*? We must put it down to a natural mistake on the part of the sculptor: the words Jamil (جميل) and Jalil (جليل) are very similar, and actually in the same line of the inscription in which the proper name appears, are written, of the deceased, the attributes *al-jamil* (الجميل) and *al-jalil* (الجليل)—Appendix V, p. 229—so, in engraving the proper name, the sculptor made the natural mistake of writing the one for the other.

We sum up the conclusions reached here. Sultan Muhammad the first ruler (2) was succeeded in 1475 A.D. by his full brother Sultan Ahmad (3). The latter, who was mistaken by *Bust.* for the eldest son of (2), was the Sultan who abdicated and was known as *Marhum Shaikh*. Jamil (6), Ahmad (7), and Mahmud (9) were the sons of the first Sultan. The *Sejarah Melayu* is wrong in saying that Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamil (6) was *Marhum Shaikh* and, apart from the opposing evidence of the *Bust.* on the point, contradicts itself by describing 'Abdu'l-Jamil as still ruling, jointly with Mansur (11), in 1500, and 1511. 'Abdu'l-Jamil is correctly styled *Marhum Ziarat* by the *Bust.* He was buried in *Ziarat Raja Raden* in Pekan Lama. His is the tomb there the inscription on which gives his name as *'Abdu'l-Jalil* and the date of his death as 917 A.H. (1511-1512 A.D.). He was the prince who, according to the "Commentaries," died "of grief" in 1511-1512, and he was important enough to be mistaken by the Portuguese writer for the fugitive Sultan of Malacca who, at the time, was a refugee in Pahang.

After 'Abdu'l-Jamil's death his cousin Mansur was sole ruler. His royal wife was a daughter (18) of *Marhum Kampar* whom he had married in 1511-1512 A.D. His father (3) the ex-Sultan Ahmad who had abdicated and retired to Lubok Pĕlang, was still alive. Between the year 1512-1519 A.D. it appears that Mansur was killed by his warriors because he engaged in an intrigue with one of his father's wives (*Bust.*, pp. 44-46; *Sej. V.V.*, pp. 13-14).

On Mansur's death the succession reverted to one of the original line, his first cousin Mahmud (9) who apparently is the prince described in the *Sej. V.V.* (p. 39) as *anak raja Pahang raja yang asal*, "the son of the original ruler of Pahang." This Mahmud (9) married (*i*) his first cousin Raja Olah (Wati) (10), a

daughter of the second Sultan (3), (*ii*) Raja Hatijah, a daughter of his first cousin *Marhum Kampar*. He was alive when Sultan Alauddin II (21) visited Pahang *ca.* 1529 A.D.

According to the *Bust.* Sultan Mahmud (9) had two sons, Raja Muzaffar who succeeded him, and Raja Zainal (Sultan Zainal-Abidin); Muzaffar was succeeded by Raja Zainal. According to the *Sej. V.V.* (p. 50) Mahmud was succeeded by a brother (*saudara*) called Raja Zainad (Zainal) who assumed the title of Sultan Muzaffar. Sultan Zainal-Abidin was succeeded by his son Sultan Mansur II (*Marhum Shahid*).

It is not unlikely that (9) is buried at *Ziarat Raja Raden.*

APPENDIX II.

THE FAMILY OF THE BENDAHARAS AND MODERN SULTANS.

The royal family of Pahang claim descent from the Bendahara Sekudai, *Marhum Padang Saujana* (Bendahara Tun Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid who died in 1697), and Sultan Abdu'l-Jalil IV (*Marhum Kuala Pahang*) who was killed at Kampong Marhum, Pahang, in 1720. From Bendahara Sĕri Maharaja Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid, namesake of *Marhum Padang Saujana*, who governed Pahang from 1770 to 1802, onwards the descent is clear. The exact nature of the connection between him and 'Abdu'l-Jalil, and between the Chief who died in 1697 and Bendahara Sekudai is not certain.

Bendahara Paduka Raja, Tun Sĕri Lanang of the Malacca stock of Bendaharas, whose patron was Sultan 'Abdu'llah Ma'ayat of Johore (reigned 1613-1615) and who wrote the "Malay Annals" about 1614, according to the Batavian version of the "Annals"[1] had two sons of note, Bendahara Sĕri Maharaja Tun Anum, who was succeeded in the office of Bendahara by his brother Bendahara Paduka Raja Tun Jinal, Dato' Sekudai. One of Tun Jinal's sons, the same authority records, was Tun Mutahir Nara Wangsa, the latter being a common title in the Bendahara family.

According to the same version of the "Annals" (MS. p. 197) the Bendahara who betrayed the mad Sultan Mahmud, *i.e.* 'Abdu'l-Jalil IV, was a descendant of Dato' Sekudai.[2] Shellabear's version of the "Annals" states that a son of Bendahara Sekudai married a grand daughter of Tun Sĕri Lanang. The same authority (p. 264) refers to a Chief who died at Tanjong Batu (*Dato' yang hilang di-Tanjong Batu*) at the time that Johore was subject to Jambi (1673-1678).

Is the Tanjong Batu here mentioned one of the places of that name in Pahang or the Tanjong Batu of Johor Lama? It will be remembered that Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil III with his Court took refuge in Pahang after the Jambi victory of 1673 and resided there for several years. The Sultan died in Pahang at the end of 1677 and was known as "The late Sultan who died in Pahang," (the Johore nobles did not leave the country until the following year). Naning and Sungai Ujong legends relate that the Bendahara Sekudai went to Pahang. It may be, then, that the Tanjong Batu here referred to was in Pahang.

According to the Batavian *Hikayat Negeri Johor* a Dato' Temenggong was killed by the Laxamana (Paduka Raja) at Tanjong Batu in 1677. Was the victim the *Dato' yang hilang*

[1]Described by Winstedt (History of Johore p. 138) as Van Ronkel's CCCXLV, Von de Wall, 190, corresponding with Dulaurier's Codex A.

[2]Should the "Bendahara yang Batu la" of this partly-corrupt passage read "Bendahara Tanjong Batu-lah"?

di-Tanjong Batu of the "Annals"? A Johore family tree says that a Temenggong Tun Mutahir, whom it identifies with a brother of *Marhum Kuala Pahang*, was given Tanjong Batu as his province. Does the Johore account mistake this Chief for his namesake Tun Mutahir Nara Wangsa, according to the Batavian recension, the son of Tun Jinal Dato' Sekudai? And was this son of Tun Jinal the Temenggong who was killed at Tanjong Batu? If that is so, and if the "'Dato who died at Tanjong Batu" of the "Annals" referred to this Mutahir, then we have grounds for believing that Tun Mutahir Nara Wangsa was an ascendant of Sultan Abdu'l-Jalil IV.

According to Rembau tradition, the Bendahara Sekudai, an ancestor, on the distaff side, of the ruling familes of Rembau and Sungai Ujong, settled in Pahang and had a daughter To' Mengkudu who was the mother of a Bendahara of Pahang. A Naning account says that a wife of a Sĕri Maharaja of Sekudai bore a daughter To'Mengkudu who married a "noble of Pahang who was killed in war" (*Tun Shahid Pahang*). Was this the Chief who was killed at Tanjong Batu? Sir Richard Winstedt inclines to the view that *Shahid* was a corruption of *Saiyid*, and that the reference was to Bendahara Tun Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid ("Tun Habib")—*Habib* being the Achinese equivalent for *Saiyid*. Traditions from Sungai Ujong recorded by Campbell and Bland relate that Bendahara Sekudai, described in Campbell's account as Penghulu of Rembau, went to Pahang. It is strange that Pahang traditions should be almost completely silent regarding the advent of the famous Bendahara Sekudai. Dato Sĕtia Jaya (Haji 'Abu-bakar, Secretary to the late Sultan 'Abdul'lah) identifies him tentatively with an "Abbas of Semantan." It is unfortunate that so little is known of the descent of the old family of the Major Chiefs of Semantan (Orang Kaya Indĕra Sĕgara of Temerloh). Their family traditions, now lost, may have contained information regarding Bendahara Sekudai.

It has been surmised that Bendahara Sekudai flourished about 1644 but that date seems rather early. The next Bendahara whose name is recorded in history is Tun Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid who died in 1697. The connection between him and Bendahara Sekudai is unknown. It may be that he married a daughter of that famous Chief. Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid was succeeded by the Bendahara who on his accession to the throne in 1699 was styled 'Abdu'l-Jalil. This Bendahara-Sultan is described in our Malay chroniclers as the son of Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid. From Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid (Bendahara of Pahang *ca.* 1770 to 1802) onwards, as we have said, the descent of the Pahang rulers is beyond dispute. It is not easy to find the exact link between him and Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil.

The available, original authorities for this period are:[1]

[1]Abbreviation: J. M. B. R. A. S., Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch.

(1) The *Tuhfat-al-Nafis* (a Malay History of Riau and Johore, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. X, Part II, 1932) ;

(2) A Batavian *Hikayat Negeri Johor* (Batavian MS. CCCLV and CCCLVI of Van Ronkel's catalogue—published in J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol X, Part I, p 164 *sq.*) ;

(3) A *Hikayat Johor*, (Weltevreden M.S., quoted by Mr. R. J. Wilkinson, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. IX, 1931, pp. 28-34) ;

(4) *Sejarah Raja-Raja Riouw* (Summary by Sir Richard Winstedt, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XI, Part II) ;

(5) A Johore *Hikayat Kerajaan* (M.S., quoted in Winstedt's History of Johore, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. X, Part III, p. 148) ;

(6) *Silsilah Melayu dan Bugis dan Sakalian Raja-raja-nya* (translated by Mr. H. Overbeck, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. IV, Part III, pp. 339-381) ;

(7) A *Hikayat Johor serta Pahang* (Summary by Sir Richard Winstedt, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XI, Part II, 1933, pp. 161-165) ;

(8) Pahang and Johore genealogical trees ;

(9) " A new Account of the East Indies " by Capt. Alexander Hamilton, Edinburgh, 1727.
(Tavares' " Jornada de Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho " sheds little new light upon the descent of the Bendaharas.)
Other authorities are :

(10) " Mahmud II and 'Abdu'l-Jalil III " by R. J. Wilkinson, (J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. IX, Part I, 1931, pp. 28-34) ;

(11) " The Bendaharas and Temenggongs " by Sir Richard Winstedt (J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. X, Part I, 1932, pp. 55-66) ;

(12) " The Bendaharas of Pahang " by the writer (J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. IV, Part III, 1926, pp. 334-338) ;

(13) " History of the Peninsular Malays " by Mr. R. J. Wilkinson (3rd edition, pp. 82-83) ;

(14) " The Bendaharas and Temenggongs of the Eighteenth Century " (Appendix F to Winstedt's History of Johore, J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. X, Part III, 1932, pp. 147-150) ;

(15) "An Eighteenth Century Tomb at Pekan Lama" by the writer (J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. IV, Part III, 1926, p. 333).

The numbers in brackets in this Appendix refer to the authorities bearing the corresponding numbers above-given.

(3) records that Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil (*Marhum Kuala Pahang*) " while he was still Bendahara had a son who became Bendahara in Pahang, and it is from this son that are descended the present Bendaharas of Pahang."

According to (7), the author of which got his information mostly from oral sources :

> " The present rulers of Pahang originally came from Johor Lama. They are descended from Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Jamal who was succeeded by 'Abdu'l-Jalil, who was succeeded by Hasan, who was succeeded by Tahir (Mutahir) who was the first Bendahara of Pahang. Tahir left five sons named Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid, Tun 'Abdu'l-Jamal who became Temenggong at Riau, Tun Muhammad who lived in Trengganu, Tun Yusop who resided at Tembĕling, and Tun Abbas who lived at Semantan. On Tun Tahir's death his son Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid became Bendahara of Pahang ".

The *Wan* families of the Tembĕling claim descent from Yusop. (7) wrongly states that Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil IV was buried on the up-stream side of the Sungai Pekan (a tiny tributary of the Pahang).

The Pahang " official " tree (12) tells us that the descent was : 'Abdu'l-Jalil, Abas, Hasan, Mutahir (whom it describes as the first Bendahara of Pahang), and 'Abdu'l-Majid. It adds that Mutahir was buried in the Bendahara's grave-yard at Kuala Pahang, (a tomb said to be his is still pointed out there).

According to Johore family trees quoted in (13), and (14), Mutahir was a brother of 'Abdu'l-Jalil.

(1)[1] records that Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil had sixteen children, that Raja Sulaiman's mother was a commoner, but as this prince was born after his father had become ruler he was designated for the succession ; that Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil's eldest son was made Bendahara, another son Temenggong, and a third Raja Indĕra Bongsu, and that his brother was made Raja Muda ; that Raja Sulaiman, when he was fighting the Menangkabaus after his father's death, went to Pahang to the *Bendahara Pekok* for assistance ; that when Sulaiman was created Sultan (in 1722) the Bugis leader Upu Kĕlana Jaya Putĕra was created Yam Tuan Muda on the advice of Bendahara Sĕri Maharaja Tun Abbas ; and that Abbas went mad in 1148 A.H. (1735 A.D.).

(4) says that, on the death of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil in 1720, Raja Kechil refused to raise the Bendahara to the throne.

According to (6), when 'Abdu'l-Jalil was made Sultan, Raja Indĕra Bongsu was created Raja Muda, and Temenggong Abdullah was made Bendahara in succession to Bendahara Tun Mas Anom who had died, and it was in their time that Johore was destroyed ; Tun Nara Wangsa was killed with Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil at Kuala Pahang in 1133 A.H. (1720 A.D.) ; the Sultan was buried at Teluk Kandang (Kampong Marhum) ; Raja Sulaiman

[1]Malay text p. 8.

went to Pahang to his uncle *Bendarahara Pekok* ; the Bugis had an understanding with Raja Sulaiman, the eldest of his family, and " *Bendahara Pekok* of Pahang."

(2) records that Orang Kaya Nara Wangsa Tun Hamid[1] was killed with his father Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil at Kuala Pahang ; that Sultan Sulaiman visited Pahang on 20 Rabi-al-Awal 1148 A.H. (1735 A.D.), and built a wall around his father's tomb; that not long afterwards, at Trengganu, he married Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid to Tun Inah a daughter of *Dato' Bendahara di-Trengganu* ; that about 1151 A.H. (1738 A.D.) Inche Kutan and Dato' Tua came (to His Highness) on the instructions of the *Bendahara di-Trengganu*, and Tun 'Abdu'l-Rahman, and Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid ; that subsequently His Highness went to collect the aborigines accompanied by Tun 'Abdul'-Rahman and Tun 'Abdul'-Majid ; that the Sultan again went to Pahang in 1154 A.H. (1741 A.D.) and ordered his father's tomb to be repaired ; that at the time were present certain Chiefs (to whom we shall refer presently) ; that Dato' Bendahara Tun Husain then returned to Trengganu with a sick son, while another son, with "the old Bendahara at Pahang," (*Bendahara Tua di-Pahang*) accompanied His Highness to Riau. From the above passages in (2) it is clear that Tun Husain was the *Bendahara di-Trengganu* ; that he cannot have been the father of Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid as his daughter Tun Inah married that Chief ; and that he was not the " old Bendahara."

(2) says : when Sultan Sulaiman repaired the tomb of his father in 1741 there were present (among others) :

> " Dato' Bendahara Tun Husain a half-brother of His Highness (Sultan Sulaiman), and Tun 'Abdu'l-Rahman son of Dato' Temenggong whose popular name was Tun Mutahir, and Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid, and Raja Muhammad son of the Raja Muda Mahmud who died at Kayu Anak."

If this passage is correct, and words are not omitted, it seems strange that the patronymic of Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid is not given, while the parentage of the Chiefs mentioned before and after him is stated—the mention of 'Abdu'l-Rahman as a son of Mutahir, and the absence of mention of Mutahir as father of 'Abdu'l-Majid, coupled with this juxtaposition of the names, leads to the supposition that 'Abdu'l-Majid was not the son of Mutahir. Did the writer know who Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid's father was, or was the parentage so well known that the chronicler considered it unnecessary to mention ? 'Abdu'l-Majid's name appears in several other passages of (2) but without a patronymic. One other point

[1]Malay text p. 10. The reading تون تاراغي " Tun Tarangi " on p. 2 is an obvious corruption of تون ناراوغس " Tun Nara Wangsa " : *vide* (1), Malay text p. 40, and (6), pp. 349-350.

arising from the extract from (2) here quoted is noteworthy: the traditional ancestor of the royal family was popularly called "Mutahir"; we do not yet know his real name.

During this period 'Abdu'l-Majid's name is frequently mentioned in (2) side by side with that of Tun 'Abdu'l-Rahman, a son of Mutahir—an indication, perhaps, of their close relationship.

In yet another passage of (2) it is stated that Sultan Sulaiman (about 1737) was accompanied on a voyage by "the three brothers Tun 'Abdu'l-Rahman and Dato' Sewa Raja and Tun 'Abdu'l-Jamil." If 'Abdu'l-Majid is here referred to under the title *Dato' Sewa Raja*—a title held by his grand-son Bendahara Ali and his great grand-son Bendahara Ahmad—then this extract provides evidence to show that he was the son of Mutahir who, we know, was the father of Tun 'Abdu'l-Rahman. The view that this Dato' Sewa Raja was 'Abdu'l-Majid is corroborated by the mention of Tun 'Abdu'l-Jamil (a frequent misspelling in MSS. for 'Abdu'l-Jamal) as his brother; we know that 'Abdu'l-Majid had a brother Temenggong 'Abdu'l-Jamal.

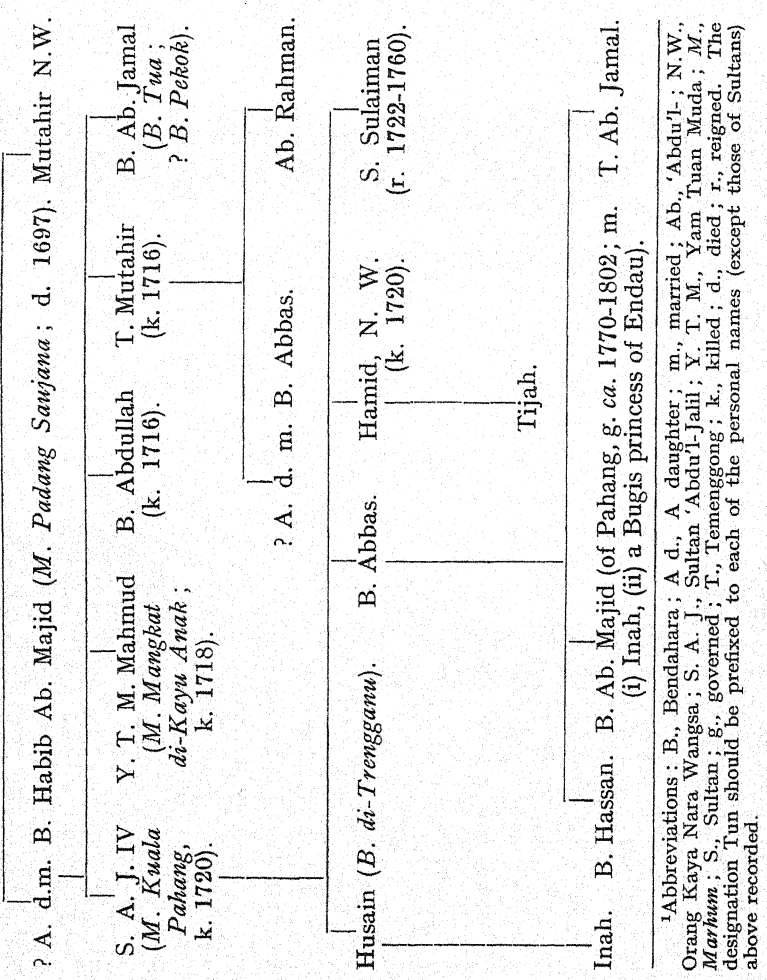
According to the evidence presented by (15) given above (p. 47)—to which former writers on the subject have not adverted—Mutahir and 'Abdullah, brothers, killed one another at Pekan on 12 September 1716. Sir Richard Winstedt (14) is clearly mistaken in inferring from (2) that Mutahir was alive in 1740, and that Yam Tuan Muda Mahmud was killed in Pahang—*vide* (6), p. 349.

Mutahir and Abdullah were buried at Pekan Lama on the up-stream side of the rivulet known as Sungai Pekan near the grave yard Ziarat Raja Raden in which is situated the tomb of "'Abdu'l-Jalil" who died in 1511-1512. (7) confusing this 16th century potentate with *Marhum Kuala Pahang*, recorded that 'Abdu'l-Jalil IV was buried "on the up-stream side of Sungai Pekan". A different Pahang tradition (12) correctly places the grave of the Bendahara-Sultan at Kuala Pahang but wrongly locates Mutahir's grave in the same cemetery. It was a natural mistake to make. Pahang folk-lore had heard of a Tun Mutahir (according to the Batavian recension of the 'Annals,' a son of Bendahara Sekudai) who bore the title Nara Wangsa; it also heard that a Chief with the title of Nara Wangsa was killed with his father Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil IV in 1720—(1), (2), and (6)—(and was almost certainly buried by his side), so it was naturally, but wrongly assumed that the son of Sultan Abdu'l-Jalil who was killed with him bore the name Tun Mutahir Nara Wangsa.

It will be seen that, apart from the genealogical trees (to which the objections put forward *supra*, p. 49, apply), nowhere in the original authorities here quoted is there direct evidence of the parentage of Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid, Bendahara of Pahang *ca.* 1770-1802. That he was descended from the old Bendaharas is

undisputed, but the exact lineage still awaits proof. Pending such proof we accept, with hesitation, Tun Abbas son of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil IV as the parent of 'Abdu'l-Majid. In support of this conclusion there is the Pahang tradition that an Abbas resided at Semantan in Pahang.

RECONSTRUCTED GENEALOGY SHOWING SOME OF THE ASCENDANTS AND DESCENDANTS OF SULTAN 'ABDU'L-JALIL IV.[1]

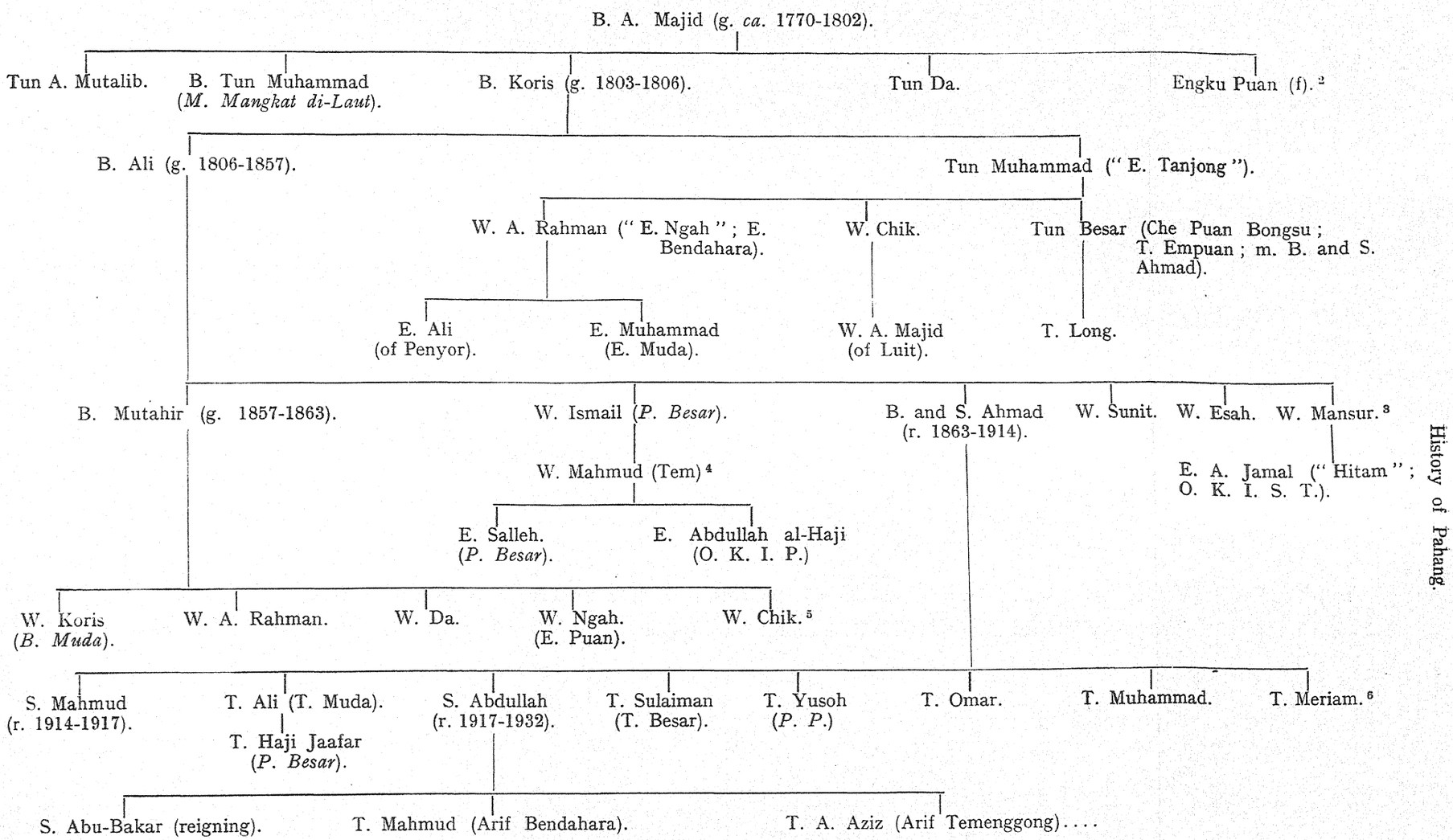


[1]Abbreviations: B., Bendahara; A d., A daughter; m., married; Ab., 'Abdu'l-; N.W., Orang Kaya Nara Wangsa; S. A. J., Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil; Y. T. M., Yam Tuan Muda; *M., Marhum*; S., Sultan; g., governed; T., Temenggong; k., killed; d., died; r., reigned. The designation Tun should be prefixed to each of the personal names (except those of Sultans) above recorded.

Abbas may have married a daughter of Mutahir. This conjecture, though unsupported by any evidence, is consonant with the Pahang tradition that Mutahir was an ancestor of the Pahang royal family.

On the death of Bendahara Abdullah in 1716, another brother, Tun 'Abdu'l-Jamal, was made Bendahara. He may have

SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL DESCENDANTS OF BENDAHARA 'ABDU'L-MAJID :[1]



[1]Abbreviations : B., Bendahara ; A., 'Abdu'l- ; f., female ; E., Engku ; W., Wan ; S., Sultan ; P. Penglima ; P. P., Penglima Perang ; O. K. I. P., Orang Kaya Indĕra Pahlawan of Chenor ; O. K. I. S. T., Orang Kaya Indĕra Sĕgara of Temerloh ; g., governed ; r., ruled or reigned ; *ca.* about ; *M. Marhum* ; Tem., Temenggong.,

[2]Engku Puan married Sultan Mahmud Shah of Lingga.

[3]Other children of Bendahara Ali were : Wan Sulong, Wan Teh, Wan Timah, Wan Andak, and Wan Hassan. Wan Sunit married Wan Abdullah a younger brother of Sultan Abu-Bakar of Johore. Wan Esah married Tengku Kechik of Johore.

[4]Wan Mahmud's full title was Temenggong Sĕri Maharaja.

[5]Mutahir's other children were Wan Osman, Wan Abdullah, Wan Muhammad, and Wan Nit. Wan Chik married Sultan Abu-Bakar of Johore.

[6]Sultan Ahmad's other children were Tengku Long, Tengku Dalam, Tengku Nong and Tengku Kelsom. Sultan Mahmud married Tengku Meriam sister of Sultan Ibrahim of Johore. Tengku Meriam, daughter of Sultan Ahmad, married the present Sultan of Trengganu.

been the Chief who, according to (4), unsuccessfully claimed the throne on the death of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil in 1720. It may have been for that reason that Sulaiman, when he became Sultan in 1722, made his elder brother Abbas, Bendahara Seri Maharaja, after which date 'Abdu'l-Jamal was known as *Bendahara Tua*, "the old Bendahara."

When Sulaiman was fighting against the Menangkabaus (1720-1722) he went to *Bendahara Pekok* " the deformed Bendahara " in Pahang for re-inforcements. Was this Chief Abbas, Sulaiman's elder brother, or 'Abdu'l-Jamal, his uncle ? (6) bears out the latter view, describing the *Bendahara Pekok* as Sulaiman's uncle, and saying that the Bugis were sure to have an understanding with Raja Sulaiman and " *Bendahara Pekok* of Pahang." On the other hand the tradition that a Chief named Abbas lived at Semantan must not be ignored.

Johore, "very bravely removed their property from Pahang." The exodus was, no doubt, partial and temporary.

It is clear, therefore, that not alone the watersheds of the Bĕra and Triang, controlled by the Chiefs of Temerloh and Chĕnor, but the territory of the Jelai magnate could rightly be regarded as units in the group of the Menangkabau-Peninsular petty States, to the extent that the Chiefs, with many of the non-aboriginal settlers who resided within their jurisdiction, were of Menangkabau origin, and owed a common allegiance to the Bendahara-Sultans who had succeeded to the throne of the Malay kingdom after the murder of Sultan Mahmud in 1699. But it is significant, and it must be emphasized that the Menangkabaus in Pahang never became powerful enough to impose their matrilineal system of society on the country.

There are three genealogical accounts extant of the powerful family of the Jelai Chiefs, one of which, the oldest, was at one time in the possession of the Orang Kaya Maharaja Sĕtia Raja, Haji Wan Daud, another was written by Maharaja Perba the second Wan Muhammad, and a third was collected by Mr. A. F. Worthington from Che Sat of Penjom, one of the head-men of the Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa of Lipis. We designate these genealogies *A*, *B* and *C* respectively.[1] *A*, which is only partly legible, can readily be dated: it mentions Bandar Maharani (Muar) which was not so named till 1884, and the Orang Kaya Haji was killed in 1889. *A* was therefore written between 1884 and 1889, but it was, without doubt, based on an older MS. In addition to an account of Maharaja Perba's family it comprises a few details of the families of the other three Major Chiefs.

According to *A*, the family of Maharaja Perba, whom it designates Sĕri Maharaja Perba, came originally from Kota Lima-Puloh in Menangkabau. Sĕri Maharaja Perba had two brothers and a sister. His sister married Tun Bandan, a pious man of Sembawa, and emigrated to Patani with her husband and one of her brothers. Bandar Maharani (Muar) was granted by the Sultan to the four Chiefs *i.e.* Sĕri Maharaja Perba, Maharaja Indĕra Putĕra, Maharaja Indĕra Pahlawan and Shahbandar. They were subsequently granted territory in Pahang by Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur. Sĕri Maharaja Perba found a child in Selinsing grass, (the traditional origin of the name of a locality on the Jelai). He reared the child to man-hood and then, with the consent of the other three Chiefs, presented his adopted son as his successor to the Sultan of "Johore" who approved the appointment, and gave the heir the title of (?) Maharaja Dalam. Maharaja Perba's successor married the daughter of Tun Bandan of Patani, and founded a settlement at Kuala Tanum which became known as Bukit Kota. His descendants established

[1]Genealogies A and B appear in Appendix IV.

themselves at Kuala Kechau, Lanar, and Balai (places on or near the Jelai). After Sĕri Maharaja Perba, there came into the Jelai Tun Bahar, Tun Budiman, Tun Draman, Tun Derhaka, Tun Jalil and others. And after him, too, there came into the Jelai Bendahara Garang.... (here the manuscript becomes undecipherable). Bendahara Garang had no children, but a supernatural agency, this time a *betong* bamboo, conveniently provided him with an adopted son who was given the title of Baginda Damun (or Temu). Bendahara Garang then returned to Perak, having left Baginda Damun behind in charge of Maharaja Perba with twelve families to tend the boy.

According to genealogy *B*, the original Maharaja Perba purchased from the Sultan of Lingga territory in Pahang extending from Tanjong Lindong (above Jerantut) to the boundaries of Perak and Kelantan. The price was a levelled (or full) gantang of gold, a coconut-shaped vessel filled with gold, and an arm-sleeveful of gold ! Maharaja Perba's descent was :

To'Raja married Tuan Putĕri, an aboriginal Princess of Bukit Berenting (a hill in the locality of Selinsing).

To'Raja (*Raja Muda*) who died at Semput (in the Tanum).

To'Raja who died at Riau.

To'Raja Wan Muhammad who died at Bukit Kota.

To'Raja Wan Idris who died at Bukit Betong.

To'Raja Wan Muhammad (1882-1919).

A well-established tradition gives the name of the Chief who died at Riau as Wan Ismail.

According to genealogy *C*. To'Raja's descent was :

Baginda Damun (of Kota Lama Kanan, Perak).

To'Jaffar Saban.

To'Embong Pian (eldest son).

After To'Embong Pian came five generations of To'Raja's family (whose names are not recorded), the sixth in descent being To' Raja Wan Idris. To'Jaffar Saban's (?) brother, ancestor of the Sĕtia Wangsa family of Lipis, left Perak about 1,000 A.H. (1591 A.D.), and after passing through Selangor, Sungai Ujong, Malacca and Johore came to Pahang. He was the first Muhammadan to enter the Jelai and he converted the people to Islam.

Thus the genealogies. What truth is in them ? History knows of no Sultan of Johore named 'Abdu'l-Ghafur, but there was

a famous Pahang Sultan of that name ('Abdu'l-Ghafur Mohaidin, 1567—1614 A.D.), who, we learn from Chinese records, took refuge from his enemies in the Jelai (about 1612). This ruler owned gold-mines on the Jelai and had given his son Raja Muda especial jurisdiction over the Tembĕling.[1]

The account in *A* of Chiefs with the title of *Tun*—a designation commonly used by the descendants of the Malacca Bendaharas—coming into the Jelai after Maharaja Perba, and of the visit of Bendahara Garang of Perak—one of the family of Megats who usurped the Perak Bendaharaship in the (?) 18th century—coupled with the statement in *C* that a progenitor of the line of Lipis Chiefs was Baginda *Damun*—a name derived either from Temu a place in the Jelai valley, or from Demang a "headman," or from Temong in Upper Perak—and the occurrence of the name To' Jaffar *Saban*, recalls the Perak legend of the white Semang (J.S.B.R.A.S., No. 9, 1882, pp. 89 ff.; and the "History of Perak," pp. 122-124 and 138-139). Are we to suppose that the relatives of Tun Saban, the last of his line to be Bendahara of Perak, who was killed at Kota Lama by a Menangkabau soldier of fortune Megat Terawis (a near relative of Bendahara Garang), fled to the Jelai, which district was already in the possession of Maharaja Perba, and were pursued thither by Bendahara Garang?

If we leave out of account the aboriginal princess, and the reference to "Raja Muda," *B* may be taken as correct in so far as it goes. It is corroborated by Pahang tradition emanating from another source (*Hikayat Pahang serta Johor*).

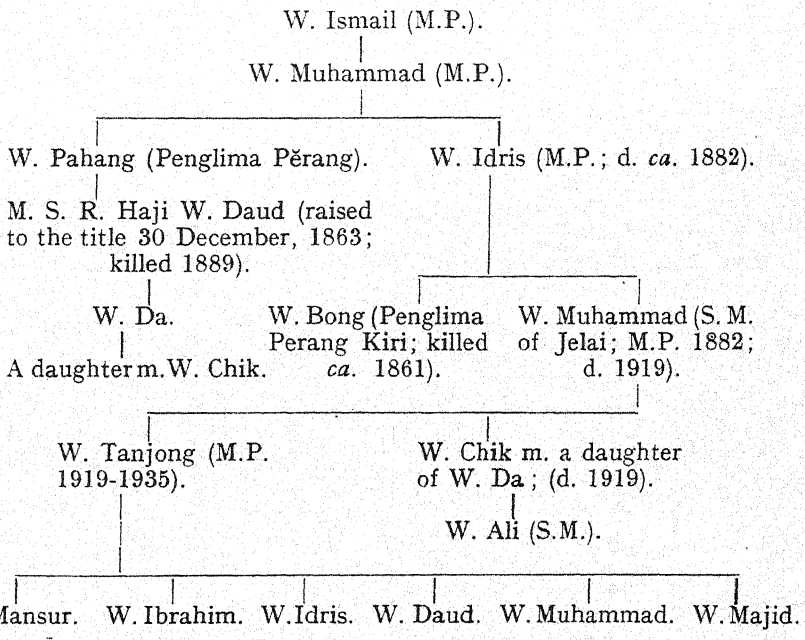
A reconstruction of the history of Maharaja Perba's family may now be attempted. The first Menangkabau immigration to Pahang took place towards the end of the 16th century. Some of the new-comers settled in the Jelai and Lipis, and inter-married with, and converted to Islam numbers of aborigines. Sultan 'Abdu'l-Gafur appointed the Head-man of the Menangkabaus to take charge of that part of the country. It is not necessary to believe that the conferring of the title *Maharaja Perba* took place then. Safe in their remote rivers, the Jelai Menangkabaus, in the 17th century, were attacked only once by the Achinese who pursued them as far as the Telom. They were probably not affected by the panic which induced the settlers living further down-stream to remove their property from Pahang in 1644. In 1699, the last representative of the Pahang-Johore Sultans of the old royal line of Malacca was killed. The murdered ruler's successor, the ex-Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Jalil, (whose fore-runners had Rembau for their fief, a District which had long been settled with Menangkabaus, and formed a favourable base for the Menangkabau colonisation of Pahang), conferred jurisdiction over parts of the eastern State on the Chiefs who came to be known as the Orang Besar Berempat.

[1] *Supra*, Chap. IV.

Was the Jelai fief given to a new settler, a favourite of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil from Ulu Muar,[1] as was the Chĕnor Chieftaincy, or was the jurisdiction of an existing Chief confirmed? Bendahara Garang appeared in the Jelai in the 18th century. What part he played in the country is unknown. On returning to Perak he appears to have left behind him a protégé in the charge of the Jelai Chief.

In the same century the Bendaharas had settled in Pahang. The other Chiefs owed allegiance to them not as Bendaharas, but as the fully-authorised representatives (*wakil mutallak*) or viceroys of the Sultan. When the Sultanate was dismembered by the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, the Bendaharas ended by becoming the *de facto* rulers of Pahang, (though the fiction of the sovereignity of the old Sultanate was kept up for many years), and the allegiance of Maharaja Perba and the other Chiefs was transferred to them.

The authenticated descent of the family of Maharaja Perba follows :[2]



[1]The name Ulu Muar is here used to describe generally the upper watershed of the river Muar.

[2]Abbreviations M.P., Orang Kaya Indĕra Maharaja Perba; S.M., Dato, Sĕtia Muda; M.S.R., Orang Kaya Maharaja Sĕtia Raja; m., married; d., died; W., Wan; *ca.*, about.

The Orang Kaya Indĕra Sĕgara of Temerloh seems to be the Chief referred to as *Maharaja Indera Putĕra* in Genealogy *A*. According to *A* he was granted land in Pahang by Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur. The traditional description of his *pegangan* or fief was the Sungai Triang to the borders of Selangor and Rembau.

Five generations of Chiefs are known: Muhammad, Aji, Hasan, Ahmad, Tahir. Tahir's children were: (i) Long (f) whose children were Kelsom and Teh of Temerloh; (ii) Siti Esah whose children were Ali and Zahrah; (iii) Jeriah whose children were Mat Salleh, Ishak, Besah, Rahman, Mat Aris and Timah of Temerloh; (iv) Haji Busu, whose children were Mahmud, Maimunah, and Meriam of Telok Mengkuang, Mukim Bangau; (v) Haji Ibrahim whose descendants live at Mengkarak, Mukim Triang. After the death of Tahir the title was allowed to lapse, but it has again been revived, (though not in the same family), in the person of Che Engku 'Abdu'l-Jamal (" Hitam "), a son of Engku Muda Mansur.

Maharaja Pahlawan, or *Maharaja Indera Putĕra Pahlawan* of Genealogy *A* was the Chief whom we know as Orang Kaya Indĕra Pahlawan of Chenor. The family was Menangkabau by origin. The first mention in our records of this Chieftaincy was in 1740 when Sultan Sulaiman summoned the holder to Pĕkan. The original territory of the Chĕnor fief was the land extending from the Bĕra to Kuala Luit. The present holder of the title, Che Engku Haji 'Abdu'l-lah, gives an account of the Chieftaincy. The founder of the family was a Menangkabau, To'Gemok, who settled at Pasir Besar, Ulu Muar. He came to Pahang following the route by Ulu Serting, Penarik and Bĕra, and founded a settlement in Chĕnor. His descent was:[1]

To'Gemok.
|
a daughter m. Tambi (an Indian).
|
Ismail (I.P.).
|
Hassan. Adam (I.P.).
|
Tuit (I.P.). Kuyut. Che Itam (f) m. E. Ismail (P.B.).
|
Husain (I.P.). E. Mahmud (Tem.; d. 22 March 1895).
|
E. Abdullah al-Haji (I.P.). E. Salleh. (P. B.). E. Ngah Abu-Bakar.

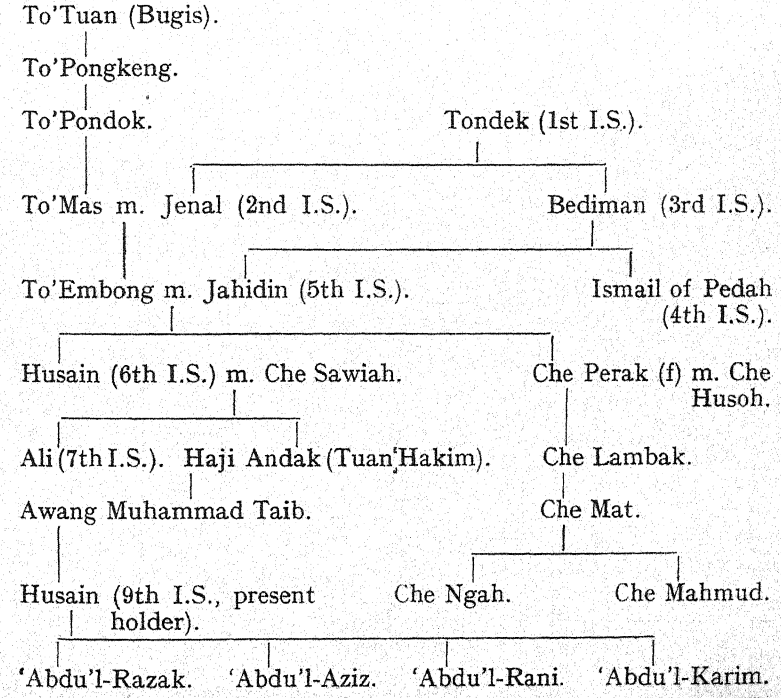
Note.—[1]Abbreviations: I. P., Orang Kaya Indera Pahlawan; E., Engku; P. B., Penglima Besar; Tem., Temenggong; m., married; d. died.

Husain was killed in the Jempul, in June 1892, by Khatib Omar, one of the followers of the rebel leader Penglima Muda of Jempul. The Chĕnor Chiefs are related to the royal family of Pahang through Engku Ismail.

The Orang Kaya Indĕra Shahbandar is mentioned in Geneology *A*. His " holding " was the territory from Luit to Bebar. The present members of the family claim descent from To'Tuan a Bugis Chief who settled in Pahang about 1722, married a Pahang lady, and was said to have improved the art of silk weaving in his adopted country (his grave in Pekan Lama is revered as a shrine). An examination of their tables of descent shows, however, that the Bugis connection is only on the female side. To' Mas, fourth in descent from To'Tuan, married To'Bandar Jenal. One table of descent from To'Tuan is headed thus :

> " This is the descent from To'Tuan. He derived his origin from a Prince of Mengkasar. The government of this Prince fell because he appointed as his Chief Minister a person of illegitimate birth. Now To'Tuan had sixteen children, and this is the descent of the eldest of them.... "

Following is the Shahbandar's descent, accepted by the present members of the family :[1]



[1]Abbreviations : I.S., Orang Kaya Indĕra Shahbandar ; m., married ; f., female.

After the death of Ali, the title went to Che Osman, son of Imam Pĕrang Indĕra Makhota Gendut (who changed his name to Haji 'Abdu'l-Halim after a pilgrimage to Mecca). On Che Osman's death, the Chieftaincy reverted to the old family in the person of Dato' Husain.

In a proclamation issued in 1892, in which Sultan Ahmad censured a holder of the title for failing to arrest the Penglima Muda of Jempul, the Shahbandar is thus described :

> " A Chief trusted by Us and regarded almost as one of Our own flesh and blood, a Chief of the highest rank, and of no mushroom growth, whose ancestors took their part in the installation of many Rulers in Pahang, a Chief of wide authority over Our subjects...." (Papers of Maharaja Perba, MS.).

The Orang Besar Berempat wielded very wide powers. They had authority to impose taxation and to decide all criminal and civil cases except (in theory) those which involved capital punishment. In fact, their power was limited only by the capacity of the Bendahara or Sultan to restrain them, and it varied according to their proximity to Pekan—the further from the Court, the greater their authority. They were obliged to appear at Pekan once a year to pay homage (*menjunjong Duli*). They had to pay a form of tribute called *banchi* to the Bendahara as representative of the Sultan. Their districts were subject to *serahan* : the obligation to buy, at exorbitant prices, goods the monopoly for the sale of which, in certain localities, the ruler was in the habit of granting to one of his favourites.[1] In the month of Muharram, they appeared at Court with offerings in kind : buffaloes, padi, fowl, jungle produce and quantities of tin wrought into the shape of tortoises and other animals. In time of war they were required to take the field with men, arms, and food. The installation of Bendahara or Sultan was not complete (*sempurna*) unless the Orang Besar Berempat assisted thereat. The constitutional theory was that the Orang Besar Berempat and, to a lesser degree, the other Chiefs were the foundation upon which the ruler's authority rested :

> " According to the constitution of Pahang, the Ruler stands upon the Major Chiefs—and then upon the Secondary Chiefs...."[2]

They had to be present at all important State ceremonies such as the installation, or death of the Ruler. When a Chief died his successor, before approval of his appointment, was

[1]For the practice of *serahan* in Siak, *vide* J. S. B. R. A. S.; No. 17, 1886, p. 152.

[2]*Adat istiadat Kerajaan Pahang ini Raja-nya berdiri di-atas Orang Besar Berempat kemudian Orang Besar Delapan*.... (Papers of Maharaja Perba, MS.)

required to make a ceremonial offering to the Ruler which was known (as in Negri Sembilan) as *kepala mayat.*[1] This usually took the shape of a gold-hilted creese, but other forms of offering were permissible.

The titles of the Orang Besar Berempat were hereditary. If the eldest son of a deceased Chief were unfitted for the succession it was proper to appoint a younger son, a brother, or a nephew to the Chieftaincy. The great Chiefs gave allegiance to the Bendahara as representing the Sultan, but, in time, the sovereign being to them a nebulous figure, their allegiance tended to become more and more a matter of loyalty to the Bendahara personally. To'Raja, controlling a bigger stretch of territory, including gold mines, and living at a greater distance from the capital than the other Chiefs, wielded far greater power. Thus Sultan Ahmad, in 1898, wrote of Wan Muhammad, a holder of the title :

> "....He is the fore-most of all the Chiefs, Warriors, and Head-men ; his rank is higher than that of all the said Chiefs ; (his sphere of influence extends) from Tanjong Lindong upwards ; in the old days he was the associate of princes...."[2]

The fourth of the major Chiefs, the Shahbandar, because he lived in the vicinity of the capital, tended to become the Ruler's Mantĕri, or chief executive officer.

ORANG BESAR BERLAPAN.

Next to the Orang Besar Berempat came the Secondary Chiefs, the Orang Besar Berlapan. Their full complement was eight, but vacancies occurred frequently which were not always filled. They were appointed by the Bendahara with the concurrence of the Major Chief of their district. The post was originally hereditary. Their powers varied enormously. Some of the " Eight " were of little account, but two Chiefs, the Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa of Lipis, and the Orang Kaya Sĕtia Perkasa Pahlawan of Semantan came to wield an influence almost equal to that of the Major Chiefs. The Lipis Chief was associated with the " Four " in proclamations issued by the Ruler. He was a member of the Council of State, entitled to be consulted on all important matters affecting the country, and was the territorial magnate, subject to the over-lordship of To'Raja, of the valley of the Lipis.

The full list of the Orang Besar Berlapan (of many of whom history has left little record) is given below.

(i) Dato' Amar Segara of Sungai Duri. The holder of this title was, according to the Malay expression, " a lone elephant "

[1]This expression is not given in Wilkinson's Dictionary. Its original meaning appears to be equivalent to *kepala arwah* " the choice viands of the funeral feast," which would naturally be presented to the Raja if the deceased were a chief.

[2]Papers of Maharaja Perba (MS.).

(*bergajah tunggal*), that is to say, he had the right of direct approach to the Raja without prior reference to the Major Chief. The known holders of the title were Sabur, Aji, and Ghafur. When Ghafur died his sons Jahya and Tunggal did not succeed their father but ranked merely as head-men (*Orang Besar Enambelas*) with the style of To'Muda. Tunggal's son, Awang Benting, succeeded his father as a head-man.

(ii) The Orang Kaya Sĕtia Perkasa Pahlawan of Semantan in the district (*pegangan*) of Orang Kaya Indĕra Sĕgara of Temerloh. The first known holder was Omar who was succeeded by 'Abdu'l-Rahman, better known as Bahman the rebel. Some prominent Malays are of the opinion that this Chief was not entitled to use the style " Orang Kaya," but he was so termed in Malay records, notably in a proclamation issued by the Sultan on 1st January 1892,[1] in which Bahman was denounced as a traitor. This Chief, too, had direct access to the Raja.

(iii) Dato' Sĕtia Lela of Kerdau. Only one holder of the title is known : Abubakar who died about 1897.

(iv) The Orang Kaya Sĕtia Penggawa whose sphere of influence extended from Berhala Gantang to Bukit Sa-Gumpal. Considerable confusion exists regarding this Chieftaincy. According to the present Major Chief of Chĕnor the title of Amar Sĕgara, after its discontinuance in Sungai Duri, passed to a Bukit Sa-Gumpal Chief who was a grand-son of Dato' Parit. The name of one holder of the title, To'Che Bok is recorded.

(v) Dato' Sĕtia Muda of Jelai in the *pegangan* or " holding " of Maharaja Perba of Jelai. This headmanship has always been held by a near relative of Maharaja Perba. Wan Muhammad was given the title during the life-time of his father Maharaja Perba Wan Idris whom he ultimately succeeded as a Major Chief. The present Sĕtia Muda is Wan Ali, son of Wan Chik (the second son of Wan Muhammad). But for his untimely death in 1919 Wan Chik would have succeeded to the title of Maharaja Perba instead of the elder son Wan Tanjong.

(vi) Dato' Raja Hulubalang of Tanjong Belawan. No information as to this title is available.

(vii) Orang Kaya Dewa Pahlawan of Bangau (To'Bangau) in the *pegangan* of Orang Kaya Indĕra Sĕgara of Temerloh. He had direct aceess to the ruler. The name of one holder, Muhammad Taib, is known.

(viii) The Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa of Lipis, or Orang Kaya Sĕtia Lela of Lipis, in the *pegangan* of Maharaja Perba. These titles, in Pahang, in the last century, were apparently alternative, the former being conferred by Sultans, and the latter by the Bendaharas. This once-powerful family, of older stock, it may be, than their over-lords of the Jelai, came to be connected by close ties of blood and interest with Maharaja Perba. At least in the nineteenth century, the people of Lipis and Jelai regarded

[1]Papers of Maharaja Perba (MS.).

themselves as the same clan (*satu puak*). According to one tradition the Lipis and Jelai families were descended from Baginda Damun of Kota Lama Kanan in Perak whose son (or sons) settled at Lubok Yong Guntong in the Jelai.

The traditional descent of the Lipis Chiefs follows:[1]

To'Puteh Indera Lela (? Baginda Damun).
|
Muhammad Ali Jaffar (? To'Jaffar Saban's brother).
|
Abdullah Yasin (S.W.).
|
To'Kasar.
|
To'Busu (S.L.).
|
To'Chendak (S.L.).
|
To'Hassan (S.L.).
|
A daughter m. To'Teh (S.L., 30 December 1863).
|
To'Sentul (S.W.).
|
Haji Idris. To'Muda Long. Awang Pĕrang (S.W.; formerly Penghulu of Budu).

Tengku Kudin, a son of Tengku Samat, is the present holder of the title Dato' Sĕtia Lela.

The Head-men of Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa of Lipis, at Penjom, were styled Mantĕri. Their traditional descent was:

Mantĕri Mopin.
|
Mantĕri To'Koris.
|
Mantĕri To'Bera.
|
Mantĕri To'Ali.
|
Mantĕri Abdullah.
|
A daughter married Che Sat (a former Penghulu of Penjom).
|
A daughter married Che Idris Penghulu of Penjom.

[1]Abbreviations: S.W., Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa; S.L., Orang Kaya Sĕtia Lela; m., married.

ORANG BESAR ENAM-BELAS.

After the secondary Chiefs came the minor head-men, *Orang Besar Enam-belas*: "the Sixteen Chiefs." Contrary to the indication afforded by their name, in practice, their number was not fixed. They were appointed by the Major Chiefs of their District, and their office was not hereditary. They were styled *To'Muda*.

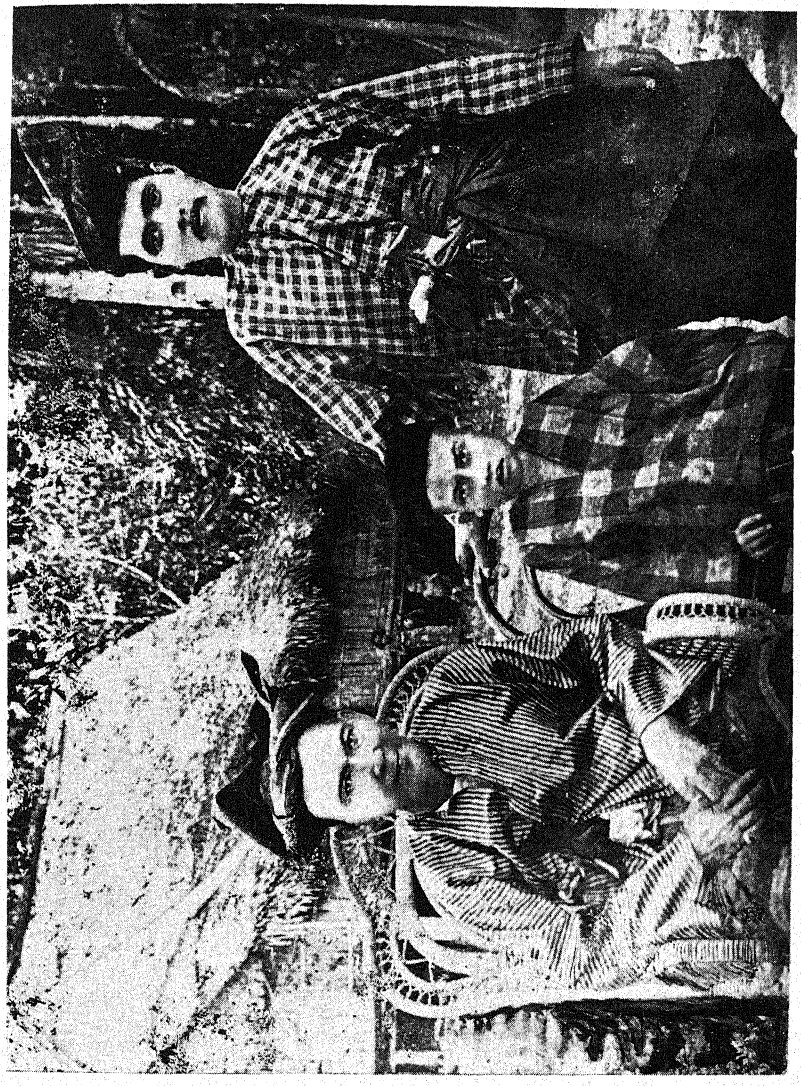
ORANG BESAR RAJA.

Apart from the Major, Secondary, and Minor Chiefs there sprung up occasionally a magnate not provided for in the *adat istiadat Negri* or unwritten constitution of the country: the *Orang Besar Raja*, the "Raja's Chief," (an office still well known in Negri Sembilan under the Menangkabau constitution). In Pahang he was sometimes a Court favourite who had shown prowess in war, and having worked his way into the Ruler's good graces, sought to improve his position by becoming a territorial magnate. Rasu, the Imam Pĕrang Indĕra Gajah of Pahang, was one of this class. He distinguished himself in the civil war of the sixties and in the Selangor war, and in reward, was granted as his territory, in addition to Pulau Tawar, the district of Budu, hitherto the appendage of To'Raja whose greediness in appropriating to himself the spoils obtained in the Selangor war had made him unpopular with the Bendahara. To'Gajah's father was a foreign Malay, his mother a Pahang woman.

To' Gajah was employed by the Bendahara as an instrument with which to whittle down the powers of the great territorial Chiefs.

It must be added that Court officials, too, such as Dato' Dalam and Dato' Luar, come under the category of "Raja's Chiefs," but there was always a well-defined place for them in the constitutional frame-work.

The Bendaharas, naturally, did not encourage territorial ambitions amongst their relatives, and we do not find them giving lands to potential rivals. There was, however, one part of Pahang where men of the Bendahara's stock held sway. The valley of the Tembĕling was controlled by the *Wans*, descendants, according to tradition, of Temenggong Mutahir whose son Usop migrated to that valley. To keep watch on their doings the Bendahara stationed in the Tembĕling a *Penghulu Raja* who was under the direct orders of his master. It is noteworthy that the water-shed of the Tembĕling has been held, at least from the beginning of the 17th century, by relatives of the rulers.



Orang Kaya Indĕra Maharaja Perba of Jelai Wan Muhammad, his son Wan Chik, and a grandson.

APPENDIX IV.

SELECTED PAPERS OF MAHARAJA PERBA.

How few of us, even the most methodical, keep the written records dealing with the various events, important and trivial, which affect us in the course of our lives! The late Orang Kaya Indĕra Maharaja Perba of Jelai, Wan Muhammad, (the holder of the Chieftaincy is popularly known as To'Raja), was one of the few. A recent law-suit regarding the interpretation of the Maharaja Perba's title to land in Ulu Pahang led to a search for records which might have a bearing on the subject. The result was the discovery of some thousands of papers left by the late Chief.

These documents touch upon all sorts of matters: the genealogy of To'Raja, the struggles between Che Wan Ahmad, (later Sultan of Pahang), and his relatives, the status of the Bendahara and To'Raja, a *pantun* or poem in honour of To'Raja, the Sultan's relations with his brother Engku Muda Mansur, Sir Hugh Clifford's treaty-making negotiations, the establishment of Kuala Lipis as a district head-quarters and the death of Orang Kaya Maharaja Sĕtia Raja, Haji Wan Daud, the tax-collecting powers of the Chiefs, To'Raja's quarrels with the Selinsing and Jelai companies, the causes of the Pahang insurrection, the oath taken at Pulau Tawar, the efforts of the rebel Chiefs to embroil To'Raja, the unpopularity of the Kĕrah Regulations, Engku Muda's admonition to To'Raja, operations in the rebellion, intercepted correspondence addressed to the Resident of Pahang, the visit of the Sultan and To'Raja to Singapore, the amnesty to the insurgents, the efforts of the Governor and the Sultan of Johore to promote peace, correspondence between To'Raja and the disaffected leaders, To'Gajah's distrust, the attack on Kuala Tembĕling, Sir Hugh Clifford's expedition to Kelantan and Trengganu, To'Raja's claim to an increased allowance, the custom of presenting a *kepala mayat*, the status of the Major Chiefs and the filling of vacancies among them etc.

A few of the papers of historical interest are here published.

DOCUMENT No. I.

A Genealogy of Maharaja Perba.

1. Maka Sĕri Maharaja Perba itu orang Menangkabau Orang Besar Lima Puloh negeri-nya.
2. Maka Maharaja Indĕra Putĕra itu Orang Besar dalam negeri.
3. Maka Maharaja Indĕra Pahlawan itu Orang Besar, Tanah Datar negeri-nya.
4. Maka Shahbandar itu sa-belah peranak Keling sa-belah China Puteh itu-lah negeri-nya.

5. Maka ada-lah Raja turun di-Pagar Ruyong itu asal-nya ka-Johor bergelar (?) Berhama....Sultan 'Abdu'l-Zaman, putĕra-nya Sultan 'Abdu'l-Rahim, Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur ibni Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil....Sultan Mahmud.

6. Maka ada-lah asal Sĕri Maharaja Perba itu turun di-Menangkabau lalu ka-Sembawa, empat bersaudara, sa'orang perempuan, maka perempuan itu berkahwin dengan orang alim dalam Negeri Sembawa, sudah berkahwin berlayar ka-negeri Pertani dua kakak dengan Tun Bandan. Dia hendak buat balai gambang di-persembah kapada Raja Johor ini, maka di-kurnia kapada Orang yang Berempat Bandar Maharani segala orang di-dalam Bandar Maharani di-dalam perentah Orang yang Berempat ini, itu-lah ada-nya.

7. Maka yang mengurniai Pahang ini kapada Orang yang Berempat ini Raja Johor Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur, itu-lah Raja-nya di-kurniakan Orang yang Berempat ini, pertama Sĕri Maharaja Perba, dan kedua Maharaja Indĕra Putera, dan ketiga Maharaja Indĕra Putĕra Pahlawan, dan keampat shahbandar itu-lah....

8. Maka ada-lah Sĕri Maharaja Perba ini mendapat budak di-dalam selising maka di-cheria-nya sampai besar. Maka dia sudah-lah tua maka muafakat-lah dengan Orang yang empat hendak berhenti, telah masok pada (?) taalok kapada budak dapat selising, maka betul-lah kapada orang yang bertiga itu, maka mengadap-lah kapada Raja Johor sembahkan-lah orang yang dapat dalam selising itu akan ganti Sĕri Maharaja Perba itu, telah (?) betul kapada Raja Johor, di-gelar-nya Maharaja Dalam, itu-lah ada-nya.

9. Maka orang yang dapat dalam selising itu di-nikahkan dengan anak Tun Bandan Pertani....Maka di-buat-lah rumah di-Kuala Tanum, lalu di-buat Kota bergelar Bukit Kota, itu-lah tempat dudok Maharaja Perba di-dalam Selising itu. Maka Sĕri Maharaja Perba turun di-Menangkabau ka-kampong-nya di-Batu Nesring (? Nering), anak chuchunya di-Kuala Kechau, di-Lanar, di-Balai, itu-lah ada-nya.

10. Maka ini-lah orang yang masok yang kemudian daripada Sĕri Maharaja, pertama Tun Bahar, Tun....Tun Budiman, Tun Draman, Tun Derhaka, Tun Jalil, Tun Druumi...., Tun....ka-dalam bandar itu. Maka anak Tun Bandan itu di-nikahkan dengan anak Tun....dapat Selising, maka di-buat-lah rumah di-Kuala Tanum, lalu di-buat Kota di-Kuala Tanum, maka bergelar-lah Bukit Kota, itu-lah orang masok ka-dalam Jelai kemudian daripada Maharaja Perba; kemudian masok pula Bendahara Garang ka-dalam (?) Jelai itu. Maka....orang itu....Maharaja Perba (?) Dewal di-Batu....Maka Bendahara Garang itu tiada beranak, maka dia mendapat anak di-dalam buloh batong, maka di-gelar uleh-nya Baginda Damun itu-lah anak -nya.

11. Maka Bendahara Garang pun hendak berbalek ka-negeri Perak, maka di-tinggalkan Baginda Damun.....itu kapada Maharaja Perba orang-nya di-tinggalkan (uleh....) Bendahara Garang....dua-belas kelamin akan memelakan Damun itu.

12. Maka di-nikahkan anak Tun Janggut maka tiada beranak maka tiba pada....Maharaja....tinggal, balek ka-Perak Bendahara Garang itu.

Translation.

1. Sĕri Maharaja Perba came from Menangkabau. Lima Puloh was his country.

2. Maharaja Indĕra Putĕra is a Chief in the country.

3. Maharaja Indĕra Pahlawan is a Chief, and Tanah Datar was his country.

4. The Shahbandar is descended from a southern Indian on the one side and from a white Chinese on the other side. That is his country.

5. A Prince came down from Pagar Ruyong and in the beginning went to Johore. He was called "Berahama" (? Burhan) ....Sultan 'Abdu'l-Zaman (? 'Abdu'l-Rahman) whose son was Sultan 'Abdu'l-Rahim....Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur son of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil....Sultan Mahmud.

6. Originally Sĕri Maharaja Perba came down from Menangkabau and then went to Sembawa with his two brothers and one sister. The woman married a pious man in Sembawa. Then she and Tun Bandan set sail for Patani. He desired to build a pleasure raft to give to the Sultan of Johore. Now Bandar Maharani was given to the Four Persons, and all the inhabitants of Bandar Maharani were under the jurisdiction of these Four Persons. That is it.

7. It was the Ruler of Johore Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur who granted Pahang to the Four Persons. He it was who granted the country to the Four Persons, firstly, Sĕri Maharaja Perba, secondly Maharaja Indĕra Putĕra, thirdly Maharaja Indĕra Putĕra Pahlawan, and fourthly Shahbandar....

8. Now Sĕri Maharaja Perba found a boy in *selising* (or *selinsing*) grass and reared him to maturity, and when the boy was of full age, by agreement between the Four Persons, Sĕri Maharaja Perba relinquished his title in favour of the boy that was found in *selising* grass and the other three persons agreed thereto. He went into the presence of the Ruler of Johore and proffered the person that was found in *selising* grass as his substitute. The Sultan of Johore agreed (?) and he (the person that was found in *selising* grass) was given the title Maharaja Dalam. That is it.

9. Now the person that was got in *selising* grass was married to the daughter of Tun Bandan of Patani. A house was built at Kuala Tanum, then a fort was built which was styled Bukit Kota—that was the residence of Maharaja Perba in Selising. Sĕri Maharaja Perba came down from Menangkabau to his settlement at Batu Nesring (? Nering). His children and grand-children resided at Kuala Kechau, at Lanar, and at Balai. That is it.

10. These are the persons who entered the settlement after Sĕri Maharaja, firstly Tun Bahar, then Tun....Tun Budiman, Tun Draman, Tun Derhaka, Tun Jalil, Tun Druumi....Tun ....Now the son of Tun Bandan married the daughter of Tun....and (?) got Selising. A house was built at Kuala Tanum, then a fort was built at Kuala Tanum, and the place was called Bukit Kota. These were the persons who entered the Jelai after Maharaja Perba, and after them Bendahara Garang entered the (?) Jelai. Now....those persons.... Maharaja Perba (?) Dewal at Batu....Now Bendahara Garang was childless. He found a child in a *batong* bamboo and (the child) was named by him Baginda Damun ; that was his child.

11. Now Bendahara Garang decided to return to Perak and he left Baginda Damun....to Maharaja Perba, and of his people were left behind twelve families to look after Baginda Damun.

12. He (? Bendahara Garang) married the daughter of Tun Janggut but had no children. On arriving at....Maharaja ....Bendahara Garang left (? Baginda Damun) behind and returned to Perak.

Note.

This document was originally in the possession of the Orang Kaya Maharaja Sĕtia Raja Haji Wan Daud, a descendant of a Maharaja Perba of Jelai, whose history has already been given here. The writing in parts is illegible. Orang Kaya Haji died in 1889 ; Bandar Maharani (or Muar in Johore) mentioned in the document was first so named in 1884. The document was therefore written between these dates, but it was based on an older MS.

Maharaja Indĕra Putĕra : the original title of the major Chief known as Orang Kaya Indĕra Sĕgara of Temerloh (?).

Maharaja Indĕra Pahlawan : is the major Chief Orang Kaya Indĕra Pahlawan of Chĕnor.

Pertani : there was a close connection between Pahang and Patani in the sixteenth century.

Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur : Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur Mohaidin of Pahang (not Johore) was born in 1567. He was murdered by a

younger son in 1614. From Chinese sources we learn that this ruler fled to the " gold mountains " (Jelai) about 1612.

His history has already been given here. The names of Sultans and their descent, as set forth in this list, are hopelessly confused.

Selising : the *selising* grass. This is the traditional origin of the name *Selising* or *Selinsing* given to a locality near the mouth of the Jelai Kechil. It may have been the aboriginal name for a wider area. Selinsing was famous, from time immemorial, for its gold mines. There is a taboo in the family of Maharaja Perba that no Chief holding that title may sleep on selinsing grass. The story of the boy found in the selinsing is reminiscent of the Perak account of the White Semang.

Kuala Tanum, Bukit Kota : This old head-quarters of Maharaja Perba is at the mouth of the Tanum.

Batu Nering : a locality on the Jelai above Kuala Lipis.

Kuala Kechau, Lanar : places on the Jelai below Kuala Lipis.

DOCUMENT No. II.

A Second Genealogy of Maharaja Perba.

Ini fasal keturunan awal surat salasilah Engku To'Raja yang berbini akan Tuan Putĕri Bukit Berenting, maka kemudian To'Engku hilang di-Semput yang ada memerentah di-dalam daerah jajahan Jelai, ka-hilir-nya di-sempadan sangkat Tanjong Lindong, ka-hulu-nya sampai sempadan Perak dan sempadan Kelantan ada-nya.

Kemudian ini tanah sudah kita beli kapada Raja Johor yang memerentah Daik dan Lingga. Maka bayaran-nya pertama-tama sa-gantang ulang-aling emas, dan kedua satu dasar bali isi emas, dan ketiga sa-suku tangan baju yang berisi emas jua, itu peraturan orang tua-tua dahulu sah dengan nyata-nya.

Kemudian turun yang kedua Engku To'Raja Perba hilang di-Riau, dan turun yang ketiga Engku To'Raja Perba hilang di-Bukit Kota, dan turun yang keampat Engku To'Raja hilang di-Bukit Betong, dan turun yang kelima Engku To'Raja Wan Muhammad ibni Engku To'Raja Perba Wan Dris yang hilang di-Bukit Betong ada-nya. Dan lagi fasal perentah-nya saperti pesaka orang tua-tua dahulu jua tiada tukar ubah-nya ; ke-hilir-nya di-sempadan sangkat Tanjong Lindong ka-hulu-nya sampai di-sempadan Kelantan dan sempadan Perak serta di-kurniakan pula uleh Raja Johor yang memerentah Daik dan Lingga serta dengan Raja dalam negeri Pahang anak beranak, di-kurniakan kapada To'Raja Perba Jelai anak beranak sampai-lah kapada sekarang ini, tiada ubah-nya serta dengan 'kachita-nya. Tamat ada-nya.

Tertulis kapada 15 hari bulan Rajab, hari Rabu, jam pukul dua, sanat 1326.

* * * *

Ini fasal awal salasilah sahaya Engku To'Raja Perba Jelai yang ada mengambil orang gunong saperti Tuan Putĕri nama-nya. Maka di-buat isteri, maka beranak sa-orang laki-laki di-namakan Raja Muda, maka nama-nya Engku To'Raja hilang di-Semput yang ada membeli tanah daerah negeri Pahang perenggan-nya sangkat Tanjong Lindong ka-hilir-nya sampai akan hujong Sungai Jelai. Maka herga-nya sa-gantang ulang-aling emas dan satu dasar bali emas, dan sa-tangan baju isi emas. Maka di-beli-nya kapada Raja Johor yang memerentah negeri Lingga dan Daik, sah dengan nyata-nya.

Kemudian Engku To'Raja hilang di-Riau pula memerentah jajahan Jelai ini jua, dan ketiga-nya Engku To'Raja Wan Muhammad hilang di-Bukit Kota, dan keampat Engku To'Raja Dris hilang di-Bukit Betong, dan kelima-nya Engku To'Raja Wan Muhammad pula yang memerentah ini Jelai jua. Maka perjanjian-nya saperti peraturan perentah orang tua-tua dahulu itulah perjanjian-nya, tiada-lah tukar ubah-nya dengan nyata-nya. Tamat.

Translation.

This is the original descent and genealogy from Engku To'Raja who married the Princess of Bukit Berenting. Afterwards came To'Raja who died at Semput. He it was who ruled over the territory of Jelai, the boundary of which, on the down-river side, was Tanjong Lindong, and on the up-river side, the boundary of Perak and the boundary of Kelantan.

Furthermore, this land we bought from the Ruler of Johore who ruled over Daik and Lingga, and the price of it was firstly a *gantang* full of gold, and secondly a vessel shaped out of coconut-shell filled with gold, and thirdly an arm-sleeveful of gold—that was the arrangement of the people of old, truly and clearly.

Then the second in descent was Engku To'Raja Perba who died in Riau, and the third in descent was Engku To'Raja Perba who died at Bukit Kota, and the fourth in descent was Engku To'Raja Perba who died at Bukit Betong, and the fifth in descent was Engku To'Raja Wan Muhammad, son of Engku To'Raja Perba Wan Idris who died at Bukit Betong—and his territory is the same as that which has been handed down from his ancestors of old, there is no change : down-river its boundary is Tanjong Lindong and up-river its boundary is the boundary of Kelantan and the boundary of Perak ; and it was granted by the Raja of Johore who ruled over Daik and Lingga, in conjunction with the Ruler of Pahang : they and their posterity granted the territory to To'Raja Perba and his posterity right up to the present time ;

there has been no change or alteration, and the territory was granted with pleasure. Conclusion.

Written on the 15th day of the month of Rejab, on a Wednesday, at two of the clock, in the year 1326.

* * * *

This is the genealogy of me Engku To'Raja Perba of Jelai (whose original ancestor) took Tuan Putĕri, a Princess of the mountain, as his wife.

She bore a son named Raja Muda who was the Engku To' Raja who died at Semput. He bought land in the country of Pahang. Its boundaries were, on the down-river side Tanjong Lindong, and on the up-river side the source of the river Jelai; and its price was a *gantang* full of gold, and a vessel shaped out of coconut-shell filled with gold, and an arm-sleeveful of gold. He bought the land from the Raja of Johore who ruled over Lingga and Daik—truly and clearly it is set forth.

Then Engku To'Raja who died at Riau next ruled over the territory of Jelai, and the third in descent was Engku To'Raja Wan Muhammad who died at Bukit Kota, and the fourth was Engku To'Raja Wan Idris who died at Bukit Betong, and the fifth is the second Engku To'Raja Wan Muhammad who has jurisdiction over the Jelai, and the arrangement is that his jurisdiction extends over the same territory as that over which his ancestors of yore ruled—there is no change or alteration—truly and clearly it is set forth. Conclusion.

Note.

The original is in the hand-writing of To'Raja Wan Muhammad and is dated 10th August, 1908.

Bukit Berenting: is at Selising.

Semput: is on the Tanum.

Tanjong Lindong: is on the river Pahang above Pedah.

Raja Muda: there is no other record to indicate that the family of Maharaja Perba had any connection with royalty. There is a hill near Kuala Tembeling called *Bukit Raja Muda* probably to commemorate that *Marhum Muda* of Pahang who met his bride, a Perak princess, at Kuala Tembeling towards the end of the sixteenth century. It is likely that this fanciful derivation of the Maharaja Perba's family from a *Raja Muda* originated from the name of this hill and the legends connected with it. Local tradition associates the hill with Muhammadan *genii* (*jin islam*) and, in proof of their presence, points to the existence of a white mouse-deer, a white sambhur, and a jungle fowl which fraternizes with domestic birds!

DOCUMENT No. III.

Taxation in Ulu Pahang in 1859.

Tarikh 1276 kapada tujoh-belas hari bulan Jemad-al-Awal kapada hari Ithnain waktu pukul sa-puloh, maka dewasa itu-lah Ka-Bawah Duli Tengku Ambong ibni al-Marhum Sultan Muhammad Shah serta dengan Inche Wan Long ibni Dato' Bendahara Sĕri Maharaja menjadi wakil mutallak Sĕri Paduka Baginda Yang di-Pertuan Besar Sultan Mahmud al-Muzaffar Shah kurniakan surat keterangan ini kapada Mandara Lubok Sĕtia Raja daerah Gali sebab karna Inche Wan Long itu sudah di-wakilkan Dato' Bendahara Sĕri Maharaja akan sa-barang-barang pekerjaan titah perentah daripada Ka-Bawah Duli Baginda Yang Maha Mulia itu. Maka saperti ada-lah yang memangku di-bawah Inche Wan Long itu pertama-tama Inche Wan 'Abdu'l-Rahman dan Inche Wan Da. Maka hendak segala mana-mana Tok' Menangkabau itu yang pegangan Mandara Lubok Setia Raja itu mengikut dan menurut apa-apa yang sudah kita aturkan itu di-dalam adat istiadat, maka barang siapa ia yang tiada mengikut dan menurut saperti mana-mana yang di-aturkan itu melainkan derhaka-lah Ka-Bawah Duli Baginda Yang Maha Mulia dan salah kapada Dato' Bendahara Sĕri Maharaja dan salah kapada Inche Wan Long serta dengan kita saperti mana-mana yang tersebut itu ada-nya.

Shahadan lagi hendak-lah Mandara Lubok Sĕtia Raja itu jagakan apa-apa.... kapada tiap-tiap tahun daripada hasil-nya, pungut kapada tiap-tiap satu orang hasil maka apabila sampai kapada tahun-nya maka hendak-lah di-persembahkan Ka-Bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia dan jikalau ada orang yang membawa titah atau sabda serta dengan membawa tanda keterangan hendak menerima hasil itu, melainkan hendak-lah Mandara Lubok Setia Raja serahkan kapada-nya hasil itu, ada-nya. Dan lagi saperti apa-apa hal ahual-nya hendak-lah Mandara Lubok Setia Raja itu mendapatkan kapada To'Muda Teh dan Wan Daud supaya buleh Wan Daud dengan To'Muda Teh itu muapakat dan meshuarat kapada Maharaja Perba, ada-nya.

Serta ada-lah dengan chap Kita termeterai di-atas shatar ini, ada-nya.

Dan lagi hendak-lah Mandara Lubok Sĕtia Raja itu pakat baik-baik dengan Penghulu Balang 'Alam sa-barang-barang ikhtiar dan bichara jangan sa-kali-kali meninggalkan; demikian lagi Penghulu Balang 'Alam jangan sa-kali-kali meninggalkan bermuapakat baik di-atas berkekalan sa-lama-lama-nya menerimakan titah perentah dan sabda daripada Ka-Bawah Baginda Yang Maha Mulia. Demikian-lah ada-nya.

Translation.

Date 1276, upon the seventeenth day of the month Jamad-al-Awal, on a Monday, at ten of the clock.

On the aforesaid date His Highness Tengku Ambong, son of the late Sultan Muhammad Shah, and Inche Wan Long son of Dato' Bendahara Sĕri Maharaja who is the fully authorized representative of His Illustrious Highness the Yang di-Pertuan Besar Sultan Mahmud al-Muzaffar Shah doth grant this warrant to Mandara Lubok Sĕtia Raja in the District of Gali, for Inche Wan Long has been authorized by Dato' Bendahara Sĕri Maharaja in respect of any undertaking that has been commanded and ordered by His Illustrious Highness. Those that have been authorized to act under Inche Wan Long are firstly Wan 'Abdu'l-Rahman and Inche Wan Da.

Now all the petty Menangkabau Chiefs within the territory of Mandara Lubok Sĕtia Raja must observe and obey whatever arrangements we make in accordance with custom, and whosoever does not observe and obey such arrangements shall be guilty of treason against His Illustrious Highness and shall be guilty of an offence against Dato' Seri Bendahara, and shall be guilty of an offence against Inche Wan Long and against us as aforesaid.

Furthermore Mandara Lubok Sĕtia Raja must watch whatever....each year as regards taxes, and must collect a tax from each person, and when the time comes for payment he must deliver the revenue to His Illustrious Highness; and if anybody is the bearer of a command or of an order authenticated by a sealed certificate, Mandara Lubok Sĕtia Raja must hand the revenue to such person.

Further, in all details, Mandara Lubok Sĕtia Raja must consult To'Muda Teh and Wan Daud so that Wan Daud and To' Muda Teh may consult and confer with Maharaja Perba.

We hereby affix our seal to this document.

Furthermore, Mandara Lubok Sĕtia Raja must leave no stone unturned to come to an amicable arrangement with Penghulu Balang Alam, and likewise Penghulu Balang Alam must on no account decline to come to an amicable and abiding arrangement and must receive the command and instructions of His Illustrious Highness. So be it.

Note.

17 Jemad-al-Awal 1276 A.H. — 30th December 1859 A.D.

The date on the seal is 1266 A.H. = 1849 A.D.

Sultan Muhammad Shah: of Lingga. He died in 1841 and was known as *Marhum Kadaton*.

Wan Long, Wan Abdulrahman and *Wan Da*: were sons of Bendahara Sĕri Maharaja Wan Mutahir who succeeded his father Bendahara Ali in 1857 A.D.

Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar Shah of Lingga succeeded his father in 1841, was deposed by the Dutch in 1857, and died in Pahang in 1864. He was buried in the royal grave-yard at Kuala Pahang.

'Tok Menangkabau: apart from old-established colonies there were several recent Menangkabau settlements in the district of Raub.

Mandara Lubok Setia Raja: of Gali, the *To'Lubok* of the *Hikayat Pahang*. He was implicated in the rebellion against Ahmad in 1868. He received a pardon but several of his headmen were executed.

Derhaka....salah: the Bendahara has not yet acquired royal status and an offence against him is not " treason ".

To'Muda Teh: son-in-law and heir of To'Hassan Orang Kaya Sĕtia Lela of Lipis, the Secondary Chief, under To'Raja, in charge of the Lipis valley.

Wan Daud: later entitled Orang Kaya Maharaja Sĕtia Raja, Haji Wan Daud.

Although, at the date on which the letter was written, ex-Sultan Mahmud was in Pahang, and was intriguing to get himself recognized as sovereign, the use of his name was purely formal: Bendahara Ali had, before his death in 1857, renounced allegiance to Riau.

DOCUMENT No. IV.

Dacoity in Pahang.

(Seal) Al-Wakil al-Sultan Johor Dato' Bendahara Sewa Raja ibni Bendahara Sewa Raja. Sanat 1224.

Kaul-al-Hak.

Sabda di-Bawah Kaus Engku Muda Dato' Bendahara Sewa Raja Pahang junjongkan kapada To'Lubok Sĕtia Raja, dan kapada Hulubalang 'Alam, dan Sutan Bangka Hulu, dan Raja Mengkasar, dan Jelampa, dan Sutan Salim, dan Jabuji, dan Sutan Tengah Hari, dan Pakeh Tengah Padang, dan Tuan Haji Muhammad Baki, dan Mintik Malim, dan To'Jati, dan Sutan Maharaja Lela Malim Penghulu, dan Penglima Muda anak To' Khatib Rawa, dan Imam Pĕrang Padang Tinggi, dan To'Muda Jamjam dan Imam Pĕrang Puteh.

Maka ada-lah Beta itu nyatakan kapada sakalian Orang Besar-Besar Beta maka ada-lah Beta ini di-ambil uleh Raja-Raja Raub dan sakalian Orang Besar-Besar Raub serta dengan

Wan Daud serta sapakat-rapat dengan Orang Besar-Besar Pahang yang di Jelai Lipis dari Kelantan lalu di-bawa ka-hulu Pahang, maka lalu-lah di-ambil Pahang ini dengan takdkir Allah, maka dapat-lah Pahang ini. Maka lepas itu maka ada-lah pendengar Beta ada di-hulu ini ada perompak merampas orang berjual beli, maka apa-lah sa-pakat ia-itu Kita biarkan perompak itu atau Kita rentikan ? Itu pun minta muapakat-nya kapada sakalian Dato'-Dato' Kita. Maka ada-lah pikiran Beta maka ada-lah Kita ambil Pahang ini dengan beberapa-beberapa sakit serta pula menanggong luka mati dengan beberapa-beberapa banyak.....tiada-lah guna-nya Kita hendak menchari senang menchari makan di-dalam Pahang ini serta hendak di-jual-beli.. apabila Kita biarkan perompak itu neschaya sakit-lah sadikit Kita hendak berjual-beli di-dalam Pahang ini karana ada-lah perniagaan di-dalam Pahang ini ia-lah China yang besar meniaga, maka apabila China takut hilir mudek neschaya kurang-lah besar perniagaan-nya.

Maka itu-lah Kita maalumkan kapada sakalian Orang Besar-Besar Beta, maka ada-lah Beta ini tiada-lah sa-dua Beta harapkan yang sabelah hulu hanya-lah Orang Besar-Besar Beta di-Raub akan membela pelihara sa-belah hulu, itu pun dengan segala-segala anak raja-raja dagang karana Beta sebab buleh menjadi Raja dengan pertulongan daripada orang dagang. Maka itu-lah Kita maalumkan kapada sakalian Dato'-Dato' dan raja-raja dagang maka ada-lah Beta ini Wallahi Wa-billahi tiada-lah Beta berubahkan beraleh bagaimana yang di-persumpahkan dahulu itu-lah ada-nya. Suatu pun tiada tanda khat-nya hanya-lah doa fi-kuliwakti-wahi itu-lah ada-nya.

Translation.

(Seal) The Representative of the Sultan of Johore, Dato' Bendahara Sewa Raja, son of Dato' Bendahara Sewa Raja. Date 1224.

The Saying is the Truth.

A command from the Exalted Engku Dato' Bendahara Sewa Raja of Pahang to To'Lubok Sĕtia Raja, and to Hulubalang 'Alam, and Sutan Bangka Hulu, and Raja Mengkasar, and Jelampa, and Sutan Salim, and Jabuji, and Sutan Tengah Hari, and Pakeh Tengah Padang, and Haji Muhammad Baki, and Mintik Malim and To'Jati, and Sutan Maharaja Lela Malim Penghulu, and Penglima Muda son of To'Khatib the Rawa, and Imam Pĕrang of Padang Tinggi, and To'Muda Jamjam, and Imam Pĕrang Puteh.

We proclaim to all Our Chiefs that We were brought from Kelantan to Ulu Pahang by the princes of Raub and all the Chiefs

of Raub and Wan Daud, in close co-operation with the Chiefs of Pahang that reside in Jelai and Lipis, and by the Will of God We obtained this country Pahang.

Now We have heard that robbers are robbing traders up-country. What counsel shall We take? Shall We leave the robbers unmolested, or shall We put an end to their activities? We ask that all Our Chiefs confer on this matter. Our opinion is: as it was at the cost of great suffering and of wounds and lives and, with great.....that We conquered Pahang, it would be fruitless for Us to look for peace and prosperity in Pahang and to encourage trading, if We leave the robbers unmolested; assuredly trade in Pahang would suffer for the bulk of trading in Pahang is carried on by Chinese, and if the Chinese are afraid to ply up river and down river assuredly trade will diminish.

Thus We inform all Our Chiefs. We have no divergent interests and We hope that it is Our Chiefs at Raub who will protect and supervise the hinter-land with, of course, the co-operation of all the foreign princes, for it was owing to the assistance rendered by the foreign people that We were enabled to establish Ourselves as Ruler. Thus We inform all the Chiefs and the foreign princes. We swear by God that We shall not be false to the oath that We swore formerly. We have nothing further to add except Our unending prayers.

Note.

The seal is that of Bendahara Ali (Bendahara Sewa Raja), son of Bendahara Koris (here termed " Bendahara Sewa Raja "), and the date of the seal is 1809A.D. Koris' designation, as given here, does not agree with that given in other seals in which he is described as *Bendahara Paduka Raja*. The latter was his correct title. The document was written between the 10th June 1863 and the 30th December 1863 by which latter date Wan Daud had been given a title.

The Rawa, Sutan Bangka Ulu, mentioned in the document, and his men were massacred at Kuala Kubu in 1873.

Engku Muda Dato' Bendahara Sewa Raja was Bendahara Ahmad who drove his elder brother, and his nephew, Bendahara Mutahir and Bendahara Muda Koris, respectively, out of Pahang in 1863.

Sutan Bangka Ulu, etc.: these resounding titles were assumed by the petty foreign chiefs who had settled in Ulu Pahang.

Sutan Tengah Hari: this Rawa Chief was given a very blasphemous name by the Pahang people.

DOCUMENT No. V.

The Bendahara confers titles upon certain Chiefs.

(Seal) (illegible).

Hajrat al-Nabi Salla Allahu alaihi wa salam sa-ribu dua-ratus delapan puloh tahun, kapada tahun alip, kapada enam-belas hari bulan Rejab, kapada hari Ahad, waktu jam pukul dua petang.

Dewasa ia-itu di-Bawah Kaus Engku Dato' Bendahara Sewa Raja mengurniakan nama Wan Daud ibni Wan Pahang menjadi Maharaja Sĕtia Raja akan memerentahkan Sungai Lapis (Lipis) lagi (*sic*? dari) kuala-nya hingga sampai akan ayer meleleh. Yang memangku-nya To' Teh a....dar n. h. maka Beta kurniakan nama Orang Kaya Sĕtia Lela maka hendak-lah sakalian mika-mika yang ada di-dalam daerah (? Lapis itu) mengikut dan menurut bagaimana yang di-perentahkan uleh Orang Besar kedua-nya. Shahadan lagi (ja)ngan-lah mika kedua berbalah sa-kali-kali karna Beta tiada retha sa-kali-kali. Maka telah harab-lah Beta akan mika kedua dahulu Allah wa-baadahu Rasul kemudian mika kedua-lah yang Beta harabkan. Shahadan lagi shahadan lagi (*sic*) apabila dapat perbalahan antara kedua mika maka hendak-lah di-adukan kapada Beta, (maka) jikalau tiada sempat, baharu-lah mika mengadukan kapada Maharaja Perba.

Shahadan lagi apabila tida(k) mengikut dan menurut salah sa-orang (? antara) kedua-nya, maka apabila ingkar Orang Kaya Sĕtia Lela, maka hendak-lah Maharaja Sĕtia Raja panchong, dan apabila ingkar Maharaja Sĕtia Raja maka hendak-lah Orang Kaya Sĕtia Lela tahan sa-buleh-buleh antara menyampaikan kapada Beta.

Maka hendak-lah sakalian mika-mika yang ada di-dalam Lapis (Lipis) mengikut dan menurut bagaimana yang di-perentahkan Orang Besar-Besar kedua itu yang di-dalam hukum Allah dan di-dalam adat. Maka barang-barang siapa yang ti(dak) mengikut dan menurut bagaimana yang di-perentahkan uleh Orang Besar-Besar kedua itu melainkan derhaka Ka-Bawah Duli yang di-Pertuan Besar dan salah kapada Beta, Beta hukumkan sa-panoh-panoh hukum di-ram(pas), melawan di-bunoh.

Sah dengan nyata-nya, di-pukul chap di-atas kepala kertas itu. Intiha ada-nya tamat.

Translation.

In the year of the Prophet (on whom God shower blessings) one thousand two hundred and eighty, in the year *Alif*, on the sixteenth day of the month Rejab, on a Sunday, at 2 p.m., the Honourable Dato' Bendahara Sewa Raja confers upon Wan Daud ibni Wan Pahang the title of Maharaja Sĕtia Raja with jurisdiction over the river Lipis from its mouth up to the point where

the waters trickle down (to form the stream). And upon his representative To'Teh....We confer the title of Orang Kaya Setia Lela. Now all the people in the region of the Lipis must observe and obey the instructions of the two Chiefs.

Furthermore the two Chiefs must not quarrel for it will be contrary to Our wishes. After God and His Prophet it is upon the two Chiefs that We place Our reliance. Should they quarrel, the dispute must be submitted to Us, and reference may be made to Maharaja Perba only if there is no time to refer the matter to Us. Should either of the two Chiefs disregard or fail to observe (Our decision), where the offender is Orang Kaya Sĕtia Lela, Maharaja Sĕtia Raja shall behead him; where Maharaja Sĕtia Raja is the guilty party, the Orang Kaya Sĕtia Lela must exercise the utmost restraint until the matter is brought before Us.

Now all the people in Lipis must observe and obey the instructions of those two Chiefs provided that they are in accord with custom and the law of God. Whosoever refuses to observe and obey the instructions of those two Chiefs shall be guilty of treason towards His Highness the Sultan and of an offence against Us, and We shall inflict the severest punishment upon them: confiscation, or, in case of resistance, death.

Truly and clearly the seal is affixed to the head of the document. Conclusion.

Note.

The warrant bears out the tradition that the title of Orang Kaya Sĕtia Lela was conferred by Bendaharas (while that of Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa was given by Sultans). To'Teh was not a descendant of the former holders of the title but had married a daughter of his predecessor who had left no son to succeed him.

The difference in the status accorded in the warrant to Wan Daud and to To'Teh was due to the signal services given to Ahmad in the civil war by the former, whereas the family of the Orang Kaya Sĕtia Lela did not come over to the victor's side till the Maharaja Perba's return from Kelantan in January 1862 (*supra*, p. 82).

Wan Daud's title died with him in 1889. A more modest form of it was conferred upon the Pulau Tawar Chief Penglima Garang Yusoh in 1894.

The warrant reveals a certain amount of jealousy on the part of Bendahara Ahmad of Maharaja Perba's power.

Ahmad is still Bendahara and is still nominally subject to the Sultan of Lingga to whom he pays lip-worship. Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar Shah (the deposed ruler of Lingga and the *Yang di-Pertuan Besar* of the document) was actually in Pahang at the time the document was written, and died there the following year.

DOCUMENT No. VI.

The Civil War (1857—1863).

Ini Peraturan fasal Perang di-dalam negeri Pahang.

Pertama-tama perang dengan orang Kemaman, kedua perang dengan Wan Buang di-dalam Tembeling, dan ketiga perang Penglima Perang Kiri Wan Embong, dan keampat perang di-dalam Kuala Endau, dan kelima perang di-dalam Kuala Kuantan. Di-dalam tempoh perang Kuala Kuantan Wan Daud perang sampai di-Temerloh lalu Wan Daud hundor lari mengikut jalan Semantan hilir lalu sampai di-Raub berhenti di-situ. Maka kepala-kepala yang ada bersama-sama dengan Wan Daud, pertama Imam Pĕrang Rasu, dan kedua Haji Penglima Kiri Tahir Telang, dan ketiga Penglima Dalam (?) Kadud dan keampat Penghulu Teh, dan kelima Imam Pĕrang Busu Kasim Gua, dan kepala orang dagang pertama-tama Imam Pĕrang Jemang, dan kedua Imam Pĕrang Padang Tinggi, dan ketiga Penglima Raja (?) Betunanong Melayu, ini-lah yang ada bersama-sama Wan Daud. Kemudian Inche Engku Ahmad bersemayam di-dalam negeri Kelantan. Ada kapada satu hari muafakat dengan To' Raja dua beranak akan menyuroh To'Suboh mendapat Wan Daud ka-hulu Pahang. Maka To'Suboh pun pergi-lah mengikut jalan hulu Kelantan sampai hulu Lipis, berjumpa-lah dengan Wan Daud dan orang-orang kepala-kepala yang tersebut tadi lama-nya ada-lah kira-kira dua-puloh hari lalu balek mendapat To'Raja ka-dalam Kelantan. To'Suboh tiba di-dalam Kelantan. Tiada berapa lama To'Raja dua beranak pun bermohun-lah kapada Inche Engku Ahmad akan hendak melanggar ikut jalan hulu Pahang. Maka Inche Engku Ahmad pun membenarkan-lah :

> " Mana-mana sebut To'Raja benar-lah kapada Kita. Maka orang-orang Kita buleh To'Raja bawa, pertama-tama Penglima Komin, dan kedua Penglima Mat Pahang, ketiga Penglima Garang Ali Kuala Tembeling, dan Penglima Pĕrang Tunggal"—

ini-lah kepala orang-orang Inche Engku Ahmad. Kemudian To'Raja pun mudek mengikut jalan hulu Kelantan lalu ka-hulu Pahang banyak orang-nya empat-puloh orang masok orang Kelantan ada empat orang pertama Haji Wan Hamat dan kedua Wan Sulaiman dan berdua kawan-nya.

Translation.

The Scheme of Operations in the Pahang War.

Firstly were the operations in company with the men of Kemaman, secondly came Wan Buang's diversion in the Tembeling thirdly was the war of Penglima Pĕrang Kiri Wan Embong, fourthly occurred the fighting at Kuala Endau, and fifthly there was the war in Kuala Kuantan.

During the engagement at Kuala Kuantan Wan Daud fought his way as far as Temerloh and then took to flight retreating by the lower Semantan until he arrived at Raub where he made a stand. Now the Head-men with Wan Daud were, firstly, Imam Perang Rasu, secondly, Haji Penglima Kiri Tahir of Telang, thirdly Penglima Dalam (?) Kadud, fourthly, Penghulu Teh, fifthly Imam Pĕrang Busu Kasim of Gua while the leaders of the foreigners who helped Wan Daud were, firstly, Imam Pĕrang Jemang, secondly, Penglima Pĕrang of Padang Tinggi, thirdly, Penglima Raja (?) Betunanong Melayu—these were the Head-men with Wan Daud.

Afterwards Inche Engku Ahmad took up his residence in Kelantan. One day he arranged with To'Raja and his son that To'Suboh should proceed to Ulu Pahang to meet Wan Daud. To'Suboh accordingly set out, and journeyed by Ulu Kelantan to Kuala Lipis where he met Wan Daud and the aforesaid head-men. After a stay of about twenty days he retuned to Kelantan to meet To'Raja.

Not long afterwards To'Raja and his son begged permission of Inche Engku Ahmad to launch an attack through Ulu Pahang. Inche Engku Ahmad expressed his approval:

> " I agree to whatever you say, To'Raja. Of my head-men you may bring Penglima Komin, Penglima Mat of Pahang, Penglima Garang Ali of Kuala Tembeling and Penglima Pĕrang Tunggal "—

these were the head-men of Inche Engku Ahmad.

Subsequently To'Raja went up-river through Ulu Kelantan and arrived in Ulu Pahang. His force consisted of forty men of whom four were Kelantan men, Haji Wan Hamat, and Wan Sulaiman with two comrades.

Note.

In the hand-writing of To'Raja Wan Muhammad. A fragmentary account of the various struggles between Wan Ahmad and his brother Bendahara Mutahir which took place between 1857 and 1863 (*supra*, Chap. VII).

DOCUMENT No. VII.

To'Gajah gets Budu.

Kaul al-Hak.

(Seal) Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah.

Hajrat al-Nabi Salla Allahu alaihi wa salam sa-ribu tiga ratus tahun, sanat 1300, kapada dua-puloh-satu hari bulan Jemad-al-Awal, hari Sabtu, jam pukul sa-puloh.

Bahawa dewasa itu-lah Ka-Bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah ia-itu telah mengurniakan surat tanda keterangan ini kapada Imam Pĕrang Indĕra Gajah Pahang.

Fasal yang pertama.—Kita menyatakan segala orang-orang isi Budu itu Kita pulangkan kapada Imam Pĕrang yang tersebut di-atas ini semua-nya.

Fasal yang kedua.—Barang siapa-siapa mareka yang tiada mengikut dan menurut saperti yang tersebut di-atas ini melainkan salah dengan sa-penoh-penoh salah-nya kapada Kita, maka Kita hukum-kan di-atas-nya dengan sa-penoh-penoh hukum demikian-lah ada-nya.

Maka sah-lah dengan nyata-nya serta termetrai-lah chap Kita di-atas shatar ini.

Translation.

The Saying is the Truth.

(Seal) Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah.

In the year of the Prophet (on whom God shower blessings) one thousand three hundred (1300), on the twenty-first day of the month Jemad-al-Awal, on a Saturday, at ten of the clock.

On the said date His Highness Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah doth grant this warrant to Imam Perang Indera Gajah Pahang.

Firstly.—We proclaim that We hand over entirely all the inhabitants of Budu to the aforesaid Imam Perang.

Secondly.—Should any of the said inhabitants disregard or disobey or fail to observe Our aforesaid Command they shall be guilty of a grave offence against Us, and We shall inflict upon them the severest penalties. So be it.

Truly and clearly We affix Our Seal to the above Warrant.

Note.

Date: 30th March, 1883.

Budu was originally under the jurisdiction of the Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa of Lipis whose over-lord was the Maharaja Perba. The Budu people resented this transfer of authority (*vide* Document No. XI).

DOCUMENT No. VIII.

Threatened invasion of Pahang.

(Seal) Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azaam Shah Pahang.

Bahawa titah Ka-Bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah di-junjongkan kapada orang tua Beta

ia-itu Maharaja Perba, dan orang tua Beta Imam Pĕrang Indĕra Gajah Pahang, dan orang tua Beta Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa, barang tahu-lah kira-nya orang tua Beta yang bertiga ini-lah Beta nyatakan kapada orang tua Beta darihal perkara musoh itu, maka jikalau sudah tentu ada di-dalam daerah sempadan kita, maka hendak-lah kita ingat, maka jangan-lah sa-kali-kali daripada kita mendahului memulakan memechahkan perang atau bakar membakar segala rumah-rumah orang yang meninggalkan rumah tangga-nya. Maka hendak-lah kita berbanyak-banyak sabar serta jika yang buleh kita menahan daripada kekuatan daripada-nya jangan jadi kerosakan di-atas kita sementara kita menchari ikhtiar. Demikian-lah ada-nya.

Kapada 24 Shawal, malam Sabtu, jam pukul 9, Sanat 1301.

Translation.

(Seal) Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah of Pahang.

A command from His Highness Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah to Our Chief Maharaja Perba, and Our Chief Imam Pĕrang Indĕra Gajah of Pahang, and Our Chief Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa.

Be it known to you our three Chiefs.—If it is certain that the enemy is within our territory we must beware. We must not on any account take the initiative in war-like operations or in burning the houses of those who have left their families. We must exercise the utmost restraint, and we must do all in our power to curb their violence so that we may not be ruined while we are devising our strategy.

On 24 Shawal, Friday night, at 10 of the clock, date 1301.

Note.

Date: 19th August, 1884.

Sultan Ahmad warns his Chiefs in Ulu Pahang to guard against an apprehended attack on Pahang. The enemy is his brother Engku Muda Mansur, known in Singapore as Raja Muda Mansur.

DOCUMENT No. IX.

Engku Muda Mansur is not allowed to use Selangor as a base.

(Sd.) Cecil Clementi Smith. Acting Governor, S.S.

Bahawa ini warkah al-ikhlas yang di-sertakan beberapa tabek dan hurmat mulia ia-itu daripada Kita Cecil Clementi

Smith, C.M.G., yang ada memangku jawatan Tuan Governor yang Terutama memerentahkan Singapura, Pulau Pinang dan Malaka apa-lah kira-nya mendapatkan Paduka Sahabat Kita Yang di-Pertuan Ahmad Raja Pahang yang mulia yang ada dengan kesejahteraan-nya.

Wabaadahu barang isthafaham kira-nya Sahabat Kita. Ada pun di-dalam surat Kita bertarikh 14 May yang telah di-kirimkan pada Sahabat Kita dahulu itu ada Kita sebutkan demikian :

> " Yang Kita harap Sahabat Kita tiada kelak meluluskan atau memberi jalan kapada sa-barang anak-anak Raja Pahang itu membangkitkan pergadohan."

Ada pun perkataan " sa-barang anak-anak Raja Pahang " itu jatoh pada Raja Empeh dan Raja Ismail, dengan To'Kaya Perba Jelai, Imam Pĕrang Indĕra Gajah Pahang, To'Sĕtia Lela Raja, dan To'Mail. Shahadan daripada surat Sahabat Kita bertarikh 27 Ramathan itu pada pikiran Kita ambil Sahabat Kita pada Raja Muda Inche Wan Mansur. Maka jika sunggoh demikian salah pikiran Sahabat Kita karana Kita ketahui ada pun Raja Muda Wan Mansur itu tiada berbaik dengan Sahabat Kita. Arakian apabila Kita dengar yang Raja Muda itu telah ka-hulu Selangor pada bulan yang lalu maka dengan segĕra-nya telah Kita memberi perentah kapada Tuan acting Resident Selangor itu menahan dan melarangkan Raja Muda itu masok ka-Pahang maka tentu-lah Tuan acting Resident itu kelak menjunjongkan perentah Kita itu dengan sa-buleh-buleh-nya ada-nya. Tiada-lah suatu jua pun....hanya-lah tabek Kita kapada Sahabat Kita.

Tertulis pada 18 September, 1884.

Translation.

This letter in all sincerity accompanied by courteous salutations is from me Cecil Clementi Smith, C.M.G., acting Governor of Singapore, Penang, and Malacca. May it come to my honourable friend Yang di-Pertuan Ahmad renowned Raja of Pahang in safety !

Let it be known to you.—In my letter dated 14 May which I despatched to you some time ago I used the following expression :

> " I hope that you will not allow or encourage any Pahang nobles to create disturbances."

Now the term " any Pahang nobles " applies to Raja Empeh and Raja Ismail, To'Kaya Perba of Jelai, Imam Pĕrang Indĕra Gajah of Pahang, To'Sĕtia Lela Raja and To'Mail. From your letter dated 27 Ramathan it appears to me that you include

Raja Muda Inche Wan Mansur in this category. If that is so, you are mistaken, for I know that Raja Muda Wan Mansur is not on good terms with you. When I heard that Raja Muda had proceeded to Ulu Selangor last month I lost no time in instructing the acting Resident of Selangor to prevent him from entering Pahang. The acting Resident of Selangor will certainly carry out my instructions to the utmost extent of his ability. I have nothing further to add except to convey my regards to you.

Written on 18 September, 1884.

DOCUMENT No. X.

Engku Muda's intentions.

(Seal) Ka-bawah Duli Negeri
Pahang Sanat 1297.

Salam doa daripada Beta Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah Yang di-Pertuan negeri Pahang maka di-junjongkan di-atas orang tua Beta ia-itu orang tua Beta Maharaja Perba dengan selamat-nya pada masa ini di-Tanjong Betong ada-nya. Ahual barang tahu-lah kira-nya orang tua Beta itu. Maka ada-lah Beta menyatakan yang dari hal saudara Beta Engku Muda itu ada menulis surat kapada Beta mengatakan dia hendak balek jalan hulu ini serta ia hendak membetulkan segala peraturan di-hulu ini akan tetapi kapada pikiran Beta hendak-lah saudara Beta itu hilir ka-Pekan berjumpa Beta dahulu dan apabila sudah mendapat kebenaran daripada Beta baharu-lah di-perbuat apa-apa pekerjaan dan yang Beta sangat-lah suka-nya akan saudara Beta itu mengerjakan pekerjaan Beta. Maka itu-lah hajat Beta sa-lama lama-nya dan orang tua Beta sakalian pun maka hendak-lah beserta dan mengerjakan bersama-sama dengan saudara Beta itu ada-nya. Dan lagi jikalau saudara Beta itu tiada hilir berjumpa dengan Beta dahulu maka tiada-lah saudara Beta itu betul dengan Beta dan orang tua Beta pun jikalau ada kenang akan Beta lagi jangan-lah orang tua Beta beserta atau menyukakan segala perbuatan saudara Beta yang tiada berbetulan dengan Beta itu. Dan lagi jangan-lah orang tua Beta semua mendatangkan satu-satu pergadohan dahulu di-atas-nya. Maka hendak-lah orang tua Beta semua mendatangkan nasehat akan saudara Beta itu daripada jalan yang kebajikan. Maka tiada jua dapat di-ikhtiarkan uleh orang tua Beta semua, apa buleh buat, tiada-lah salah daripada Kita ada-nya. Dan lagi Beta harap di-atas orang tua Beta semua menjagakan pada tiap-tiap perkara yang mendatangkan kechelaan dan kerugian di-atas Beta demikian-lah Beta dengan orang tua Beta semua-nya ada-nya.

Kapada 30 hari bulan Jemad-al-Awal, 1304.

Translation.

(Seal) His Highness of Pahang, date 1297.

Prayers and Salutations from Us Sultan Ahmad al-Mu'azam Shah Ruler of Pahang to Our Chief Maharaja Perba who resides at Tanjong Betong in safety.

Let it be known to you.—We inform you that Our brother Engku Muda has written to Us announcing his intention of returning by the hinter-land and of regulating affairs in the interior. But Our brother should, in Our opinion, come down to Pekan and meet Us first, and only when We have given him permission may he take any action. We are only too pleased that Our brother should work in Our service. That is Our constant desire. You must wholeheartedly co-operate with Our brother.

Furthermore if Our brother does not come down to meet Us first he is not well-affected towards Us and if you love Us you will not abet or approve any action of his that savours of disloyalty to Us.

Furthermore you must not make any attack on him, but you must give him good counsel. If you are unsuccessful it cannot be helped: We shall impute no guilt to you.

Furthermore, We hope that all of you will be on your guard against anything that may be detrimental to Our interests, and We on Our part shall do likewise by you.

On the 30th day of the month Jemad-al-Awal, 1304.

Note.

Date: 25th February, 1887.

Engku Muda Mansur has accompanied Clifford into Pahang. The Sultan is uncertain whether his brother's intentions are peaceable or not. If Engku Muda does not go down to Pekan into the presence of the Sultan it will be proof that he is not well-affected. To'Raja must not countenance any action by Engku Muda which savours of disloyalty to the Sultan.

DOCUMENT No. XI.

A Complaint from Budu.

Profound obeisance followed by honourable respects in all humility from me Wan Selat son of the late Orang Kaya Haji who resides at the present time in Budu at Kampong Chat, into the presence of the illustrious Dato' Maharaja Perba of Jelai who resides at the present time on the Jelai at Bukit Kota in all safety and security.

I forward this scrap of paper (not in the proper fashion but so far as lies in my power) to be a substitute for an interview with you, and I inform you that at the time of writing this letter, by the gift of God and a volume of prayer from you, I am free from fever and in good health, and I hope that you are likewise.

Furthermore I inform you that there is a great disturbance in the Mukim of Budu at the present time because the three head-men who rule in Budu are not making proper arrangements, and their orders are hurtful to all their people. If the jurisdiction of these three head-men in Budu is confirmed, in my opinion the people of Budu will suffer. I therefore bring this matter of Budu to your notice, for originally it was in your ancestral jurisdiction. I hope that you will give the matter your consideration and that you will devote your ability towards making a claim so that your ancestral jurisdiction there may be restored. Likewise regarding the head-men I hope that you will decide as you think best.

Furthermore, if my desire is not acceded to, the common people will suffer ; I cannot say more. I have only you to look to for protection.

I have nothing further to add except to convey my profound and submissive salutations to you. Conclusion.

From me, in all humility, Wan Selat ibni al-Marhum Orang Kaya Haji.

Written on the 3rd Muharram in the year 1305.

Note.

Translation only (Malay text missing).

The letter is wrongly dated 21st September, 1887 : the Orang Kaya Haji's death did not occur until 1889.

The people of Budu are unhappy at the handing over of the district to To'Gajah (*vide* Document No. VII).

DOCUMENT No. XII.

Payment and collection of duties in Ulu Pahang.

(Seal) Sultan Ahmad Mu'azam Shah Pahang.

Kaul-al-Hak.

Di-dalam Pekan Pahang kapada 11 hari bulan Shaaban, sanat 1305.

Bahawa sa-sunggoh-nya Kita Sultan Ahmad Mu'azam Shah yang memileki negeri Pahang dengan segala daerah taalok-nya telah mengurniakan surat keterangan di-atas orang tua Kita yang tersebut di-bawah ini, pertama-tama Maharaja Perba Jelai,

dan kedua-nya Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa Lipis, dan ketiga-nya Imam Pĕrang Indĕra Gajah Pahang yang Kita berwakil mutallak kapada-nya.

Fasal yang pertama-tama.—Kita suroh dan Kita benarkan Orang tua Kita yang tersebut ini akan menjaga dan memereksa dan menangkap dan melawan barang siapa-siapa mareka yang melalui daripada hukum larangan Kita di-dalam Raub dan lain-lain tempat yang di-bawah perentah Kita daerah Hulu Pahang ia-itu saperti afiun dan tembakau yang datang daripada lain negeri yang menerusi jalan hulu. Maka tiada buleh sa-kali-kali dan di-kechuali-kan bagi mareka yang mendapat surat "Concession" sahaja yang Kita benarkan itu pun hendak mengikut jalan Kuala Pahang juga demikian-lah segala mareka yang membawa keluar jenis barang saperti mas dan timah dan lain-nya dari dalam negeri Kita pada lain-lain negeri yang belum berbayar daripada chukai bia-nya.

Fasal yang kedua.—Kita menyatakan Orang tua Kita yang tersebut itu telah mendapat kuasa daripada Kita akan menerima segala chukai-chukai dan hasil-hasil yang keluar di-dalam daerah yang tersebut itu ia-itu menurut bagaimana adat negeri bayaran-nya.

Fasal yang ketiga.—Segala chukai-chukai dan hasil-hasil yang di-peruleh di-dalam daerah yang tersebut itu hendak-lah di-dalam enam bulan atau satu tahun sa-kali di-hantarkan hilir serta dengan kira-kira-nya.

Fasal yang keampat.—Kita menyatakan tiap-tiap perkara yang sudah jadi maka hendak-lah di-tarohkan di-dalam "book" dan apa-bila sampai tiga bulan atan enam bulan sa-kali menghantarkan report perkara itu hilir ka-Pekan kapada mahkamah Kita. Demikian-lah ada-nya.

Translation.

(Seal) Sultan Ahmad Mu'azam Shah Pahang.

The Saying is the Truth.

In Pekan, Pahang, on the 11th day of the month Shaaban in the year 1305 (23rd April 1888).

Verily We Sultan Ahmad Mu'azam Shah, Ruler of the country of Pahang, with all its territories and tributaries, give this warrant to, and confer a general authority upon the following of our Chiefs: firstly Maharaja Perba of Jelai, secondly Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa of Lipis, and thirdly Imam Pĕrang Indĕra Gajah of Pahang.

Firstly: We command and authorize Our aforesaid Chiefs to watch, examine, seize and oppose any person whatsoever that

disregards Our edicts in Raub and other places under Our sway in the territory of Ulu Pahang, in respect of the import of tobacco and opium through the hinter-land. Such imports are absolutely prohibited except in the case of those who have got Concessions from Us, and even in their case they are required to import *via* Kuala Pahang.

The same rule must be observed by all those who have not yet paid duty and who export different kinds of articles such as gold, tin etc., from Our country to other countries.

Secondly: We proclaim that Our said Chiefs are authorized by Us to receive all taxes and rents that accrue from the said territory, payments to be made in accordance with the custom of the country.

Thirdly: All taxes and rents obtained within the said territory must be sent down-stream, with accounts every six months or every twelve months.

Fourthly: We ordain that every transaction that takes place be recorded in a book, and that every three months or every six months a report of the transaction be sent down-stream to Pekan to Our court.

DOCUMENT No. XIII.

Appointment of a Penghulu.

Hajrat al-Nabi Salla Allahu alaihi wa salam sa-ribu tiga ratus dua-belas.

Kapada 1 hari bulan Ramathan, tahun 1312.

Bahawa dewasa ini-lah Dato' Maharaja Perba Jelai mengurniakan chap serta gelaran-nya akan Inche Mat Akhir ini di-kurniakan nama gelaran-nya Penghulu Mat Akhir Gua. Shahadan lagi Kita menyatakan fasal perentah-nya dan menyatakan fasal daerah nya didalam Gua itu, hendak-lah mengikut bagaimana istiadat zaman Penghulu-Penghulu yang dahulu. Demikian-lah ada-nya, intiha. Sanat 1312. (5th August, 1894).

Translation.

In the year of the Prophet (on whom God shower blessings) one thousand three hundred and twelve.

On the 1st day of the month of Ramathan, year 1312.

Now on this date Dato' Maharaja Perba of Jelai grants a seal and a title to Inche Mat Akhir of Gua—the title of Penghulu Mat Akhir of Gua. Furthermore, I proclaim that his jurisdiction and his district is in Gua. He must observe the customs which held in the time of former Penghulus.

So be it. Conclusion. Date 1312.

DOCUMENT No. XIV.

The presentation of a Kepala Mayat.

Salam ia-itu daripada anakanda To'Muda Long kapada masa ini di-Penjom Lama mudah-mudahan barang di-sampaikan Allah subahanahu wa'taala akan datang ka-hadapan majlis ayahanda Tuan Haji Muhammad Nor kapada masa ini di-Pekan Pahang dengan kesejahteraan-nya.

Ahual maka ada-lah anakanda maalumkan saperti surat ayahanda beri mari yang di-bawa uleh Dato' Maharaja Perba sudah-lah sampai dengan sempurna-nya dan paham-lah sakalian tersebut di-dalam-nya itu, kata surat anakanda menjawab Titah Duli Yang Maha Mulia ayahanda bawa dahulu junjongkan pada anakanda. Maka di-dalam itu Dato' Maharaja Perba beri tahu anakanda dengan Titah Duli Yang Maha Mulia suroh muafakat dengan ketuaan di-dalam Lipis dari hal kematian ayahanda Orang Kaya Setia Wangsa Lipis itu sudah di-maalum pada Tuan Resident. Maka uleh Tuan Resident bertanyakan adat zaman dahulu, kata mahu-lah di-persembahkan kepala mayat pada Ka-Bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia. Yang demikian itu di-suroh-lah anakanda hilir mengadap serta membawa sembahan kepala mayat.

Translation.

Salutations from me To'Muda Long who resides at the present time at Penjom Lama. May they be brought by the Almighty God (to Whom be praise) to Tuan Haji Muhammad Nor who resides at the present time in Pekan, Pahang in all security.

I inform you that your letter which was brought by Dato' Maharaja Perba reached me safely, and I noted its contents. The letter said that I should reply to the command of His Highness which you conveyed to me some time ago. Since then Dato' Maharaja Perba informed me that His Highness had instructed him to confer with the elders in Lipis regarding the death of my father the Orang Kaya Sĕtia Wangsa of Lipis, and the Resident was informed. When the Resident enquired what the ancient custom was, he (Maharaja Perba) said that the funeral offering should be presented to His Highness, and I was instructed to proceed down-stream bringing the funeral offering.

Note.

For the exact meaning of *kepala mayat vide supra*, p. 197.

To'Muda Long was the second son of the Lipis Chief. The events which succeeded the writing of this letter are interesting. He proceeded to Pekan to be installed in his father's place but, on the eve of his reception by the Sultan, he gambled away the offerings which had been collected from the people of Lipis and had to flee from Pekan in disgrace.

APPENDIX V.

ANCIENT GRAVES.

The translations of the inscriptions on tomb-stones, photographs of which are here reproduced, are by Engku 'Abdu'l-Hamid bin 'Abdu'l-Majid of Johore.

KERAMAT GALONG.

Galong is situated near the boundary of the Temerloh and Pekan Districts on the south bank of the river Pahang. On the hill of Galong are two boulders (? megaliths) about six feet apart. The people of Luit regard the spot as a miraculous tomb. It is usual for visitors to the shrine to make a ceremonial offering, usually a coin, (there is no record, however, of coins of any antiquity having been found there). Mr. H. S. Sircom (Journal F.M.S. Museums, Vol. IX, Pt. 2) records a legend that people who lose their way in the adjacent jungle, and chance upon the tomb, find there sugar-cane ready cut to refresh them. Galong is near Luit where pre-Malaccan traces have been found. It is possible that here is another instance of a place of pagan worship having been converted by the Malays into a Muslim shrine. The tradition current among the people is that the spot marks the resting place of a Saiyid, one of seven brothers.

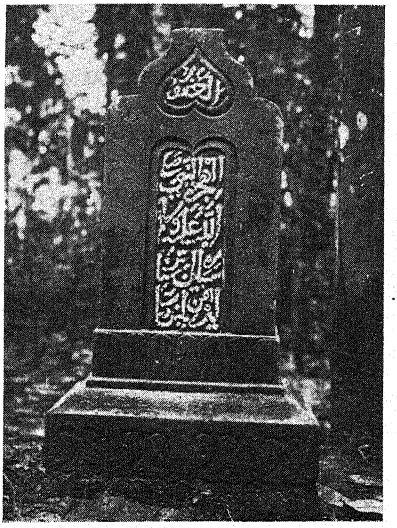
MAKAM LANGGAR.

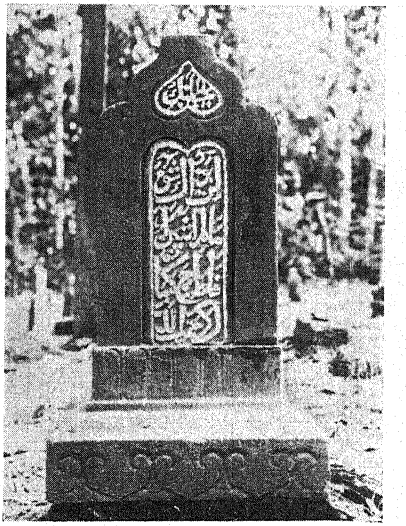
Here is the tomb of Muhammad the first Sultan of Pahang who died on 17 September, 1475. The grave, which is situated at Langgar in the locality of Dusun Pinang on the bank of the Pahang Tua, is described, with illustrations, in J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. IV, Pt. II, 1926.

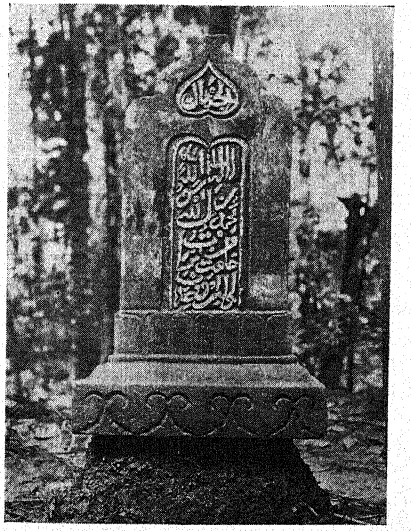
Following is a translation of the Arabic inscription on the panel of one of the tomb-stones :

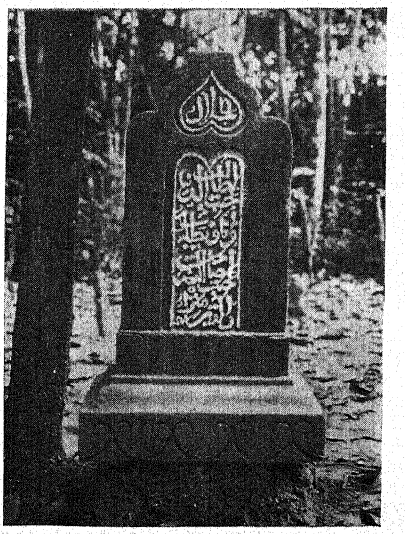
> "There passed away Sultan Muhammad Shah (on whom God have mercy) son of Sultan Mansur Shah, the son of the late Muzaffar Shah, the son of the late Muhammad Shah, (God have pity on them), on Wednesday night, sixteen days of the month Jumadi'l-Awal, in the year eighty and eight hundred of the era of the Chosen Prophet ".

The 16th Jumadi'l-Awal 880 A.H. corresponds with 17 September 1475 A.D. There are extant not alone the inscribed tomb-stones of this first Malaccan ruler of Pahang but also those of his father Sultan Mansur of Malacca, of his two half-brothers Sulaiman and Sultan Alauddin of Malacca (*Marhum Berdarah Puteh*) and of his niece Raja Fatimah, daughter of Alauddin. The inscriptions are the earliest yet discovered in Pahang. The epitaph corroborates the account given by the *Sejarah Melayu* of









Tomb of Raja Fatimah binti Sultan Alauddin I.
A (I—IV).

Tomb of Raja Fatimah binti Sultan Alauddin I.
A (V—VI).

the descent of the Malacca Sultans. Muhammad was probably that son of Sultan Mansur of Malacca who, D'Albuquerque's *Commentaries* say, was poisoned. Near-by is another ancient grave the inscriptions on the stones of which contain neither name nor date.

ZIARAT RAJA RADEN.

This grave-yard is situated in Pekan Lama on the west bank of the stream Sungai Pekan near the spot where it joins the Pahang. The ancient name *Ziarat Raja Raden* is almost forgotton : it is nowadays called *Makam 'Abdu'l-Jalil*. The Javanese title *Raden* was met with among the ancient Malacca royal family and its branches in Perak and Johore. Here it commemorates that part of the ancestry of the Malacca-Pahang princes which was derived from Java. In the cemetery are buried some of the Pahang princes who died at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries.

Plates A (i) to A (vi) illustrate the tomb of Raja Fatimah :

A (i) :

الغفور

1. الهجرةالنبي صلى
2. الله عليه وسلم
3. سمبيلن راتس تا
4. هن ليم بلس هاري

The Pardoner.

1. The year of the Prophet
2. May God bestow peace on him.
3. Nine hundred years
4. The fifteenth day

A (ii) :

1. بولن شوال
2. مالم اثنين را
3. فاطمه ج كمبا
4. ل كرحمتا الله

1. Of the month Shawal
2. Sunday night, Ra(ja)
3. Fatimah
4. Returned to the mercy of God.

A (iii) :

الجمل

1. لااله الا الله
2. محمد رسول الله
3. خلقت من التراب
4. واليه اموت وعد

Goodly.

1. There is no other but God
2. Muhammad is the Prophet of God
3. Created from earth
4. Unto it returned when dead.

A (iv) :

الجلال

1. عجبت لطا لب الدنيا
2. والموت يطلبه
3. عجبت لصا حب القصر
4. والقبر منزله

Glorious.

1. It is surprising to see them pursuing the world
2. When death pursues them
3. It is surprising to see them dwelling in a castle
4. When the grave is their abode.

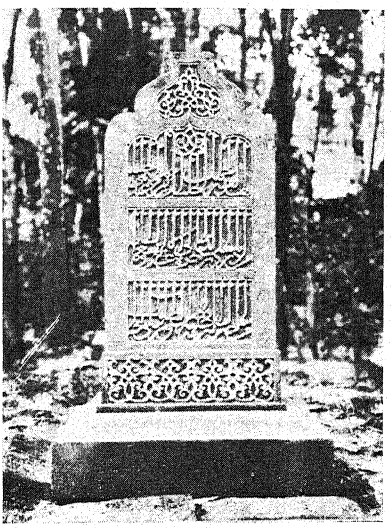
A (V and VI) :

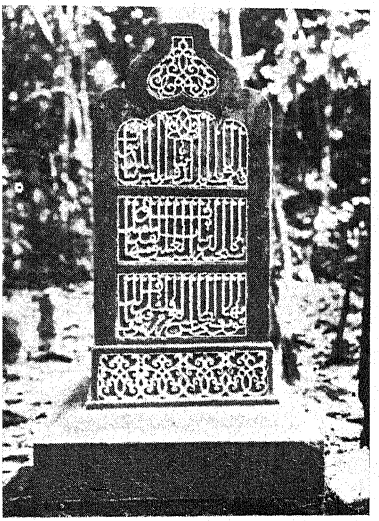
1. الموت باب العذاب والقبر صندوق العذاب
2. يا قا رء نا في بناه افلا تشفل عسن طول الا مل

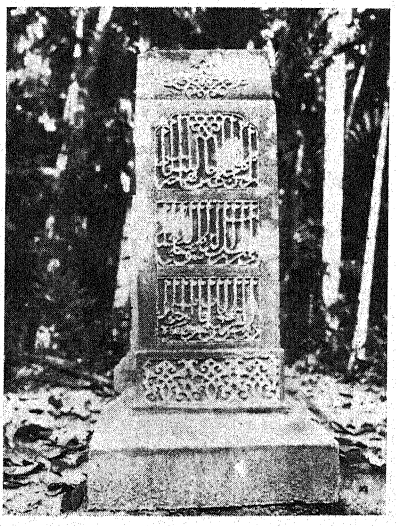
Death is the door which leads to sorrow and the grave is the casket (in which) to endure suffering.

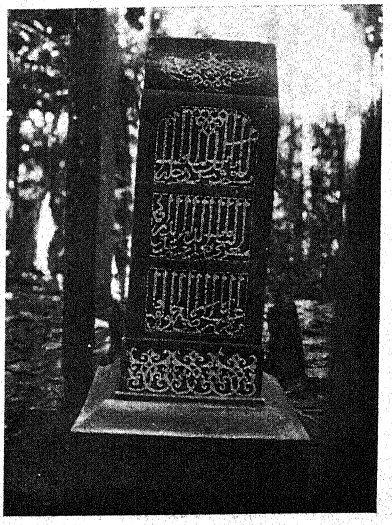
Oh thou who readest the inscriptions on this tablet, wilt Thou not abandon thy endless longing.

Raja Fatimah was a full sister of Sultan Mahmud (*Marhum Kampar*) and a daughter of Sultan 'Alauddin of Malacca (reigned 1477-1488). Her mother was Tun Senaja, the daughter of Sĕri Nara 'diraja, and a sister of Tun Tahir the Temenggong (later Bendahara) Seri Maharaja. Raja Fatimah married either 'Abdu'l-Jamil or Mansur, son of Sultan Ahmad the second ruler of Pahang, who, when his father abdicated, succeeded to the throne jointly with his cousin 'Abdu'l-Jamil. The head-stone of Raja Fatimah's grave was, at some time in the past, removed from *Ziarat Raja Raden.* Early in this century it was found on the

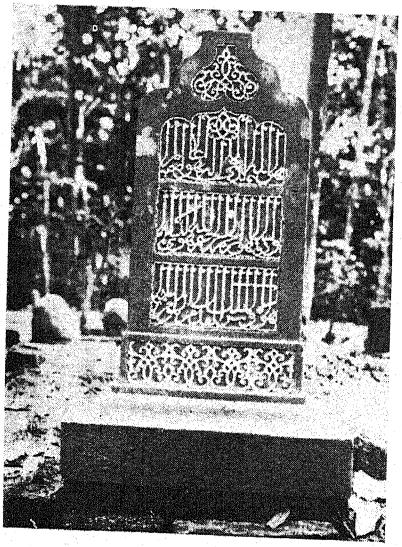


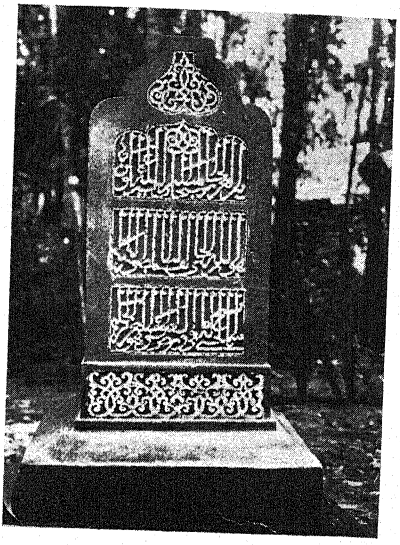


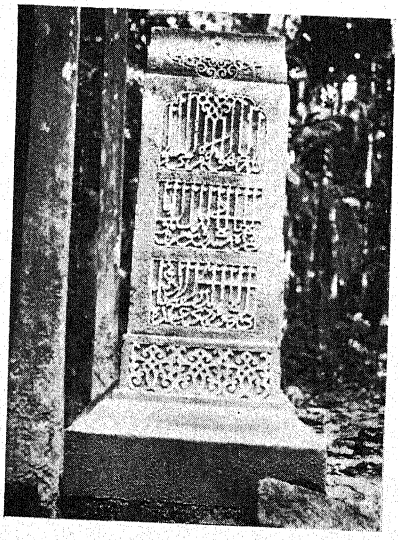


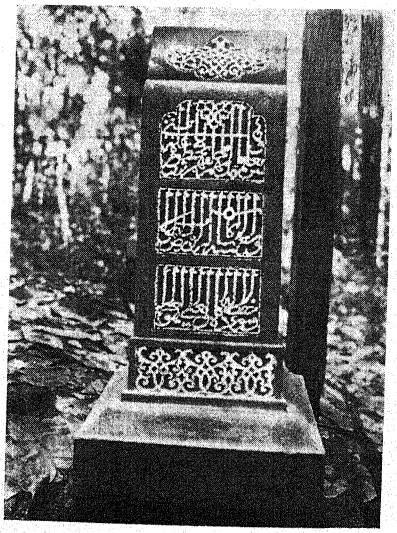


Tomb of 'Abdul'l-Jalil.
B (I—IV).









Tomb of 'Abdul'l-Jalil.

banks of the Pahang river at Tebing Tinggi. Perhaps it had been purloined by a Menangkabau Chief anxious to manufacture a royal lineage. The recovered stone was emplaced in the graveyard *Makam Chondong* as its provenance was not at the time known. In 1925 the companion stone was discovered in *Ziarat Raja Raden* on the true site of Raja Fatimah's grave and the lost stone restored to her tomb. 15 Shawal 900 A.H. corresponds with 7 July 1495 A.D.

Plates B (i) to (viii) show the grave of "'Abdu'l-Jalil" who died in 1511-1512 A.D. This prince, as has been shown in Appendix I, *supra*, was probably Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jamil. The epitaph on his tomb, which is situated by the side of that of Raja Fatimah, reads :

B (i) :

1. هذالقبر الجميل الجليل للمسمى المورخ عبدالجليل
2. المنتقل من دارالدنيا الى دارالاخرة السابع عشر وتسعمات
3. من انتقال خيرالبريه عليه افضل الصلوات وازكي التحيت

1. This (is) the grave of the excellent and illustrious 'Abdu'l-Jalil.
2. Departed from this world to the everlasting world on the date nine hundred and seventeen
3. After the most excellent of men had departed to him befits prayer and virtuous salutations.

B (ii) :

1. الا انماالدنيا فنا ليس‌الدنيا ثبوت
2. انما الدنيا كبيت نسجتها العنكبوت منها ولقد يكفيك
3. ايهاالظاعن قوت وقليل العمز فيها لك مهموم

As Verses these should be arranged and completed in the following order :

1. الا انما الدنيا فنا	ليس‌للدنيا ثبوت
2. انما الدنيا كبيت	نسجتها العنكبوت
3. ايها الظا عن منها	ولقد يكفيك قوت
4. وقليل العمر فيها	لك مهموم صموت

1. Listen ! Verily the world is perishable
   the world is not everlasting
2. Verily the world is like a Web weaved by a spider
3. Oh ye who will depart from it
   be satisfied with what sustenance ye have
4. And the short life of the world
   the grief that silences ye.

B (iii) :

1. هما محلان ماللناس غيرهما فاختر لنفسك
2. ايالدار تختار ماللعالمين سوى
3. ذوكرم وان هفوا هفوة فالربالغفار

These Verses may be arranged as follows :

1. هما محلان ماللناس غيرهما فا ختر لنفسك ايالدار تختار
2. ما للعالمين سوىالغفار ذوكرم. وان هفوا هفوة فالربالغفار

1. There are no abodes other than these two for human beings ; Choose thyself the place preferable to thee.
2. There is none other than God Who is most merciful And with transgressors God is most forgiving.

B (iv) :

1. الموت باب وكلالناس داخله فليت
2. شعرى بعدالموت ماالدار الدار جنت عدن
3. ان عملت بما يرضى الا له وان خالفت فالنار

These Verses may be arranged as follows :

1. الموت باب وكلالناس داخله. فليت شعرى بعدالموت فاالدار
2. الدار جنبت عدن ان عملت بما. يرضى الا له وان خالفت فالنار

1. Death is a door which all men must enter. What shall be my state after death ?
2. The Paradise of Eden if my deeds are pleasing to God ; if I transgress, the flames of Hell.

B (v) :

1. هواللهالذى لااله الا هو عالم الغيب
2. والشهادة هوالرحمن الرحيم هواللهالذى لااله
3. الا هوالملك القدوس السلام المؤمن المهيمن

(Ch. 59, Ver. 22 to the 1st portion of Ver. 23.)

1. He is God beside Whom there is no (other) God, He knoweth things invisible
2. And visible. He is Compassionate and Merciful. He is God beside Whom there is no other God.
3. He is the King, the Holy, the Peaceful, the Faithful, the Guardian.

B (vi) :

1. العزيز الجبار المتكبر سبحان الله عما يشركون
2. هواللهالحالق البارى المصور له الا
3. سما الحسنى يسبح له مافى السموات والارض وهوالعزيز الحكيم

(Ch. 59-the 2nd portion of the Verse 23-24.)

1. The Mighty, the Strong, the Most High. Far be the Glory of God from that which they unite with Him.
2. He is God the Producer, the Creator, the Fashioner. To Him are ascribed
3. Excellent titles. Whatever is in the Heavens and in the Earth praiseth Him. He is the Mighty, the Wise.

B (vii) :

1. الله لااله الا هوالحي القيوم
2. لا تأاخذه سنة ولا نوم له مافى السموات وما
3. وما فى الارض من ذالذي يشفع عنده الا باذنه

(Ch. II, Ver. 255, 1st portion.)

1. God ! There is no God but He ; the Living, the Eternal ;
2. Nor slumber seizeth Him, nor sleep ; His, whatsoever is in the Heavens and whatsoever is on
3. The Earth ! Who is he that can intercede with Him unless by His own permission ?

B (viii) :

1. يعلم ما بين ايديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشيء من علمه الا بماشاء
2. وسع كرسيه السموات والارض
3. ولا يوء ده حفظهما وهوالعلي العظيم

(Ch. II Ver. 255, 2nd portion.)

1. He knoweth what hath been before them and what shall be after them ; yet nought of His knowledge shall they grasp, save what He willeth.
2. His Throne reacheth over the Heavens and the Earth.
3. Upholding of both burdeneth Him not ; and He is the High, the Great.

This tomb was, until recently, mistaken for that of the Bendahara-Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil IV (*Marhum Kuala Pahang*) who was killed in 1720 and buried near the estuary of the Pahang: the *Hikayat Johor serta Pahang* perpetuated the mistake by describing the eighteenth century ruler as having been buried " above the Sungai Pekan " *i.e.* at *Ziarat Raja Raden.*

In the same cemetery is another tomb,—Plates C. (i) to (viii) —similar to that of *'Abdu'l-Jalil,* only some of the inscriptions on which have been deciphered :

C (iii) :

لااله الا الله

1. وفارقوا الا هل والا وطان واغتربو
2. وكا بدوا الليل ولا حزان كا زما نا
3. المال يستر كل عيب ظاهر والفقر يظهر كل عيب ساتر

There is no other but God.

1. They separated from their families and homes and became strangers.
2. For long periods they suffered great distress in the nights.
3. Wealth veils all visible disgrace and poverty reveals all the hidden shame.

C (V) :

لااله الا الله

1. قل اللهم مالك الملك تو تي الملك من تشاء وتنزع
2. الملك من تشاء وتعزمن تشاء وتذل من تشاء بيدك الخير انك على
3. كل شيء قدير توليج اليل فى النهار توليج النها فىاليل

(Chap. III, Ver. 25, and the 1st portion of Ver. 26.)

(Top panel : 1st half of the Kalimah.)

1. Say : O God who possesseth the Kingdom, Thou givest the Kingdom unto whom Thou wilt, and Thou takest away
2. The Kingdom from whom Thou wilt ! Thou exaltest whom Thou wilt, and Thou humblest whom Thou wilt : in Thy hand is good. Verily Thou
3. Hast power over all things. Thou causest the night to pass into the day, and Thou causest the day to pass into night.

C (VII) :

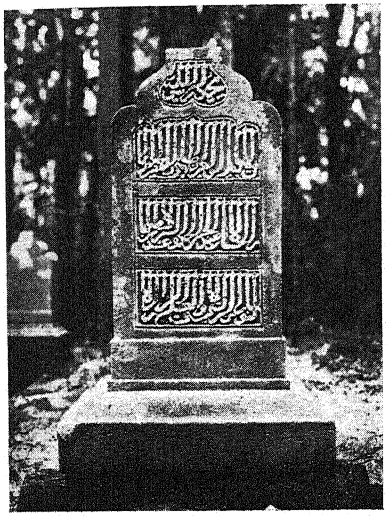
لااله الا الله

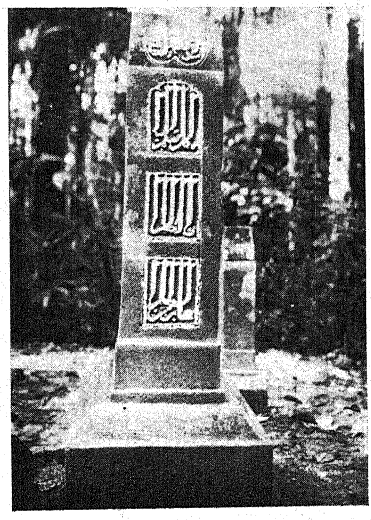
1. شهدالله انه لااله هووالملئكت واولوا
2. العلم قاء يما با القسط لا اله الا هو العزيز
3. الحكيم ان الدين عندالله الا سلام

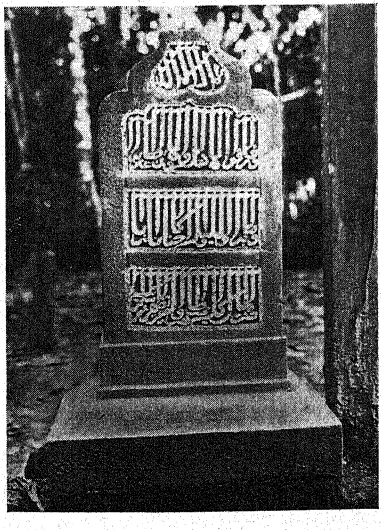
(Chap. III, Ver. 17, the 1st portion of Ver. 18.)

(Top panel : 1st half of the Kalimah.)

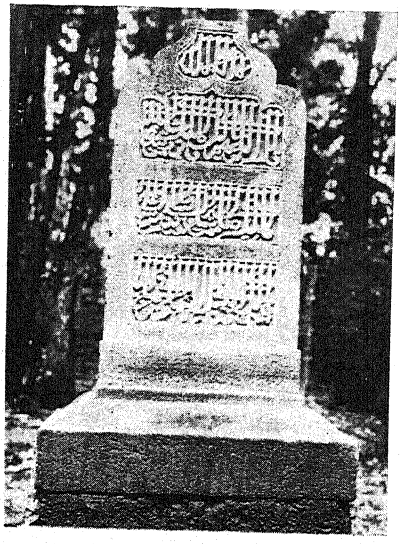
1. God witnesseth that there is no God but He : and the Angels and men
2. Endowed with wisdom, who execute righteousness, proclaim "There is no God but He." The Mighty
3. The Wise. Verily the true religion with God is Islam.

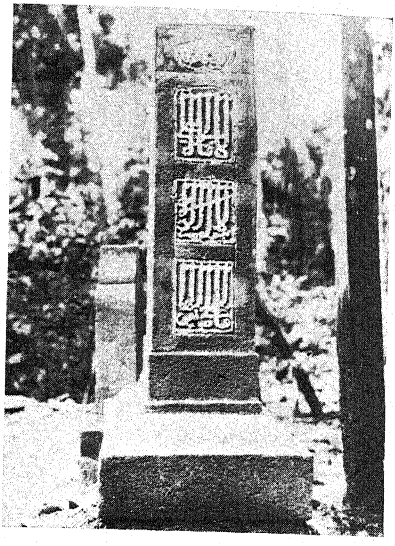


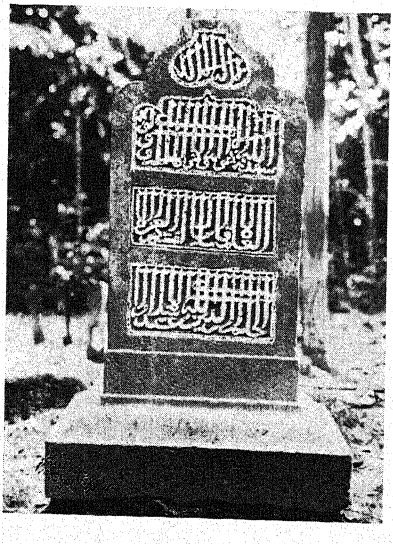


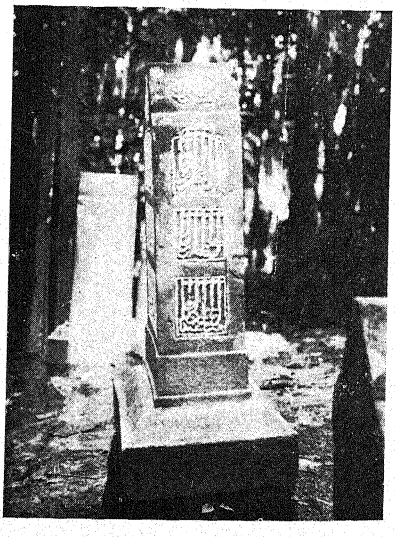


An unidentified tomb at Ziarat Raja Raden.
C (I—IV).









An unidentified tomb at Ziarat Raja Raden.
C (V—VIII).

MAKAM LUBOK PELANG.

Lubok Pĕlang is situated on the right bank of the Pahang river near the village of Burau. On the hill of Lubok Pĕlang is a grave marked by uninscribed tomb-stones of "Achinese" type. Here was buried *Marhum Shaikh.* The identity of this ruler is discussed in Appendix I, *supra* and the conclusion there reached is that he was Ahmad the second ruler of Pahang. Lubok Pĕlang was the site of an ancient settlement. At the foot of the hill is an old cemetery which merits investigation; stone projectiles have been found there. On the opposite bank of the river a subterranean stream, Sungai Batu Burong, falls into the Pahang. The ancient grave on the hill is revered as a miraculous shrine.

MAKAM MEGAT ELOK.

At a place called Genting, situated on the south bank of the Pahang river, directly opposite Lubok Paku, are a pair of natural stones placed about six feet apart which are said to mark the burial place of one *Mĕgat Elok.* The people come from long distances to make their vows there. *Mĕgat Elok* may have been one of the Trengganu Mĕgats. The *Hikayat Hang Tuah* relates the killing of *Megat Panji Alam,* son of a ruler of Trengganu, a suitor for the hand of Tun Teja, daughter of a Pahang Bendahara, (and afterwards wife of Sultan Mahmud of Malacca), at the end of the fifteenth century.

PADANG HANGUS.

A locality situated on the north bank of the Pahang Tua. At this spot is a tomb marked by an uninscribed stone of local origin. According to local tradition the grave is a *keramat tajalli*: a shrine which miraculously appeared.

MAKAM TANJONG BRUNAI.

A tomb at Tanjong Brunai (a place adjoining Kampong Marhum) marked by a (?) Pahang stone. It bears an inscription which is not readily legible. Is this the grave of Sultan Mansur II who was killed (*ca.* 1560) fighting against *Jawa Kafir* "pagan southerners", or of that Sultan who was killed in 1540 for adultery with the wife of Khoja Zainal, the Chief of an expedition from Borneo?

MAKAM NIBONG.

"The Tombs of the Nibong Palms"—an ancient cemetery in Pekan Lama situated within a few hundred yards of *Makam Chondong.* Its earlier name is said to have been *Makam Tembuni* "The Burial Ground of the Cauls".

Plates D (i) to (viii) show the inscriptions on one set of tomb-stones. Follow the readings of those which have been deciphered:

D (iii) :

لااله الا الله

1. هوالله الخالق البارى المصورله ال
2. اسماء الحسنى له مافى السموات
3. والارض وهوالعزيز الحكيم

(Chap. LIX, Ver. 24.)

(Top panel : the 1st half of the Kalimah.)

1. He is God the Creator, the Maker the Fashioner, He hath
2. Most excellent names. Whatever is in the Heavens
3. And the Earth praiseth Him. He is the Mighty, the Wise.

D (VII) :

وكل الناس داخله

1. حكم الميت في البريت جاري
2. ماهذه الدنيا بدارقرار
3. الناس نيام فاذا ما توا انتبهوا

(Top panel : Which all human beings enter.)

1. Death has been decreed to all beings and it is inevitable.
2. The world is not an everlasting abode.
3. Human beings are asleep while they are alive, but they awake when they are dead.

D (i) :

محمد رسول الله

1. شهدالله انه لااله الا هووالملايكت
2. واولوا العلم قاءيما با لقسط الا اله
3. الا هو العزيز الحكيم

(Top panel : 2nd half of the Kalimah.)

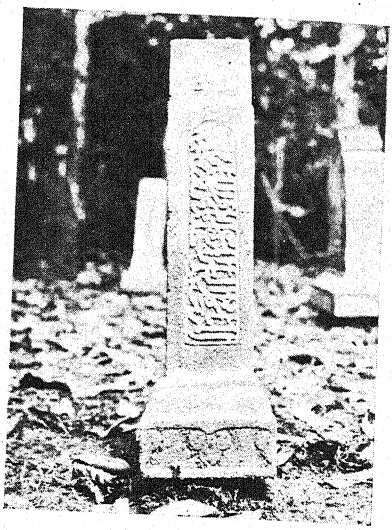
1. God witnesseth there is no God but He, and the Angels
2. And men endowed with wisdom who execute righteousness proclaim " There is no God
3. But He," the Mighty, the Wise.

D (V) :

واموت باب

1. الموت باب وكل الناس داخله
2. الموت كاس وكل الناس شاربه
3. الناس نيام فاذا ماتو انتبهوا

An unidentified tomb at Makam Nibong.
D (I—IV).



An unidentified tomb at Makam Nibong.
D (V—VIII).

(Chap. III Ver. 17, and the 1st part of Ver. 18.)

(Top Panel: And Death is The door.)

1. Death is the door which all human beings enter
2. Death is the glass from which all humanity drink
3. Human beings are asleep while they are alive but they are awake when they are dead.

It is unknown what personages are buried here. It is possible that the graves are those of Sultan Zain-al-Abidin (ruled? 1540-1555) and his relatives.

MAKAM BURHAN.

A grave in Pekan Lama marked by uninscribed stones. Tradition is silent as to the identity of the tomb.

KERAMAT SAIYID ABU-BAKAR.

At Temai on the Pahang river is a wonder-working shrine which is said to be the grave of one Saiyid Abu-Bakar, and to date from a period prior to the establishment of a settlement at Temai. This locality, according to tradition, was colonized by Menangkabaus who came to Pahang in large numbers towards the latter part of the sixteenth century. This grave, which is marked by a carved "Achinese" stone on which no inscription can be traced, would date then from about 1550 A.D. The shrine is mentioned by Mr. H. S. Sircom (Journal F.M.S. Museums, Vol. IX, part 2, 1920). The Saiyid Abu-Bakar whom the tomb commemorates may have been one of the original apostles of Islam in that part of the country.

MAKAM CHONDONG.

"The Graves of the Leaning Tree." The ancient name for this burial-ground was, *Makam Tujoh Beradek*: "The Sepulchre of the Seven Brothers." It was in this cemetery (which is situated in Pekan Lama) that the tomb-stones of the relatives of the Pahang-born Sultan Iskandar Thani of Acheh were emplaced in circumstances which are related *supra* (p. 37 *sq.*). Only five ancient graves can now be distinguished on the site. One (the most easterly) is that of a female, it is marked by elaborately carved stones the inscriptions on which are now illegible, perhaps the resting place of Puteri Bongsu Chendĕra Dewi, Iskandar Thani's mother. The adjoining grave is that of *Marhum Muda Abdullah* which is described (with illustrations) in J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XII, Part II, pp. 171-172. After that paper was written, further research revealed that *Marhum Pahang* was Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur, and that *Marhum Muda*, his son, was the first-cousin and not the brother of Iskandar Thani. Before the Achinese sent tomb-stones to *Makam Chondong*, it appears that there were already monuments in that cemetery erected in honour of the Pahang royal family of the period, including *Marhum Muda*

Abdullah ; in recent years has been found in the jungle adjoining the grave-yard a fragment of a tomb-stone on which may be traced the inscription *Haza al-Kubur Sultan Muda* (?) *Lah* : "This is the grave of Sultan Muda Lah," (*i.e.* Abdullah). The terms *Sultan Muda* and *Raja Muda* were occasionally used, at least in the 16th and 17th centuries, as synonyms for the heir designate to the throne. The inscriptions on the other tombs in this cemetery are undecipherable.

KUALA TEMELONG.

At the point of junction of the Temelong stream with the Pahang river in the mukin of Luit is a grave marked by a pair of elaborately carved, uninscribed, " Achinese " tomb-stones. The tomb, according to local tradition, is that of a princess whose betrothed lover went to Acheen ; on her death he sent the stones to mark her grave. This is probably a garbled version of the sending of tomb-stones to Pahang in 1638 by the Pahang-born Sultan Iskandar Thani of Acheen to commemorate his deceased relatives.

BINTANG.

A locality on the Pahang river at Kuala Chini. Here is an ancient grave-yard, and uninscribed tomb-stones of the pattern known as " Achinese." Before its use as a cemetery the place was a pre-Malaccan settlement and fragments of rough pottery are met with when the ground is dug. Adjoining the grave-yard have been found the remains of a pre-Malaccan brick structure parts of which have fallen into the Chini stream (J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. VI, Pt. IV, p. 79).

KERAMAT KERATONG.

A shrine at Sĕribut on the left bank of the Rompin river near Kuala Keratong. The stones marking the grave are about sixteen feet apart. The tomb is said to be that of a Saiyid, one of seven brothers (of whom another was buried in the *Keramat* at Galong). The tomb-stones are reputed to have been miraculously removed from their original site at Kuala Aur to their present position about eighty years ago. This shrine is described by Mr. H. S. Sircom (Journal F.M.S. Museums, Vol. IV, pt. 2, p. 153).

Does Sĕribut give the clue to the derivation of the name of an islet *Sĕri Buat* situated a short distance from the estuary of the Rompin river ? *But,* in Persian, means ' Idol,' and it is possible that the name, in the mouth of mariners, was corrupted to *Buat.* Forty miles further north we get the island *Berhala,* the Malay term for an idol, which in English sea-charts came to be called *Pulau Barilly.*

MAKAM MUTAHIR.

Two graves described in " An Eighteenth century Tomb at Pekan Lama " (J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. IV, Pt. III) and *supra* p. 47.

Here are buried Bendahara Tun Abdullah and Temenggong Tun Mutahir (brothers of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil IV) who were killed on 12 September, 1716 A.D. The graves are situated behind the residence of the late Tengku Empuan Tua in Pekan Lama, above the point of junction of the Pekan stream with the Pahang river, and close to *Makam 'Abdu'l-Jalil* (*Ziarat Raja Raden*).

MAKAM KUALA PAHANG.

The cemetery of the present royal family of Pahang, situated on the left bank of the Pahang river between Kampong Marhum (the ancient Pasir Kandang of the *Malay Annals*) and the estuary. Here are buried that tragic figure in Malay history Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil IV (*Marhum Kuala Pahang*) who was killed at Pasir Kandang in 1720 A.D., Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Majid (ruled 1770-1802), Bendahara Koris (1803-1806), Bendahara Ali (1806-1857), Sultan Ahmad (Bendahara and Sultan 1863-1914), Sultan Mahmud (1914-1917), and Sultan 'Abdu'llah (1917-1932). Here, too, are the graves of Sultan Mahmud Muzaffar of Lingga (deposed by the Dutch in 1857, died 1864), and of some of the powerful al-Attas family of Saiyids. The tomb of one of the latter, Saiyid Omar, (the "Tengku Saiyid" of Abdullah's *Pelayaran*, and the "astute old gentleman" of Governor Cavenagh's "Reminiscences"), is marked by a fine, but decayed, wood-carving. The location of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil's grave in the cemetery is not certain. It is possible that the tomb which is pointed out as that of Temenggong Tun Mutahir (who, we now know, was buried at Pekan Lama) is that of the murdered Sultan. The Orang Kaya Nara Wangsa Tun Hamid, who was killed with his father, was almost certainly buried here.

MAKAM TO' TUAN.

A grave in Pekan Lama, that of To'Tuan, one of the Bugis Chiefs who married a Pahang lady in (?) 1722, and settled in Pekan. The grave which is revered as a shrine is marked by two plain stones. To'Tuan was an ancestor, on the distaff side, of the Shahbandar family.

MAKAM CHE RIAL.

A grave at Pekan Lama marked by two tomb-stones of "Achinese" pattern, uninscribed. The tomb is said to be that of Che Rial, a Bugis lady of great wealth, who died in Pekan in the eighteenth century.

KUBUR SEMBILAN.

At Tanjong Gemok, Kuala Endau, is the resting-place, according to tradition, of nine Endau men who were killed by Bugis marauders. The name may commemorate operations in the civil war (1857-1863) between Bendahara Mutahir and his brother.

LOST TOMB-STONES.

Dato' Sĕtia Jaya Haji Abu-Bakar, Secretary to the late Sultan Abdullah of Pahang, states that several inscribed tomb-stones of historic interest have fallen into the river at the junction of the stream Parit with the river Pahang at Pekan Lama. These stones, if they are recovered, may throw further light on the descent of the early rulers of Pahang.

APPENDIX VI.
ANTIQUITIES.

BELUKAR BATA.

A place now in the heart of the jungle on the track between Lake Chini and Ulu Jeram (Ulu Rompin), Pekan District. The spot has not yet been investigated. The name indicates the presence of the remains of pre-Malaccan buildings.

JOKO' (JONGKOH OR JONGKONG).

Chinese coins adopted as currency in Pahang during Ahmad's reign, and before British intervention in the country. These coins were often stamped on the obverse in Malay, in Arabic script, with the name of the Chinese who issued them, thus *Sung Bak punya* "Sung Bak's currency." They were said to have been introduced by the gambling farms to replace the unwieldy ingot-money (*tampang*). *Tampang jongkong* was the term used at a still earlier date to designate the solid type of ingot-money.

KAMPONG MELAYU.

The name of a locality in the mukim of Penyor, on the south bank of the river Pahang, near Kuala Chini, Pekan District. The country bordering on the Pahang is inhabited solely by Malays. The name *Kampong Melayu* indicates that there was a time when some other race shared the country with the Malays. It is certain that when the Malacca Malays took possession of Pahang about 1455 A.D. not all the former civilized inhabitants were driven out. Numbers of them stayed behind, and in course of time amalgamated with their conquerors. Those comparatively late comers in Pahang the Siamese did not disappear as a separate race till the immigration of the Menangkabuas towards the latter part of the sixteenth century. It may be that *Kampong Melayu* formed the boundary between the Malaccan Malays and their predecessors. In the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, the Pahang people are represented as speaking an outlandish language which would indicate a mixture of tongues and races.

PARANG PAHANG.

Pahang was famous in the old days for the manufacture of fine machetes or *golok*. One of the presents sent by Sultan Mahmud of Malacca to Pasai was a Pahang machete (*Sejarah Melayu*, Shellabear, p. 205). These *golok* are still made in Pekan.

PORCELAIN.

Pahang, lying on the trade-route between China and the west, from very early times, provided a mart for Chinese products including porcelain. It is probable, however, that a certain amount of pottery came from Siam. Pottery was manufactured

on a large scale at Sawan Kalok (north of Bangkok) in the fourteenth century, and the Siamese had an extensive intercourse with Pahang. Pieces of old pottery dating from the Sung, Ming and later periods have occasionally been discovered in the country. The people had especial names for certain types of pottery; thus plates decorated with *pat-kwa* or similar patterns were known as *pinggan anak toman* "plates with decorations which look like the young of the *toman* fish"; *pinggan kĕrang*, grey-green, celadon ware with incised decoration; *pinggan Moghul*, "Sino-Persian" china especially manufactured for export to Islamic countries; *pinggan retak* (or *retak sa-ribu*), celadon crackle china (this type of pottery is mentioned in the "Malay Annals"); *pinggan sa-raga* (or *sa-rakit*), a set of sweet-meat dishes.

PULAU PEMANGGIL.

"The Island of Summons," an islet situated bwteen Pulau Aur and Pulau Tioman, so called because, in former days, when the inhabitants of one of these places desired to invoke the help of the sister isle in an emergency they lighted beacon fires on Pulau Pemanggil.

RUKMA.

The hearth on which the sap of the coconut or sugar-palm is boiled in the process of its manufacture into sugar. Several of these fire-places dating from pre-Malaccan times are still to be seen in Pahang. The word *Sabak* is equivalent to *Rukma*. Sabak appears in the names of several places in the Peninsula, notably Sabak Bernam, and Sabak in the mukim of Luit, Pahang. For the Luit Sabak *vide* Sircom's note in the Journal F.M.S. Museums, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 152. Near Sabak in Luit is the village of Singgora, which was named after the capital of Patani. There was a long-established connection between Pahang and that country.

SUNGAI TEKEH.

The largest river in the island of Tioman. On its banks have been discovered specimens of ancient pottery dating, perhaps, from Sung times. Tioman lies directly in the trade-route between China and the Straits.

PENGKALAN DURIAN.

A locality in Ulu Bebar. The remains of a pre-Malaccan habitation have been found there. Nearby, at Kuala Serai, is a plain known as *Padang Siam*, commemorative of pre-Malaccan occupation. Adjoining Padang Siam is a place styled *Padang Tambun Tulang*, "the Plain of the Pile of Bones," (perhaps a kitchen-midden), so called, according to tradition, because the bones of animals slain and eaten by the "Siamese" were heaped there. The Jakun head-men Pa Usoh of Kuala Serai and Pa

Mehat of Kuala Merba claim descent from the "Siamese," or pre-Malaccan inhabitants of Pahang. This country (the region of the Bebar) was, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, included in the fief (*pegangan*) of the Shahbandar family.

TAMBAK SIAM.

The remains of a pre-Malaccan brick dwelling at Langgar, Pekan District (J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. VI, Pt. 4, p. 78). In the same locality is *Kolam Siam*, an excavation, according to tradition, of Siamese miners. On the opposite bank of the Pahang river is a large canal known as *Parit Siam* which drains the plain of Tanjong Medang. Langgar was the head-quarters of a ruler of Pahang prior to 1455 A.D. The tomb of Muhammad Shah the first Malacca-Malay Sultan of Pahang who died in 1475 A.D. is also situated in this locality.

ULU JERAM.

In the river Jeram, one of the head-streams of the Rompin, at a place known as *Kebun Pa'Nyatoh*, in the heart of the jungle has been found a large quantity of potsherds. The locality merits investigation.

GELANG KIU AND KOTA GELANGGI.

According to the 'Malay Annals,' Raja Suran king of a country called Amdan Negara, identified by some writers with the Chola prince Rajendra Chola I who was said to have raided the Straits of Malacca about 1025 A.D., determined to subjugate China. He mobilized his forces and after a journey which took some time reached Gangga Negara which, the "Annals" tell us, had a fort to the in-land of Dinding "on the further side of Perak"—this country has been identified with an ancient state of Bruas. After conquering Gangga Negara, Raja Suran, the "Annals" say, set forth and ultimately came to the country of Ganggayu :

> "Now in olden days this was a great kingdom. Its fort was made of black stone; up to the present day the fort exists in the upper reaches (*ulu*) of the river Johore. Originally the name of the kingdom was Gĕlang Kiu (كلغكيو) which in Siamese, means 'Treasure-house of Jewels.' We (Malays) not knowing how to pronounce it called it Ganggayu. Raja Chulan was the name of its king. He was a great monarch and all the princes 'below the wind' were under his sway."

Sir Richard Winstedt identifies Gĕlang Kiu with Lenggiu which is the name of a tributary stream of the Johore, but it is probable that the place which the author really had in mind was the famous Kota Gĕlanggi (كلغكي) situated near Pulau Tawar, in Pahang, about 20 miles from the mouth of the Tembĕling.

According to traditions recorded by Cameron (" Kota Glanggi or Klanggi, Pahang," J.S.B.R.A.S., No. 9, 1882) Kota Gĕlanggi was the seat of ancient kings. In 1870 Bendahara Ahmad sent men to the locality to capture a legendary princess who was said to reside there ! In 1882 he himself visited the caves.

Johore forces sacked Pahang in September 1612, a year or so before the Malay Annals were commenced. The Johore men brought back captives who, no doubt, circulated among the people legends of Pahang including that of Kota Gĕlanggi. It is probable that this was the account which inspired Tun Sĕri Lanang to connect Ganggayu and its king Raja Chulan with Gĕlanggi and its fabled monarch.

Why do the " Annals " state that Gĕlang Kiu was situated in the upper reaches of the Johore ? We may assume either that the story of Gĕlanggi reached the author in a garbled form, or that, being a patriotic son of Johore, he was determined that his country should be connected with the beginnings of the Malay kings, or that he made the simple mistake of writing Johore for Pahang, or that a subsequent Johore commentator, convinced that the author was wrong, took it upon himself to emend the original text and that this emendation became incorporated in the MSS. of the " Annals " which have been handed down to us.

We have d'Eredia's word for it that in ancient times the king of Pahang ruled over the countries of *Ujong Tanah* (which, of course, included Johore). Mention of the " Siamese " subjects of Raja Chulan would point to Pahang rather than Johore as having been the scene of the conflict between him and Raja Suran. In the vicinity of Kota Gĕlanggi is a stream called the Sungai Lego (Ligor). The name of Raja Chulan's daughter, Putĕri Onang Kiu, is reminiscent of that of Putĕri Onang (or Wanang) Sĕri, the daughter of the king of Pahang who was captured by the Malacca Malays about 1454, married Sultan Mansur, and was the ancestress of the ancient Sultans of Pahang.

Traditions are extant even in Johore to the present day of a black stone fort called Kota Gĕlanggi (Sir Richard Winstedt's " History of Johore," p. 124).
Cameron (*loc. cit.*) records :

> " About this place there are many legends amongst the natives, but hitherto no European has ever been allowed to visit it. Native rumour describes it as an ancient ruin, the inmates of which, as well as all their furniture and utensils, have been turned to stone....
>
> " The story was imparted to me whilst lying becalmed opposite Kwala Kuantan, and seven idle Malay boatmen under the combined influence of sirih and roko assisted in

spinning the yarn. I must say that I was not deeply impressed with the truth of the narrative as a whole, but comparing what I heard with what I have previously seen on the Patani river, I was enabled to guess what these fabled ruins would turn out to be. Nevertheless, my curiosity was excited, as that of other Europeans has been, regarding this place, and I resolved to see it if I possibly could.

" Circumstances favoured this resolve without any effort on my part, for, as we were making our way up the river Pahang, we were detained for two days at Pulau Tawar, from which Kota Glanggi is distant only about three or four miles, and the Sultan having given me a *carte blanche* to visit whatever place I chose, I availed myself of this opportunity to settle the question as to these ancient ruins.

" The wonderful ruins are, after all, only limestone caves, with no trace of man's handiwork about them, and no evidence whatever of having ever been occupied by man. Still, as caves they are wonderful and well deserve a visit....

" I have seen and traversed many other wonderful caves amongst the limestone mountains on the Patani River, some of them with rivers running right through them, but I never saw any that could compete in natural grandeur and imposing effect with those at Kota Glanggi.....

" A small river called the Tekam falls into the Pahang, and about three miles up the course of this river, the caves are reached. There are a good many of them, but only the four principal ones—Kota Tongkat, Kota Burong, Kota Glanggi and Kota Papan—are deserving of notice. Kota Tongkat and Kota Papan are the nearest, and are close together; Kota Burong is the furthest off, and Kota Glanggi lies between.

" Kota Tongkat, as it is seen and entered, is like the gigantic entrance to some vast citadel; it is open on two sides, it pierces the ridge of limestone under which it lies from one side to the other, and the road leads right through it. This extensive natural porch is supported, or appears to be supported, by huge columns of stalactites and stalagmites, which have thickened through the dripping of endless ages, until they have become like the pillars of some great temple. This, so far as I saw at the time, is the only entrance to a valley which lies basin-like at the foot of a range of hills. As a natural fort, this place would be impregnable; a handful of men, to use the hackneyed phrase, could hold it against an army.

" Passing through Kota Tongkat, we went first to Kota Burong. I was rather disappointed with this cave, but it was well I saw it first and not last. It lies low, and consists of two or three long and wide, comparatively low-roofed

caverns, of great extent, but not imposing in appearance. The most striking feature about it was the enormous number of bats that swarmed in myriads, and the flutter of whose wings made a noise like the distant sound of a water-fall; indeed I mistook it for that at first, and expected to meet with a subterraneous river, but was soon disabused of that idea....

"We next inspected Kota Glanggi, which is situated higher up the cliffs. It is approached through a narrow entrance of some length, from which one emerges into a fine, open lofty cave, with a large opening in the face of the cliff. As this entrance brought us in at the back of the cave, the first effect produced on looking through the stupendous gloom which surrounded us to the distant yet dazzling light of this opening, was very fine, and this effect enhanced by the circumstance that about twenty of our company had reached the cave before us, and having seated themselves close to the opening, looked like so many pigmies, whose small dark forms were thrown athwart the light with startling distinctness of outline, and served to give some idea of the vast proportions of the cavern. The appearance of this cave is not unlike that I have described on the Patani, but much larger in its proportions; from it, however, branch off other caves of extraordinary height. Ascending a steep and slippery incline at an angle of about 60° or 70° by the aid of holes chipped in the rock, a gallery is reached, on each side of which rises a lofty dome about one hundred feet high, and both narrow, one being only about fifteen feet wide at the bottom; one of these domes is lighted from the top by three round holes which are placed at regular intervals and give the roof almost the appearance of artificial construction, whilst the narrower one is lighted by a square hole near the top and looks like a gigantic belfry; a third, rather wider, leads up, by a series of cyclopean steps, to a narrow exit higher up the precipice, and from this we emerged, and by the aid of a rattan climbed up and over an awkward ledge, and reached a jagged pinnacle four hundred feet high, with a sheer drop to the valley beneath. From this point we had a very fine view of the country and of distant mountains, by means of which I obtained some good bearings for future guidance.

"Retracing our steps, we approached Kota Papan, which is really the great cave of the district. Our road lay through another part of Kota Tongkat, a series of dark and dangerous galleries, with dismal abysses of unknown depth, yawning at our feet; along one of these we had to travel by a narrow ledge against an over-hanging wall to the right, whilst to the left one of these horried gulphs was gaping to receive us in its maw, should we make a false step. At last we emerged from this "hell's gate," and found ourselves under the entrance to Kota Papan, but no one unacquainted

with the locality would ever guess that there was a cave here at all, much less one of such gigantic proportions as this. An over-hanging ledge projects from the face of the cliff, and up to this we climbed by the aid of a rattan ladder. Reaching the ledge, we found an insignificant-looking entrance, with no appearance of depth or size. Stepping within, however, we were assailed by a blast of air which came rushing continuously from the interior with an amazing force and with a sound like the rumbling in a chimney on a windy night. This considerably disconcerted our torch-bearers, whose futile attempts to light their damars were accompanied by volleys of "chelakas." Having at last got our torches alight, we began first to descend, then to ascend, then to descend and ascend again, wending our way between immense angular masses of fallen stone, and groping and clambering with hands and feet over shin-breaking ledges, until we found ourselves involved in a labyrinth of passages. Selecting that on the right, our guides led us into the great cave of Kota Papan.

"I do not know how to describe it, language fails me, from the fact that there are no familiar objects to which I can liken it. Perhaps the dome of St. Pauls might serve to give some idea of the height and size, but the cave is polysided. It is lighted from a grotto-like opening in one of its sides about twenty feet above the floor. This opening is backed by a screen of velvety-green foliage about thirty feet high, through which the sun's rays scintillate from a wide opening above, so that the interior is illuminated chiefly by reflected light, a few small holes in the top of the dome just admit enough to prevent the roof being altogether lost in the gloom. The angles of this polygon are fluted and columnar and radiate at the capital, branch meeting branch, so that the dome is like the many-arched roof of the nave of some Gothic cathedral, whilst the drippings from the limestone have wrought themselves into combinations of stalactites of endless variety of form, and have decked this edifice of nature with more elaborate and fantastic ornamentation than all the genius of Gothic art could devise.

"There are no idols of man's construction, but the floor of this natural temple is strewn with curious and weird-like forms. There is one huge block of stone about fifteen feet square which might represent the altar of an ancient race of giants; there are four or five upright stones like those of the Druids on Salisbury plains, three of which are placed symmetrically at the grotto-like opening, one at each side, and one in the middle, as if to guard the entrance one could almost imagine they had been put there by design....

"It would not do to pass away from these caves without reciting the legend of Kota Glanggi, as narrated to the company by one of the oldest men at the kampong, as we rested

ourselves after our labours on a rock at the foot of Kota Papan. In olden times there was a Raja Glanggi who had a beautiful daughter, whom the son of Raja Membang of Lipis had fallen desperately in love with. This son of Membang got his father to open negociations with Raja Glanggi for the hand of his daughter. Raja Glanggi was willing enough and consented, but the person of the son of Membang was distasteful to the daughter. In the meantime the son of Raja Usul of Bĕra was out hunting one day in the neighbourhood of Kota Glanggi and accidentally got sight of the intended bride; straightaway his breast was fired with passion, and he with his attendants loitered about the neighbouring forest for days until he could see her again. Fortune favoured him, and being one of your bold wooers, he seized and carried her off by force. The young lady took kindly to her captor, and was eventually carried off by him to his father's court, after some unavailing efforts to gain Raja Glanggi's consent to their union. Here they lived happily for a short time, until the rival lover, hearing of the abduction, got his father to appeal to Raja Glanggi to have the girl restored, and as neither the daughter herself nor her bold winner would consent, a war ensued between Raja Usul of Bĕra and Raja Glanggi, because Raja Usul, like a sensible man, said that if the girl liked his son they were now married, and he did not see why he should go against his son for the sake of Raja Membang. The result was that seven of Glanggi's best men got killed, and as he was not very warm on the subject of the abduction, seeing his daughter was pleased he resolved to get out of the embroilment as creditably as he could; accordingly, he wrote a letter to Raja Membang of Lipis representing that it really was his affair and recommending him to go to war with Raja Bĕra on his own account, and this, poor old Membang did and was killed, whilst Glanggi and Usul of Bĕra became reconciled, and the bride and bridegroom lived happily ever afterwards. I give you the story as it was told to me, without any attempt at improvement, and just as I took it down in my note-book.

Hulu Raub,
Interior of Pahang, 26th July, 1882."

Mr. I. H. N. Evans ("Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula," p. 148) writes:

"At Kota Tongkat, one of the Kota Glanggi group of caves visited by Wray, I did comparatively little excavation, but obtained a fair number of flakes, cord-marked pottery, shells of Melania, etc. In some shelters nearby I found a peculiar foursided, grooved, sharpening stone and four pieces of fine-grained stone, one of which has a well marked percussion bulk and has certainly been struck from a larger piece

by human agency. All these are polished on one side and I believe this to be artificial. Bones were not common at Kota Tongkat."

The view here put forward that Gĕlang Kiu was the Kota Gĕlanggi of Pahang is not new : Sir Frank Swettenham (" Journal kept during a journey across the Malay Peninsula," J.S.B.R.A.S., No. 15, 1885, p. 24), after describing his visit to the place in company with To'Gajah, says :

> " It is worthy of record that this Kota Kelanggi is mentioned in the Sĕjara Malaiu (the Malay Annals) as having been occupied by Siamese."

Madamalingam, Tan-ma-ling, Tambralinga and Tembeling.

In Chap. II *supra* it has been suggested that the Tembĕling river and Tanjong Tembĕling in Pahang derived their name from a former appellation of the country about Ligor, the suggestion being partly based upon the correctness of Dr. Coedès' identification of Ligor with the Tan-ma-ling of Chau Ju-Kua and the Tambralinga of the Jaiya inscription (BEFEO., XVIII, 6). Dr. Coedès also considers that the Madamalingam of the Tanjore inscription referred to the same country.

Should we go farther and place Tan-ma-ling and Tambralinga, as well as Madamalingam, not at Ligor, but in the Tembĕling region of Pahang, including in the latter designation not alone the watershed of the Tembĕling but the locality of the Kuantan river the northern head-land of the estuary of which is styled Tanjong Tembĕling ? The Kuantan and the Tekai, one of the largest of the affluents of the Tembĕling, take their rise in the same range of hills, and the short-cut to the Tembĕling from the coast, in ancient days, must have lain by that route.

In the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D. a list is given of countries claimed as conquests by king Rajendra Chola I who, during his reign, it appears, had invaded countries in the Malay Peninsula. Included in the list is *Madamalingam* ("valorous in fierce battles") which region Dr. Coedès considers to be equivalent to Tan-ma-ling and Tambralinga and the country of Ligor.

According to the " Malay Annals," Raja Suran, an ancient king from " Amdan Negara," with " Kĕling " forces invaded Malaya and fought a battle with Raja Chulan, a local ruler with " Siamese " subjects, whose head-quarters were at Gĕlang Kiu, a place which the writer (*supra*, p. 241 *sq.*) has identified with Kota Gĕlanggi in Pahang, situated a short distance from the Tembĕling. It has been conjectured that Raja Suran of the " Annals " was Rajendra Chola I. If this identification, and that of Gĕlang Kiu with Kota Gĕlanggi is correct, then here we have an indication of

the Chola king's activities in the locality of the Tembĕling—activities commemorated by the mention in the Tanjore inscription of *Madamalingam* in the list of his conquests? There is a stream in the vicinity of Kota Gĕlanggi—the Sungai Lego—the name of which suggests Ligor influence there at one time.

The Chinese chronicler Chau Ju-Kua, writing *ca* 1225 A.D., mentions a country Tan-ma-ling in the Malay Peninsula: it is under a ruler styled Siang-kung (Minister of State); it produces yellow wax, laka wood, gharu wood, incense, ebony, camphor, elephants' tusks and rhinoceros horns; it imports silks, arrack, rice, salt, sugar, porcelain, and bowls of gold and silver; the people ride buffaloes, wear their hair in a knot, and go bare footed; officials live in wooden houses, the common people in bamboo huts with leaf sides and poles fastened with rattan; the regions of Ji-lo-ting, Ts'ien-Mai, Pa-t'a (? the modern Paka in Trengganu) and Kia-lo-hi (Grahi) are similar (?in their customs) to Tan-ma-ling; the country collects gold and silver vessels[1] and sends them as tribute to San-fo-t'si.

According to the same writer Ling-ya-sseu-(kia), (Langkasuka), could be reached from Tan-ma-ling by sailing six days and nights, but the two countries also had communications by land. Dr. Coedès has expressed the opinion, here accepted, that the kingdom of Langkasuka, anciently centred in Kedah, may have stretched right across the Peninsula to the east coast; the Patani river, the source of which adjoins Kedah, provided access to the eastern side of the Peninsula. In the "wu-pei-pi-shu" charts published by Phillips in the Journal of the R.A.S. (China Branch)—Vol. XX (1885), and XXI (1886)—which are thought to refer to the voyages of Cheng Ho in the first half of the 15th century, (though some of the *data* in the charts may be earlier than 1400), the estuary of a river which is certainly the Patani is called Lang-hsi chia or Long-sai-ka, a probable Chinese rendering of Langkasuka.

According to a Chinese text quoted by Schlegel (T'oung Pao, 1901, p. 126), Tan-ma-ling was separated from the south of Cambodia by a sea-voyage which took 10 days.

In the *Tao i chik lio*, written by Wang Ta-yuan in 1349, it is recorded that Tan-ma-ling is the country which adjoins Sha-li-fo-lai-an; it is level and extensive; its people have abundance of grain; men and women wear their hair in a knot; their clothing is a white shirt and a black *sarong*; in arranging marriages they bargain with satins and brocades or with tin; they make salt and spirits; they have a ruler; indigenous products include tin,

[1] Smelted down? Was this the derivation of the custom which obtained in Pahang in the beginning of the 16th century (*supra*, p. 20), and probably earlier, of sending gold and silver "flowers" to Siam? The "flowers" appear to have been large sheets of metal hammered out to an extreme thinness.

camphor, turtle's shells, crane's crests[1], beeswax and eagle wood ; imports include cotton cloths, white procelain cups, drums etc. (T'oung Pao, Vol. XVI, 1915, pp. 62-68).

The country of Sha-li-fo-lai-an (Sĕri-Fo-lai-an) which was, probably, the Fo-lo-an of Chau Ju-Kua, has not yet been identified with any certainty. The earlier Chinese writer mentioned that it took 4 days by sea to reach Fo-lo-an from Ling-ya-ssi-kia (Langkasuka), that it was a tributary state of San-fo-ts'i, and that its neighbours were P'ong-fong (Pahang), Tong-ya-nung (Trengganu) and Ki-lan-tan (Kelantan). Elsewhere in the same work Chau Ju-Kua remarks that Fo-lo-an was one of the two principal ports in South-eastern Asia to which Arab traders resorted. If Chau Ju-Kua's statement that Fo-lo-an adjoined the countries identified almost certainly with Pahang, Trengganu, and Kelantan is correct, is Fo-lo-an the locality watered by one of the rivers of Trengganu or Kelantan and then extending inland to Pulai in Kelantan where exists a community of Chinese, the date of whose arrival is unknown, originally gold miners, and when that source of living was exhausted, padi planters ?

Tan-ma-ling was not an independent national entity : its ruler or governor was styled only Siang-kung (Minister of State), a designation which would accord with the view of its loose dependence on Pahang, but hardly consonant with Dr. Coedès' opinion that Tan-ma-ling (if that place was Tambralinga) was Ligor, the ruler of which, Candrabhanu, was a very important personage who had fleets powerful enough to attack Ceylon.

Of Tan-ma-ling, Hirth and Rockhill (" Chau Ju-Kua," St. Petersburg, 1912) write :

> " Takakusu (Record of the Buddhist Religion XLIII-XLV) thought he saw in this name the Tana Malayu of de Barros' list of Sumatran kingdoms. Schlegel (T'oung-pao, 2d ser. II, 130) looked for it also in Sumatra. Pelliot, B.E.F.E.O. IV., 328, while not trying to locate this district calls attention to the fact that there is an important affluent of the Pahang river called the Tembeling. Gerini, J.R.A.S., 1905, 498 identifies our Tan-ma-ling with Temiling or Tembeling the name of a cape and a hill near the north of the Kwantan river in Pahang. ' Probably,' he says, ' it (Tan-ma-ling) is an old designation borne by the present Kwantan district, and should not be confused with Tembeling or Tembelang, the name of an inland district on one of the tributaries of the Pahang rivers'."

It is certain that Tan-ma-ling was in the Malay Peninsula. The view of its identity here adopted is a combination of Pelliot's

[1]The Chinese chronicler possibly referred to the beak of the lesser hornbill (*burong lilin or kelengking*) the material of which, in Malay States, was used as an inset for finger-rings or other personal ornaments worn as talismans to ward off death by poison.

conjecture and Gerini's suggestion, but with a rejection of the latter's opinion that Tan-ma-ling did not include the river Tembĕling.

Dr. Blagden (J.R.A.S., January, 1913) discussing Chau Ju-Kua's "Chu-fan-chi" says:

> "*Lengkasuka*, p. 68. If the sailing time between this place and Tan-ma-ling is correctly given in the text, it seems doubtful whether the latter can be Kuantan, as six days would be rather a short time considering the weak monsoon of the Straits of Malacca."

Dr. Blagden takes Langkasuka in this connection as being only on the west coast of the Peninsula. If, as Dr. Coedès suggests, this State extended to the east coast, and it was the latter point that the Chinese chronicler designated, Dr. Blagden's objection to the identification of Tan-ma-ling with a locality in Pahang loses its force.

The Jaiya Inscription of 1230 A.D. records that a king of Ligor, according to Dr. Coedès' translation, styled himself Sĕri Dharmaraja and Lord of Tambralinga. Dr. Coedès identifies Tambralinga with the Madamalingam of the Tanjore inscription and the Tan-ma-ling of Chau Ju-Kua, and the identifications are here accepted. But did the Tambralinga of the Jaiya inscription refer to Ligor? Is it not possible that it designated, not Ligor, but a conquest of Ligor: the Tembĕling district of Pahang? There are indications that Pahang was at one period under the suzerainty of Ligor (*supra*, Chap. II). The "Malay Annals," begun *ca.* 1613, refer to events which occurred in the Tembĕling *ca.* 1454 but do not so name the river or region (*supra*, p. 10). The first known mention of the Tembĕling by that name in Malay records occurs in the Perak MSS. collected by Maxwell, relating events which occurred not later than 1600 A.D.

The Tembĕling river was an important province, and carried a fairly numerous population in prehistoric days, witness the many neolithic and early iron-age relics recently found on its banks—and that, though little search has yet been made there, and the locality is now almost deserted. Habitation was, no doubt, intermittent as, although the Tembĕling was the main northern high-way of communication into Pahang, invading forces from the north, for example, the Ligor raiders of 1500 A.D. drove out the inhabitants. Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafur gave the Tembĕling river to his son Raja Muda *ca.* 1600 A.D. The Bendaharas who owned Pahang during the 18th century established their relatives there; and in the 19th century they appointed a "Penghulu Raja" to watch the district on behalf of the Raja. In the civil wars and the Semantan insurrection of the 19th century the district was several times completely evacuated.

The importance of the Kuantan river lay in the fact that it had the best, and in monsoon weather the only practicable harbour in Pahang, that the head-land at its estuary often provided a land-fall for Chinese mariners, and that it gave access to the tin mines in its tributaries including the Sungai Lembing (which lay just over the hills from the Tembĕling)—mines which were worked in prehistoric times, and as late as the 19th century were kept as the personal appendage of the Pahang rulers, and which to-day have developed into one of the biggest tin mining undertakings in the world.

The view here put forward is that the *Madamalingam* of the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D., the *Tan-ma-ling* of Chau Ju-Kua (1225 A.D.), and of Wang Ta-yuan (1349 A.D.), and the *Tambralinga* of the Jaiya inscription of 1230 A.D. referred to the region of the Tembĕling in Pahang in which term is included the Kuantan and its tributaries.

APPENDIX VII.

EXTRACTS FROM CASTANHEDA.

Fernao Lopes de Castanheda.

Historia do Descobrimento E Conquista da India pelos Portugueses.

Translated by T. D. Hughes M.C.S.

References in the work to Pahang (Edition 1929, University Press, Coimbra, Portugal, 3 Vols. in the original Portuguese according to the first Edition, 1551).

Vol. 3 Chapter L. III (p. 233).

Dom Sacho having returned to Malaca he desired to go back in search of the Moors and learning they had gone he remained there. And Jorge Albuquerque gave permission to Antonio de Pina a young gentleman fo the Royal Bed Chamber of the King of Portugal to proceed in a junk to the Island of Iaoa† to do trade. Three Portuguese accompanied him and one of them was Bernaldo Drago a man who had long been established in Malaca. Returning from Iaoa to Malaca he put into the port of Pao‡ on account of the weather. This city is situate on the coast near to Malaca and as its King was a friend of the Portuguese, the King of Bintao§ took him as a son-in-law giving him one of his daughters as wife and he was moved to enter into this relationship because he was making war on the Portuguese who continued to frequent his port and the coast of his Kingdom. This marriage was very secret because as long as it was unknown the King of Pao caused great harm to the Portuguese covertly the latter being ignorant, of what was occurring. Antonio de Pina happened to visit the Port of Pao. And he believing the King to be a friend of the Portuguese, as before, sent ashore for victuals. The King knowing the vessel was in port sent to enquire of Antonio de Pina if anything else was required from his city and that he would send it willingly. He sent out at the same time many fresh provisions. But that night he despatched seven vessels with 280 fighting men. in addition to the rowers who were doubled, who, on the break of day, boarded the Portuguese vessel from all sides. Antonio de Pina, Bernaldo Drago and the other Portuguese fought until they could do no more and having killed some of the enemy the factor of the vessel fell and Antonio de Pina, Bernaldo Drago and the other Portuguese were taken prisoner and the vessel captured with all that it contained. All was delivered to the King of Pao who, very happy, sent the prisoners to the King of Bintao who tried to

†Java.

‡Pahang.

§Bintang.

make them enter Islam offering them great threats if they did not agree. The Portuguese, with great constancy replied that he could do what he liked, as they would not abandon their faith which was the true one and embrace his which was completely false. The King seeing that they were firm in their refusal of his proposal ordered that each one be fixed to a cannon and blown to pieces for confessing to our Holy Faith, and they died martyrs. And nothing was known of this in Malaca for some time.

CHAPTER L IIII (p. 234).

How Andre de Bryto and other Portuguese were killed in the port of Pao.

Before this was known Jorge Albuquerque sent Dom Sacho to the cost of Patane to seize prizes and there accompanied him in the galley which he commanded his brother Antonio and fully thirty Portuguese and in another vessel went Ambrosio de Rego with as many men. And Andre* Bryto reached Malaca from India in his own vessel, as mentioned previously, bearing the Governor's permission to trade where he liked. With the consent of Jorge Albuquerque he set sail for Siao,† taking with him another twelve Portuguese and en route he anchored at Pao in order to take on victuals. Learning this, the King sent out his boats and as dawn was about to break, the Portuguese being few, the Moors boarded the Portuguese vessel from all sides. And when the Moors entered the ship it was terrifying to see how the Portuguese defended themselves, wounding some and killing others and there was no part of the ship to which they did not rally with marvellous agility but, as they were few in number and the Moors beyond count, the latter could fight with full vigour and when they were tired others took their place. But this the Portuguese were unable to do and they commenced to fall dead whilst others were at the point of death on account of the grievous wounds, they had sustained and so, they were overcome little by little, until no other remained except the brother of Andre Bryto (whose name I did not know) and who wielded his sword with both hands and performed such marvellous deeds that the Moors took him to be a devil since on two occasions he drove them away from the vessel with frightful slaughter and the second time he was so weakened and tired that he did not venture to defend himself any longer and to avoid being taken prisoner or dying in the hands of the Moors he hastily tied his feet to two falcon carriages and threw himself into the sea and with precipitation the Moors took the vessel. This I learned subsequently through one Francisco de Brito, a native Catholic convert, who had accompanied Andrade de Brito as factor and interpreter and who being on shore had not been killed by the Moors and who subsequently made his way to Malaca.

*Given later in the narrative as Andrade de Brito.

†Siam.

CHAPTER LV. (p. 235).

How Do Sacho Arriquez and Do Antonio Arriquez were killed in the port of Pao and how their galley was taken.

Dom Sacho with Ambrosio de Rego sailed from Malaca for Patane† and reached there in safety. Having completed his business there which is not recounted at length because it is not known, he returned with Ambrosio de Rego. Setting a course from Malaca they parted in a storm which they encourtered. Ambrosio de Rego being out to sea was ahead whilst Dom Sacho who had lain in nearer to land was behind. They anchored at the Pao bar in order to be sure that the King was still a friend of the Portuguese and they remained there until the following day for the weather to improve. And whilst they were there the King sent on board with a present in order to ascertain who they were and learning of their identity he sent further courtiers in greater style to welcome their arrival with many friendly greetings together with some cattle and buffaloes and all this was a bait to trap the Portuguese. It happened that the day before Laqueximena‡ had arrived and determined to take some of our vessels, which he knew were sheltering in the port. He entered the river and hid his fleet of thirty vessels. Hearing from the King that Dom Sancho had reached the bar he set out at dawn together with ten of the king's vessels, that is, a fleet of forty with 1,200 fighting men whilst the Portuguese company only numbered 30. When Dom Sancho saw so many men bearing upon him and having no course but to fight he said to the Portuguese. " Companions, with the hope in our Lord that makes our strength, our only salvation is to put up a good fight and I ask of you that you should seek death with honour rather than capture and shame ". Stationing his thirty men on both sides of the vessel he placed his brother in command at the prow whilst he took over the poop. On either side of the vessel were placed seven men with eight on the poop and eight on the prow. The enemy seeing that they were so few shouted with joy counting the Portuguese already dead and the foe surrounded and grappled the ship with four vessels. Then commenced a fearful combat ; the Moors seeking to board and the Portuguese resisting. The four vessels were grappled for a time before their crews could board the ship and a number of them were slain whilst many of our men were wounded and some killed. The Moors unable to sustain the combat any longer cast off and other vessels fresh for battle took their place. And Dom Sancho seeing that if his men continued to be thus distributed they would be finnaly routed by the Moors he collected them all on the quarter deck as there they would be better able to fortify themselves and better able to wreak vengeance on the Moors before dying. So it was. They killed so

---

*Dom.
†Patani.
‡Laksamana.

many of the enemy that they lay on top of each other. But as the Moors were beyond count, fresh men continually entered the fray as their fellows tired. But the Portuguese could not do likewise and they sustained so many wounds that many were dead and others weak from great loss of blood and, over-come by the immense efforts of the struggle, they all fell. Thus were the Moors able to enter and finish off those who were half dead. None were pardoned because of the great harm the Portuguese had inflicted on the enemy in whose hands the vessel now remained together with the numerous and good artillery on board.

CHAPTER L.XI (p. 244).

How Martim Afonso de Souza went to make war on the king of Bintao and the kings of Pao and Patane.

Martim Afonso de Souza who sailed for Malaca arrived there at the end of June. He found that a chicken was worth five cruzados* and an egg two vintés† whilst a gata ‡ of rice was a cruzado and the Portuguese there resembled disinterred corpses, having lost all colour. His arrival gave great pleasure both to the Portuguese and to the inhabitants. And then Jorge Albuquerque delivered to him the commission of Captain-General of the Sea of Malaca, withdrawing it from Dom Garcia Arriquez his brother-in-law to whom the title had passed upon the death of Dom Sancho. And Martí Afonso acting by authority of the Governor gave the latter the Captainship of Maluco§. In order to settle the war with the King of Bintao Jorge Albuquerque ordered Matí Afoso to proceed with five vessels to anchor at the bar of Bintao and not let the Laqueximena come out and not permit provisions to enter the city. He felt Malaca with a fleet of five sail and of the captains, I only knew the name of Vasco Loureco. Having reached the bar of Bintao he remained there three months and sorely oppresed the city neither permitting provisions and merchandise to enter nor allowing anything whatsoever to come out not even the fisherman to come and fish. During this time the Laqueximena did not dare once to come out and fight. When Martí Afonso was there, some of his men died as that part was unhealthy. For this reason he did not wish to procceed further but went to make war against the King of Pao in order to punish him for the harm he had done to the Portuguese and there he burned many junks both of Pao and Iaoa and in which action fully 600 Moors were killed and so many taken prisoner that I did not hear of a single Portuguese who did not take at least ten prisoners. Having made fearful destruction there he went to the city of Patane, whose King was also an enemy of the Portuguese and in the

*Old Portuguese Coin—400 Reis.

†Plural of Vintem—the old Portuguese coin of 1 sou or ½d.

‡Gantang (Malay) the Malay cylindrical gallon measure.

§The Moluccas or Spice Islands.

port he found some junks which he also burned including a very large one which had at that moment arrived from Iaoa and had on board the King of Patane himself who, together with at least 200 Moors, fearful of the Portuguese fire, leaped into the sea and were all killed by the lance thrusts of the Portuguese. And those in the city seeing this destruction at sea, frightened lest it should be likewise on land, evacauted the city taking with them the greater part of their goods. So that Martim Afonso when he landed found no one to fight and he burned down the city completely, so that only the plain on which it had been situate was left and a few vegetable gardens and palm tree groves on the outskirts. And leaving the Portuguese name credited and much feared in those parts Martim Afonso returned to Malaca which was enjoying a very prosperous period.

ADDENDUM.

1. According to information collected by Mr. H. D. Noone, Ethnographer, F.M.S. Museums, from Tong Ken Nien, Penghulu of Pulai, two hundred years ago a Kheh clan immigrated to Kelantan and found Chinese from " Hoi-lu-fung " (in China) with the patronymic of P'ang in possession of the rich valley of Ulu Galas. The new comers drove out the ancient settlers who fled to a place known as " P'ang-kong " in Pahang about five miles from Kuala Lipis " where there are old gold-workings." " P'ang-kong " is *Panggong*, the name by which the Penjom mines were popularly known to Chinese miners ; it still survives in the name of a Village *Simpang Panggong* : " the Turn-off toPanggong." *Panggong* literally meant the wooden structure used in open-cast mining operations. Before the arrival of the British, Maharaja Perba of Jelai had been receiving tribute from the Chinese for each *panggong* erected.

Cf. *supra*, pp. 109, and 249.

2. Sir Hugh Clifford (Report on the Kelantan-Trengganu Expedition) records that he found a gold currency in Ulu Pahang when he first visited the interior. He refers not to a coinage but to the use of " gold-dust " as a medium of exchange.

3. According to " The Book of Duarte Barbosa," (Vol. II, Hakluyt Society, 1921, p. 165) :

> " In this land of Anseam (Siam) there is much gold which is found and gathered there chiefly in the Signory of Paam.. "

And, again, (p. 178) :

> " .....in this land of Paam there is much gold of low quality."

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The

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Mr. F. N. Chasen	*Hon. Secretary.*

Proceedings

OF THE

Annual General Meeting

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at the Raffles Museum, Singapore, at 4.45 p.m. on 27th February, 1936.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. Wurtzburg in the Chair.

1. The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.
2. The Annual Report and Balance Sheet as submitted by the Council were adopted.
3. The Officers and Council for 1936 were elected.
4. A motion to increase the Annual Subscription was lost.

F. N. CHASEN,
Hon. Secretary.

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Annual Report

OF THE

Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society for 1935.

Membership. The membership roll of the Society at the end of the year included 597 names compared with 567 at the end of 1934. The roll consisted of 21 Honorary Members, 3 Corresponding Members and 573 Ordinary Members. Two members were lost through death and eleven from resignation. One member was reinstated and the following 42 new members were elected during the year :—

Abdul Aziz bin Khamis
Abdullah bin Noordin
Ahmad bin Haji Tahir
Ahmad Zainul'abidin, Tengku
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Drew, R. C. W.
Francois, The Rev. Fr. J. P.
Gunji, K.
Hassan bin Abdullah
Ho Seng Ong
Humphrey, A. H. P.
Lai Tet Loke, The Hon. Mr.
Lancaster, G. C.
Lennox, W.
Lo Liang-Chu, Dr.
MacTier, R. S.
Mallal, B.A.
McDonald, C. M.
McLeod, D. S.
Merrick, C. M.
Oppenheim, H. R.
Osman bin Haji Dahat
Pilkington, Hugh P.
Purcell, Dr. V. W. W. S.
Raper, H. W.
Schneeberger, Dr. W. F.
Schweizer, H.
Shangbin Tan
Simpson, H.
Skeat, Walter W.
Turner, R. N.
Veerasamy, The Hon. Mr. S. N., J.P.
White, L. E.
Wilton, W. K.

Annual General Meeting. The Annual General Meeting was held in the Raffles Museum on 27th February and the Council as elected at this Meeting remained in office for the whole year.

Honorary Members The following gentlemen were elected to honorary membership during the year :— Prof. Dr. George Coedès, Directeur de l'Ecole francaise d' Extrême-Orient, Hanoi ; Prof. Dr. Sylvain Lévi, Paris ; Dr. F. D. K. Bosch, Oudheikundige Dienst, Java ; Dr. N. J. Krom, Professor of Javanese Archaeology, Leiden ; Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels, O.B.E. ; Sir Richard Winstedt, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.Litt. Mr. A. W. Hamilton was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Council later heard, with deep regret, of the death of Prof. Sr. Sylvain Lévi.

Journals Three journals were published during the year consisting of 574 pages, 22 plates, 20 text figures and a map. The first issue was a special number written by the President, Sir Richard Winstedt, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.Litt., "The History of British Malaya." The ordinary journal-form edition was increased to 1,200 copies and 1,800 extra copies were printed and bound in cloth for sale to the public. The second part of the journal was a miscellaneous number containing ten articles written by five members. The articles dealt with historical, ethnographical and botanical subjects. The third number was of a specialized character but the subject was eminently suitable for a special number of the Journal. It was a monograph on the Trengganu dialect of the Malay language written by the British Adviser of Trengganu, The Hon'ble Mr. C. C. Brown, M.C.S.

Finance. Thanks to the continued generosity of four of the Malayan Governments the financial position of the Society has remained satisfactory.

The third part of Vol. XIII was not published until after the end of the year, and its expenses will have to be met in 1936. In spite of this the printing bill for the past year is heavier than usual owing to the cost of publication of Sir Richard Winstedt's "History of Malaya" of which a large extra stock was printed to provide for the constant demand for what will remain a standard work for many years to come.

F. N. CHASEN,
Hon. Secretary.

MALAYAN BRANCH, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Receipts and Payments for the year ending 31st December, 1935.

RECEIPTS.

Cash.		
Balance at Mercantile Bank, 1st Jan., 1935	$4,510.71	
Petty cash in hand, 1st Jan., 1935	4.76	
		$4,515.47
Subscriptions.		
For the year 1933	85.00	
,, ,, ,, 1934	180.00	
,, ,, ,, 1935	1,684.00	
,, ,, ,, 1936	117.00	
,, ,, ,, 1937 & 1938	20.00	
For Life-membership	50.00	
		2,136.00
Advance-sales of " History of Malaya "	295.00	
Sales of Journals	1,266.82	
		1,561.82
Contributions.		
Kelantan Government	50.00	
Johore Government	250.00	
F.M.S. Government	500.00	
S.S. Government 1934 & 1935	1,000.00	
		1,800.00
Interest.		
On Investments	306.00	
On Current Account	49.24	
		355.24
		$10,368.53

PAYMENTS.

Printing.		
Journal Vol. 13, pt. 1 (" *History of Malaya* ")	$3,232.00	
Journal Vol. 13, pt. 2	1,236.25	
Blocks	582.58	
Separates	269.70	
Illustrations (photographs)	177.00	
Annual Reports, Plates for Adrema and Labels	94.21	
		$5,591.74
Miscellaneous.		
Stationery	13.68	
Postages & other expenses	172.89	
Salaries	586.50	
Cheque commissions, stamps on cheques and purchase of cheque book	20.64	
Purchase of 1 Iron Safe with wooden stand	28.00	
		821.71
Cash.		
Petty cash in hand, 31st December, 1935	18.19	
Balance at Mercantile Bank, 31st December, 1935	3,936.89	
		3,955.08
		$10,368.53

M. W. F. TWEEDIE,
Hon. Treasurer, M.B.R.A.S.

Rules
of the
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

I. Name and Objects.

1. The name of the Society shall be 'The Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.'

2. The objects of the Society shall be :—

(*a*) The increase and diffusion of knowledge concerning British Malaya and the neighbouring countries.

(*b*) the publication of a Journal and of works and maps.

(*c*) the acquisition of books, maps and manuscripts.

II. Membership.

3. Members shall be of three kinds—Ordinary, Corresponding and Honorary.

4. Candidates for ordinary membership shall be proposed and seconded by members and elected by a majority of the Council.

5. Ordinary members shall pay an annual subscription of $6 *payable in advance on the first of January in each year.*

No member shall receive a copy of the Journal or other publications of the Society until his subscription for the current year has been paid.

Newly elected members shall be allowed to compound for life-membership for $100 ; other members may compound by paying $50, or $100 less the amount already paid by them as ordinary members in annual subscriptions, whichever of these two sums is the greater. Societies and Institutions are eligible for ordinary membership.

6. On or about the 30th of June in each year the Honorary Treasurer shall prepare and submit to the Council a list of those members whose subscriptions for the current year remain unpaid. Such members shall be deemed to be suspended from membership until their subscriptions have been paid, and in default of payment within two years shall be deemed to have resigned their membership*

*Bye-law, 1912. "Under Rule 6 Members who have failed to pay their subscription by the 30th June are suspended from membership until their subscriptions are paid. The issue of Journals published during that period of suspension cannot be guaranteed to members who have been so suspended."

7. Distinguished persons, and persons who have rendered notable service to the Society may on the recommendation of the Council be elected Honorary Members by a majority at a General meeting. Corresponding Members may, on the recommendation of two members of the Council, be elected by a majority of the Council, in recognition of services rendered to any scientific institution in British Malaya. They shall pay no subscription ; they shall enjoy the privileges of members (except a vote at meetings and eligibility for office) and free receipt of the Society's publications.

III. Officers.

8. The officers of the Society shall be :—

A President.

Vice-Presidents not exceeding six, ordinarily two each from (i) the Straits Settlements, (ii) the Federated Malay States and (iii) the Unfederated or other Protected States, although this allocation shall in no way be binding on the electors.

An Honorary Treasurer. An Honorary Secretary.

Five Councillors. An Assistant Honorary Secretary.

These officers shall be elected for one year at the Annual General Meeting, and shall hold office until their successors are appointed.

9. Vacancies in the above offices occurring during any year shall be filled by a vote of the majority of the remaining officers.

IV. Council.

10. The Council of the Society shall be composed of the officers for the current year, and its duties and powers shall be :—

(*a*) to administer the affairs, property and trusts of the Society.

(*b*) to elect Ordinary and Corresponding Members and to recommend candidates for election as Honorary Members of the Society.

(*c*) to obtain and select material for publication in the Journal and to supervise the printing and distribution of the Journal.

(*d*) to authorise the publication of works and maps at the expense of the Society otherwise than in the Journal.

(*e*) to select and purchase books, maps and manuscripts for the Library.

(*f*) to accept or decline donations on behalf of the Society.

(*g*) to present to the Annual General Meeting at the expiration of their term of office a report of the proceedings and condition of the Society.

(*h*) to make and enforce by-laws and regulations for the proper conduct of the affairs of the Society. Every such bye-law or regulation shall be published in the Journal.

11. The Council shall meet for the transaction of business once a quarter and oftener if necessary. Three officers shall form a quorum of the Council.

V. General Meetings.

12. One week's notice of all meetings shall be given and of the subjects to be discussed or dealt with.

13. At all meetings the Chairman shall in the case of an equality of votes be entitled to a casting vote in addition to his own.

14. The Annual General Meeting shall be held in February in each year. Eleven members shall form a quorum.

15. (i) At the Annual General Meeting the Council shall present a report for the preceding year and the Treasurer shall render an account of the financial condition of the Society. Copies of such report and account shall be circulated to members with the notice calling the meeting.

(ii) Officer for the current year shall also be chosen.

16. The Council may summon a General Meeting at any time, and shall so summon one upon receipt by the Secretary of a written requistion signed by five ordinary members desiring to submit any specified resolution to such meeting. Seven members shall form a quorum at any such meeting.

17. Visitors may be admitted to any meeting at the discretion of the Chairman but shall not be allowed to address the meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.

VI. Publications.

18. The Journal shall be published at least twice in each year, and oftener if material is available. It shall contain material approved by the Council. In the first number of each volume shall be published the Report of the Council, the account of the financial position of the Society, a list of members and the Rules.

19. Every member shall be entitled to one copy of the Journal, which shall be sent free by post. Copies may be presented by the Council to other Societies or to distinguished individuals, and the remaining copies shall be sold at such prices as the Council shall time to time direct.

20. Twenty-five copies of each paper published in the Journal shall be placed at the disposal of the author.

VII. Amendments of Rules.

21. Amendments to these Rules must be proposed in writing to the Council, who shall submit them to a General Meeting duly summoned to consider them. If passed at such General Meeting they shall come into force upon confirmation at a subsequent General Meeting or at an Annual General Meeting.

Affiliation Privileges of Members.

Royal Asiatic Society. The Royal Asiatic Society has its headquarters at 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W., where it has a large library and collection of MSS. relating to oriental subjects, and holds monthly meetings from November to June (inclusive) at which papers on such subjects are read.

2. By Rule 105 of this Society all the Members of Branch Societies are entitled when on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within Great Britain and Ireland, to the use of the Library as Non-Resident Members and to attend the ordinary monthly meetings of the Society. This Society accordingly invites Members of Branch Societies temporarily resident in Great Britain or Ireland to avail themselves of these facilities and to make their home addresses known to the Society so that notice of the meetings may be sent to them.

3. Under Rule 84, the Council of the Society is able to accept contributions to its Journal from Members of Branch Societies, and other persons interested in Oriental Research, of original articles, short notes, etc., on matters connected with the languages. archaeology, history, beliefs and customs of any part of Asia.

4. By virtue of the aforementioned Rule 105 all Members of Branch Societies are entitled to apply for election to the Society without the formality of nomination. They should apply in writing to the Secretary, stating their names and addresses, and mentioning the Branch Society to which they belong. Election is by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council.

5. The subscription for Non-Resident Members of the Society is 30/- per annum. They receive the quarterly journal post free.

Asiatic Society of Bengal. Members of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, by a letter received in 1903, are accorded the privilege of admission to the monthly meetings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which are held usually at the Society's house, 1 Park Street, Calcutta.

List of Members for 1936.

*Life Members.

Year of Election.

PATRON.

1935. Thomas, H. E. Sir Thomas Shenton W., K.C.M.G., O.B.E.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1890, 1918. Blagden, Dr. C. O., School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, London.

1935. Bosch, Dr. F. D. K., Oudheidkundige Dienst, Batavia-Centrum, Java.

1921. Brandstetter, Prof. Dr. R., Luzern, Switzerland.

1935. Callenfels, Dr. P. V. van Stein, O.B.E.

1930. Clifford, Sir Hugh, G.C.M.G., G.B.E., 53, Evelyn Gardens, London, S.W.7.

1935. Coedès, Prof. Dr. George, Directeur de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, Hanoi, Indo-China.

1930. Crosby, Sir Josiah, K.B.E., c/o H. B. M. Ministry, Bangkok, Siam.

1935. Ferrand, Ancien-Ministre G., Rue Racine, Paris, France.

1903, 1917. Galloway, Sir D. J., Johore Bahru, Johore (Vice-Pres., 1906-7; Pres. 1908-13).

1895, 1920. Hanitsch, Dr. R., M.A. 99, Woodstock Road, Oxford, England. (Council, 1897-1919; Hon. Tr., 1898-1906, 1910-11, 1914-19; Hon. Sec., 1912-13).

1922. Johore, H. H. The Sultan of, D.K., G.C.M.G., K.B.E., Johore.

1900, 1932. Kloss, C. Boden, c/o Royal Societies Club, St. James Street, London, S.W.1. (Coun., 1904-8, 1923, 1927-8; Vice-Pres., 1920-21, 1927; Hon. Sec., 1923-6; Pres., 1930).

1935. Krom, Dr. N. J., 18, Witte Singel, Leiden, Holland.

1903, 1927. Maxwell, Sir W. G., K.B.E., C.M.G., Sunning Wood, Boars Hill, Oxford, England. (Coun., 1905, 1915; Vice-Pres., 1911-12, 1916, 1918, 1920; Pres., 1919, 1922-3, 1925-6).

1921. Perak, H. H. The Sultan of, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., Istana Negara, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.

1890, 1912. Ridley, H. N., C.M.G., F.R.S., 7, Cumberland Road, Kew Gardens, Surrey, England. (Coun., 1890-4, 1896-1911; Hon. Sec., 1890-3, 1896-1911).

1916. Sarawak, H. H. The Rajah of, G.C.M.G., Kuching, Sarawak.

Year of Election.

1894, 1921. Shellabear, Rev. Dr. W. G., 185, Girard Avenue, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A. (Coun., 1896-1901, 1904; Vice-Pres., 1913; Pres., 1914-18).

1921. Van Ronkel, Dr. P. H., Zoeterwoudsche Singel 44, Leiden, Holland.

1935. Winstedt, Sir Richard, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.LITT., 95, Westbourne Terrace, London, W.2. (Vice-Pres., 1914-15, 1920-1, 1923-5, 1928; Pres., 1927, 1929, 1933-5).

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

1935. Hamilton, A. W., c/o Barclay's Bank, Adderley St., Cape Town, South Africa.

1920. Laidlaw, Dr. F. F., M.A., Eastfield, Uffculme, Devon, England.

1920. Merrill, Dr. E. D., Gray Herbarium, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

*1921. Abdul Aziz, Engku, D.K., C.M.G., Johore Bahru, Johore. (Vice-Pres., 1933-6).

1935. Abdul Aziz bin Khamis, Kuala Pilah, Negri Sembilan.

1932. Abdul Hadi bin Haji Hassan, 572A, Tranquerah, Malacca.

1932. Abdul Hamid bin Engku Abdul Majid, Engku, c/o The State Secretariat, Johore Bahru, Johore.

1926. Abdul Malek bin Mohamed Yusuf, District Officer, Batang Padang, Perak.

1933. Abdul Rahman bin Mat, c/o Sanitary Board, Klang, Selangor.

*1926. Abdul Rahman bin Yassin, Dato, 3, Jalan Chat, Johore Bahru, Johore.

1935. Abdul bin Noordin, Land Office, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.

1923. Abdullah bin Yahya, Capt. Sheikh, Bukit Timbalan, Johore.

*1907. Adams, Sir A., K.B.E., Rockleigh, Swanage, Dorest, England. (Vice-Pres., 1910, 1917-19).

*1909. Adams, Hon. Mr. T. S., The Residency, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.

*1919. Adelborg, F., Sweden.

1935. Ahmad bin Haji Tahir, Asst. Commissioner of Police, Muar, Johore.

1934. Ahmad bin Sheikh Mustapha, Sheikh, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.

1926. Ahmad bin Osman, District Office, Temerloh, Pahang.

1935. Ahmed Zainul'abidin, Tengku, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.

1936. Aikin, Rev. J. Hamilton, The Manse, Golf Club Road, Ipoh, Perak.

Year of Election.

1935. Akademija Nauk, U.S.S.R., Biblioteka Akademii Nauk, Birgewaja Linija, 1 Leningrad, U.S.S.R.
1927. Allen, B. W., Police Depot, Singapore.
1935. Allen, Dr. G. V., 26, College Road, Singapore.
1935. Amstutz, the Rev. H. B., 48, Canning Rise, Singapore.
1936. Anderson, W. Graeme, Tanjong Batu Estate, Manek Urai, Kelantan.
1933. Annamalai University Library, Annamalainagar, Chidambaram, S. India.
1934. Archer, R. L., 5, Fort Canning Road, Singapore.
1926. Ariff, Dr. K. M., 47, Leith Street, Penang.
1926. Atkin-Berry, H. C., Swan and Maclaren, Singapore.
*1908. Ayre, C. F. C., c/o Lloyd's Bank, 6, Pall Mall, London, S.W.1.
1933. Azman bin Abdul Hamid, Govt. English School, Muar, Johore.
*1926. Bagnall, Sir John, c/o The Straits Trading Co., Ltd., Singapore.
*1919. Bailey, A. E., " Keecha ", Park Road, Leamington Spa, England.
*1926. Bailey, John c/o British Legation, Bangkok, Siam.
1936. Bailey, L. C., Rengam Estate, Rengam, Johore.
1915. Bain, Norman K.
1926. Bain, V. L., District Forest Office, Kuala Lumpur.
*1912. Baker, The Hon. Mr. A. C., Kota Bahru, Kelantan. (Council, 1928, Vice-Pres., 1931).
1932. Baker, James A., Ingleword, Castle Hill, Parkstone Dorset, England.
1935. Baker, V. B. C. c/o Pahang Consolidated Co., Ltd., Sungai Lembing, Pahang.
1935. Bangs, T. W. T., Kuala Pergau Estate, Ulu Kelantan.
*1899. Banks, J. E., Amvridge, Penn., U.S.A.
1920. Barbour, Dr. T., Museum of Comparative Zoology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
1932. Barrett, E. C. C., District Office, Jasin, Malacca.
1936. Barron, G. D., Superintendent of Surveys, Malacca.
1914. Bazell, C., Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak. (Hon. Libr., 1916-20; Hon. Treasurer, 1921-2).
1925. Bee, R. J., Public Works Department, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
*1910. Berkeley, Capt. H., I.S.O., Clink Gate, Droitwich, England.
1927. Best, G. A., Botanic Gardens, Singapore.
*1912. Bicknell, J. W., Bykenhulle Hopewell Junction, Dutchess County, New York, U.S.A.

Year of Election.

1884. Bicknell, W. A., 2, Philips Avenue, Exmouth, Devon, England.
1936. Bingham, R. P., Chinese Secretariat, Singapore.
1931. Birse, A. L., District Officer, Larut, Perak.
1926. Birtwistle, W., c/o Department of Fisheries, Singapore.
*1908. Bishop, Major C. F.
1935. Bishop, H., Public Works Department, Jesselton, British North Borneo.
*1923. Black, J. G., c/o Malayan Establishment Office, Singapore.
1884. Bland, R. N., C.M.G., 25, Earl's Court Square, London, S.W.5. (Coun., 1898-1900; Vice-Pres., 1907-9).
1921. Blasdell, Rev. R. A., Methodist Mission, Malacca.
1925. Blythe, W. L., Protector of Chinese, Penang.
1935. Boey Kong Yan, Chinese Secretariat, Singapore.
1933. Booth, I. C., c/o Surveyor General's Office, Kuala Lumpur.
*1926. Boswell, A. B. S., Forest Department, Taiping, Perak.
*1919. Bourne, F. G., Little Dowbourne, St. Michaels, Tenterden.
1921. Boyd, R., Co-operative Societies Dept., Kuala Lumpur.
1928. Boyd, T. Stirling, Chief Justice of Sarawak, Kuching, Sarawak.
*1919. Boyd, W. R., District Office, Kinta, Perak.
1913. Braddell, The Hon'ble Dato R. St. J., c/o Braddell Brothers, Singapore. (Coun. 1936).
1936. Braga, A. J., 8, Broadrick Road, Singapore.
1936. Braine, Dr. G. I. H., Kuala Trengganu, Trengganu. Kukub, Johore.
1932. Brant, R. V., Kukub, Johore.
1935. Brooke, A. W. D., District Office, Kuala Pilah, Negri Sembilan.
1915. Brown, The Hon. Mr. C. C., The Residency, Kuala Lipis Pahang (Vice-Pres., 1925, 1932-6).
1933. Browne, F. G., Forest Research Institute, Kepong, Selangor.
*1913. Bryan, J. M., Borneo Co., Ltd., 28, Fenchurch Street, London.
1887. Bryant, A. T., (Council, 1907-10; Vice-Pres., 1912, 1914-16).
1932. Bryson, H. P., Alor Star, Kedah.
1926. Buckle, Miss D. M., Raffles Girls' School, Singapore.
*1926. Burton, The Hon. Mr. Justice W., 1 Court Lane Gardens, Dulwich, England.
1934. Busfield, H. H., 4 Laidlaw Building, Singapore.
*1921. Butterfield, H. M., Kedah Peak, Excellsior Road, Parkstone, Dorset, England.

Year of Election.

*1913. Caldecott, H. E. Sir Andrew, KT. Bach., C.M.G., C.B.E., The Governonment House, Hongkong. (Vice-Pres., 1931-2, 1934-5).

1932. Calder, J., Kuala Lumpur.

1926. Cardon, The Rev. Fr. R., Church of the Scared Heart, A1. Oxley Rise, Singapore. (Council, 1934-6).

1925. Carey, H. R., High School, Klang, Selangor.

*1921. Cavendish, A.

1934. Cawood, G. C., c/o British Borneo Timber Co., Sandakan, British North Borneo.

1921. Chasen, F. N., Raffles Museum, Singapore. (Council, 1925; Hon. Sec., 1927-36).

*1924. Cheeseman, H. R., Education Office, Johore Bahru, Johore.

1936. Chew Tian Seng, The National City Bank of New York, Singapore.

*1913. Choo Kia Peng, Kuala Lumpur.

1927. Clark, B. F., Pontianak, Dutch West Borneo.

1936. Clark-Walker, A. McG. Survey Dept., Batu Pahat, Johore.

*1926. Clarke, G. C., "Tilton", 14 Gallop Road, Singapore.

*1911. Clayton, T. W.

1929. Cobden-Ramsay, A. B., Kemaman, Trengganu.

1922. Coe, Capt. T. P., 411, Unthank Road, Norwich, England.

*1920. Collenette, C. L., Ashburton Hotel, The Terrace, Richmond, Surrey, England.

1926. Collins, G. E. P., c/o Nederlandsch Indische Handelsbank, Makassar, Celebes N.E.I.

1926. Commandant, The, The Police Depot, Kuala Lumpur.

1935. Coolhas, W. Ph., 25, Emmastraat, Utrecht, Holland.

1926. Coope, A. E., Kuala Lumpur. (Coun. 1936).

1928. Cooper, B., Sungai Patani, Kedah.

1936. Cooper, E. C., Guthrie & Co., Ltd., Malacca.

1926. Cooper, R. H., The Eastern Smelting Co., Ltd., P. O. Box 280, Penang.

1929. Corner, E. J. H., Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Council, 1934-6).

1925. Corry, W. C. S., c/o Malayan Establishments Office.

1921. Coulson, N., Asst. Treasurer, Penang.

1921. Cowap, J. C., Springfield, Lower Perrington Lane, Lynington, Hants, England.

*1923. Cowgill, J. V., Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, Kuala Lumpur.

*1921. Cullen, W. G., Bartolome Mitre 559, Buenos Aires, S. America.

Year of Election.

1925. Cullin, E. G., 21, Barrack Road, Penang.
1927. Cumming, C. E., Floral Villa, Ipoh, Perak,
1923. Curtis, R. J. F., Collector of Land Revenue, Penang.
*1910. Daly, M. D., Cleve Hill, Cork, Irish Free State.
*1918. David, P. A. F., c/o Sports Club, London.
1928. Davidson, W. W., Public Works Department, Taiping, Perak.
1927. Davies, E. R., c/o Cox and Kings Bank, 6, Pall Mall, London, S.W.1.,
*1927. Dawson, C. W., Legal Adviser, Alor Star, Kedah.
1923. Day, E. V. G., Land Office, Malacca.
1930. De Vos, A. E. E., P. O. Box 13, Taiping, Perak.
1926. Del Tufo, M. V., Attorney-General's Office, Singapore.
1922. Denny, A., Sungai Pelek Estate, Sepang, Selangor.
1934. Devonshire, G. E., Police Headquarters, Kajang, Selangor.
1929. Dickinson, Mrs. W. J., Bandoeng, Java.
1897. Dickson, E. A., 118, Dunkeld Road, Bournemouth, England.
*1921. Dickson, Rev. P. L., Western House, The Park, Nottingham, England.
1926. Director of Forestry, The, Kuala Lumpur.
*1926. Dolman, H. C., Forest Office, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1930. Donlevy, J., c/o S. Way Dredging, S. Way, Selangor.
*1923. Doscas, A. E. Coleman, Dept., of Agriculture, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1926. Duff, Dr. W. R., Taiping, Perak.
*1915. Dussek, O. T., Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, Perak.
1934. Dyer, Prof. W. E., Raffles College, Singapore.
1931. Earle, L. R. F., Asst. Adviser, Kluang, Johore.
*1922. Ebden, W. S., Commissioner of Lands, S.S.
1922. Eckhardt, H. C., Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1922. Edgar, A. T., Suffiolk Estate, Sitiawan, Perak.
1934. Edmonds, A., J.P., C.H., Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1927. Education Dept., The, Alor Star, Kedah.
1885. Egerton, Sir Walter, K.C.M.G., Fair Meadow, Mayfield, Sussex, England.
1921. Elder, Dr. E. A., The British Dispensary, Singapore.
1932. English School Union, The, Muar, Johore.
1913. Ermen, C. E. A., St. Christopher, Combe Down, Bath, Somerset, England.
*1923. Eu Tong Sen, O.B.E., Sophia Road, Singapore.

Year of Election.

1924. Evans, I. H. N., Broadview Road, Oulton Broad, Suffolk, England. (Vice-Pres., 1926-7; 1928-30).
1936. Evans, Dr. L. W., General Hospital, Singapore.
1925. Fairburn, H., C.M.G.
1927. Farrelly, G. A., Kuching, Sarawak.
1909. Farrer, R. J., C.M.G., Kota Bahru, Kelantan. (Coun., 1925-7).
*1911. Ferguson-Davie, Rt. Rev. C. J., (Council, 1912-13).
1917. Finlayson, Dr. G. A., " Changi ", West Moors, Dorest, England.
*1919. Finnie, W., 73, Forest Road, Aberdeen, Scotland.
1925. Fitzgerlad, Hon. Dr. R. D., M.C., The Director of Health and Medical Services, Singapore.
*1897. Flower, Major S. S., Old House, Park Road, Tring, Herts., England.
1928. Foenander, E. C., Forest Office, Mentakab, Pahang.
1923. Forest Botanist, The, Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, U. P. India.
1921. Forrer, H. A., Police Court, Singapore.
*1918. Foxworthy, Dr. F. W., 762, Arlington Avenue, Berkeley, California, U.S.A. (Council, 1923; 1926-7).
1935. Francois, Rev. Fr. J. P., Les Echelles, Savoie, France.
*1921. Fraser, F. W., Thatched House Club, St. James Street, London, S.W.1.
*1908. Freeman, D., 3, Cleve Road, West Hampstead, London, N.W.6.
*1910. Frost, Meadows.
*1912. Gallagher, W. J., 72, Courtfield Gardens, London, S.W.5.
1931. Gardiner, E. A., Public Works Dept., Johore Bahru.
1932. Gardner, G. B., c/o Midland Bank, Pall Mall, London, W.2.
*1917. Garnier, the Rev. Keppel, Penang.
1923. Gater, Prof. B. A. R., College of Medicine, Singapore.
1934. Gates, R. C., District Officer, Raub, Pahang.
1928. Geake, F. H., c/o Govt. Analyst's Office, Singapore.
1920. Geale, Dr. W. J., Kuala Krai, Kelantan,
*1926. George, J. R.
1936. Gibson, L. B., District Judge, Singapore.
1923. Gilmour, A., District Office, Kuala Krai, Kelantan,
*1922. Glass, Dr. G. S., c/o Glyn Mills & Co., Whitehall, London, S.W.1.
1922. Gordon, T. I. M., 3, Ludlow Court, 53, Silverdale Road, Eastbourne, Sussex, England.
1920. Gordon-Hall, Capt. W. A., Secretary to Resident, Selangor.

Year of Election.

1926. Goss, P. H., Kulim, Kedah.
1929. Gracie, A. J., Kuala Lumpur.
1929. Gray, G. L., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
1926. Green, R. T. B., Insitute for Medical Research, Kuala Lumpur.
1929. Gregg, J. F. F., District Office, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1931. Gregory, C. P., Kerilla Estate, Kelantan.
1926. Grice, N., Police Court, Singapore.
1922. Gubbins, W. H. W., c/o Mansergh & Taylor, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1935. Gunji, K., Japanese Consulate, Singapore.
1916. Gupta, Shri Shivaprasad, Seva Upavana, Kashi (Benares), India.
*1923. Hacker, Dr. H. P., Zoological Dept., University College, London, W.C.1.
1934. Haden, R. A., 15-16, 44th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
1923. Haines, Major O. B., S. O. S. Estate, Selama, Perak.
1934. Hamarudin bin Wan Abdul Jalil, Wan, A.D.O., Selama, Perak.
1924. Hamzah bin Abdullah, Kuala Kubu Bahru, F.M.S.
1933. Hannay, H. C., P. O. Box 64, Ipoh, Perak.
1936. Harpur, W. A., c/o Straits Times, Singapore.
1921. Hashim, Capt. N. M., 12, Tanglin Road, Kuala Lumpur.
1935. Hassan bin Abdullah, District Officer, Tangkak, Muar, Johore.
*1926. Hastings, W. G. W., 56, Klyne Street, Kuala Lumpur.
1921. Hawkins, G., Director of Co-operation, F.M.S. and S.S.
1925. Hay, A. W., Asst. Protector of Chinese, Malacca.
1919. Hay, M. C., Johore Bahru, Johore.
*1904. Haynes, A. S., C.M.G., Pebworth Manor, Stratford-on-Avon, England. (Council, 1920).
1932. Hayward, M. J., Magistrate, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1936. Headley, D., Muar, Johore.
1930. Heath, R. G., Agricultural Office, Parit Buntar, Province Wellesley.
1921. Henderson, M. R., Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Council, 1928; Hon. Tr., 1928-34).
*1923. Hicks, E. C., c/o Education Office, Pahang.
1922. Hill, W. C., Singapore Oil Mills, Ltd., Havelock Road, Singapore.
1927. His Majesty's Stationery Office, Princess Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1.
*1923. Hodgson, D. H., Forest Dept., Seremban.

Year of Election.

1921. Holgate, M. R., Education Office, Malacca.
1926. Holl, E. S., Kuching, Sarawak.
1922. Holttum, R. E., Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Hon. Tr., 1923-6, 1928; Vice-Pres., 1929 and 1936; Coun. 1933).
1933. Hoogkaas, Dr. C., Klitren Lor 48, Djokjakarta, Java.
*1921. Hoops, Dr. A. L., C.B.E., Malacca. (Vice-Pres., 1930; Coun., 1933-4; Vice-Pres., 1936).
1897. Hose, E. S., C.M.G., The Manor House, Normandy, Guildford, England. (Vice-Pres., 1923, 1925; Pres., 1924).
1935. Ho Seng Ong, Anglo—Chinese School, Malacca.
1922. Huggins, Capt. J., Malayan Establishment Office, Singapore.
1932. Hughes, T. D., 2nd Magistrate, Singapore. (Hon. Treasurer 1936).
1936. Hughes-Hallatt, H., Asst. Resident, Brunei.
1935. Humphrey, A. H. P., Kuala Lumpur.
1922. Hunt, Capt. H. North, The Elms, Little Blakinham, near Ipswich, Suffolk, England.
1921. Hunter, Dr. P. S., Municipal Offices, Singapore.
1923. Idris bin Ibrahim, Wan, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1934. Idris bin Haji Muhammad Nor, District Office, Port Dickson, Negri Sembilan.
*1926. Ince, H. M., c/o The Secretariat, Sandakan, British North Borneo.
1930. Ince, R. E., Kencot Lodge, near Leechlade, Glos., England.
1922. Irvine, Capt. R., District Office, Klang, Selangor.
*1921. Ivery, F. E., Alor Star, Kedah.
1934. Jaal bin Jaman, Lenggong, Upper Perak.
1936. Jackson, W. B., Christmas Island, S.S.
*1918. James, D., Goebilt, Sarawak.
1927. Jamieson, M., The Government Analyst, Singapore.
*1921. Jermyn, L. A. S., c/o Education Office, Malacca.
1932. Joachim, E. J., Kapoewas Rubber Estate, Soengei Dekan, Pontianak, Borneo.
1910. Johnson, B. G. H., Crossways, Littlehampton, Sussex, England.
1925. Jones, A. E. Thornley, Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
*1918. Jones, E. P.
*1913. Jones, The Hon. Mr. S. W., British Adviser, Kedah.
*1919. Jordan, The Hon. Mr. A. B., Chinese Protectorate, Singapore.
1932. Joynt, The Hon. Mr. H. R. c/o The Treasury, Kuala Lumpur.

Year of Election.

1921. Kassim bin Sultan Abdul Hamid Halimshah, H.H. Tengku, Alor Star, Kedah.

*1921. Kay-Mouat, Prof. J. R., College of Medicine, Singapore.

1926. Keith, H. G., Forest Dept., Sandakan, British North Borneo.

*1921. Kellie, J., Dunbar Estate, Neram Tunggal P.O., Chegar Perah, Pahang.

1913. Kempe, The Hon. Mr. J. E., British Adviser, Trengganu.

*1920. Ker, W. P. W., c/o Paterson Simons & Co., Ltd., London House, Crutched Friars, London, E.C.3.

*1920. Kerr, Dr. A., c/o Mrs. Palliser, Street House, Hayes, Kent, England.

1926. Khoo Sian Ewe, 24, Light Street, Penang.

1921. Kidd, G. M., Chairman, Sanitary Board, Kuala Lumpur.

1926. Kingsbury, Dr. A. N., Medical Research Institue, Kuala Lumpur.

1931. Kirkwood, T. M., Croftinloan, Pitlochay, Perthshire Scotland.

1921. Kitching, T., Superintendent of Surveys, Kulim, Kedah.

1935. Lai Tet Loke, The Hon. Mr., 12, Sultan Street, Kuala Lumpur.

1914. Lambourne, J., Central Experimental Station, Serdang, Sungei Besi P. O.

1935. Lancaster, G. C., One Tree Corner, Guildford, Surrey, England.

1929. Langlade, Baron F. de,.

1927. Laycock, J., c/o Braddell Brothers, Raffles Place, Singapore.

*1923. Lease, F. E., The Shanty, Chislehurst Hill, Chislehurst, Kent, England.

*1921. Lee, L. G., Ladang Geddes, Bahau, Negri Sembilan.

1932. Lee Chim Tuan, Mandalay Villa, Tanjong Katong, Singapore.

*1922. Leggate, J., " Troggett's ", Wallis Wood, Ockley, Surrey, England.

*1913. Leicester, Dr. W. S., Kuantan, Pahang.

1920. Lendrick, J., 30, Norre Alle, Aarhus, Denmark.

1935. Lennox, W. W. M., Kuala Trengganu.

1926. Leonard, H. G. R.

*1925. Leonard, R. W. F., c/o Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Penang.

1926. Leuthold, W. H., Hooglandt & Co., Singapore.

1890. Lewis, J. E. A., Harada 698, Kobe, Japan.

1927. Leyh, S. G. H., O.B.E., c/o Government Monopolies, Singapore.

1922. Leyne, E. G., Sungai Purun Estate, Seminyih, Selangor.

Year of Election.

1936. Librarian, University, Triplicane, Madras, India.
1925. Linehan, W., Muar, Johore. (Vice-Pres., 1933-6).
1936. Lim, C. O., Bankruptcy Office, Singapore.
1934. Lloyd, Capt. H. S. J., Customs and Excise Dept., Taiping, Perak.
1934. Lloyd, W., Ulu Tiram Estate, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1928. Loch, C. W., Central European Mines, Ltd., Mezica, Dravska Banovina, Jugoslavija.
1918. Loh Kong Imm, 12, Kia Peng Road, Kuala Lumpur.
1935. Lo Liang-Chu, Dr., Ph.D., c/o Anhui Educational Dept., China.
1930. London, G. E., C. M. G., The Secretariat, Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa.
1933. Lopez, A. G., " Casynest ", 24, Gaol Road, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1930. Luckham, H. A. L., Penang.
1936. Lyle, C. W., Asst. Protector of Chinese, Singapore.
*1907. Lyons, Rev. E. S., c/o Methodist Publishing House, Manila, Philippine Islands.
*1920. MacBryan, G. T. M., Kingsdown House, Box, Wilts, England.
*1933. Macdonald, P. J. W., Petodjo Oedik 44, Batavia, Java.
1929. Mace, N., Survey Office, Kuching, Sarawak.
1932. MacDonnell McMullin, C. A., c/o Martin's Bank Ltd., Victoria Road, Wallasey, Cheshire, England.
*1910. MacFadyen, E., c/o Sports Club, London.
1934. Mac Hacobian, 100, Tanglin Road, Singapore.
1936. Macpherson, J. S., Khola Bahru, Kelantan.
1935. MacTier, R. S., Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1920. McCabe, Dr. J. B., 73, Gainsborough Road, Liverpool, 15, England.
1935. McDonald, C. M., Kuala Lumpur.
1935. McLeod, D. S., c/o Bakau and Kenya Extract Co., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
1936. McElwaine, The Hon. Mr. P. A., Goodwood House, Singapore.
1934. McNeice, T. P. F., Chinese Protectorate, Kedah.
1936. McPherson, Dr. D. R., General Hospital, Singapore.
1930. Madden, L. J. B., Taiping, Perak.
1936. Mahmud bin Tengku Haji Yusuf, Tengku, Education Office, Khota Bahru, Kelantan.
1929. Mahmud bin Jintan, The Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1924. Mahmud bin Mat, Commissioner of Land and Mines, Kangsar, Perlis.

Year of Election.

1903. Makepeace, W., 79, Henleaze Road, Westbury on Trym, Bristol, England. (Coun., 1914, 1916, 1920; Hon. Libr., 1909-12; Vice-Pres., 1917; Hon. Sec., 1918-19).
1932. Malacca Historical Society, The, Malacca.
1926. Malay College, The, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1935. Mallal, B. A., '24, Raffles Place, Singapore.
1927. Malleson, B. K., Sungai Kruit Estate, Sungkai, Perak.
1927. Mann, W. E., c/o Burt Myrtle & Co., Batavia, Java.
1929. Marjoribanks, Dr. E. M., Kuching, Sarawak.
*1907. Marriner, J. T.
1934. Martin, J. M., Colonial Office, London.
*1925. Martin, W. M. E.
1921. Mather, N. F. H., Johore Bahru, Johore.
1921. Maxwell, C. N., Maryland Estate, Lumut, Perak.
1922. May, P. W., 6, Queen Anne's Gardens, Bedford Park, London, W.4.
1928. Mee, B. S., Forest Dept., Kuala Lumpur.
1933. Megat Khas, Dr., District Hospital, Taiping, Perak.
1927. Megat Yunus bin Megat Mohamed Isa, District Office, Temerloh, Pahang.
1936. Meikle, R. H., Jeram Pahang, Baharu, F.M.S.
1935. Merrick, C. M., Asiatic Petroleum Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1928. Meyer, L. D., Survey Dept., Kuala Lipis, Pahang.
1936. Middlebrook, S. M., Asst. Director of Education (Chinese) F.M.S., Kuala Lumpur.
*1926. Miles, C. V., Rodyk & Davidson, Singapore.
1925. Miller, G. S., c/o Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
*1921. Miller, J. I., District Officer, Teluk Anson, Perak.
1932. Miller, N. C. E., Dept. of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur.
1925. Mills, G. R., c/o Incorporated Society of Planters, Kuala Lumpur.
1926. Mills, The Hon. Mr. Justice J. V., c/o The Supreme Court, Johore. (Coun., 1929-30, 1932-3; 1936).
1933. Milne, Mrs. C. E. Lumsden, Government English School, Muar, Johore.
1922. Mohamed Idid bin Ali Idid, Sayid, Alor Star, Kedah.
1934. Mohamed Ismail bin Abdul Latiff, District Office, Kuala Kangsar.
1922. Mohamed Ismail Merican, Assistant Legal Adviser, Alor Star, Kedah.
1936. Mohamed Jaafar bin Mantu, The High School, Klang, Selangor.
1927. Mohamed Noor bin Mohamed, Free School, Penang.
1922. Mohamed Said, Major Dato Haji, Bukit Timbalan, Johore.

Year of Election.

1933. Mohamed Said bin Mohamed, Dr., General Hospital, Kuala Lumpur.
1921. Mohamed Salleh bin Ali, Dato, Johore Bahru, Johore.
1921. Mohamed Sheriff bin Osman, The Hon'ble Che', Alor Star, Kedah.
*1926. Morice, J., c/o Customs Office, Kuala Lumpur.
*1920. Morkill, A. G., c/o Victoria League, Cromwell Road, London.
1926. Mumford, E. W., Railway Police, Kuala Lumpur.
*1915. Mundell, H. D., c/o Sisson & Delay, Singapore.
1930. Murdoch, Dr. J. W., Mental Hospital, Tanjong Rambutan, Perak.
1913. Murray, Rev. W.
1934. Mustapha bin Tengku Besar, Tengku, Supreme Court, Kuala Lumpur.
1932. Newbold, The Hon. Mr. E., c/o Chartered Bank Chambers, Penang.
1934. Nightingale, H. W., Asst. Controller of Labour, Negri Sembilan and Malacca.
1933. Nik Ahmad Kamil bin Haji Nik Mahmud, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1932. Nolli, Cav. R., 47, Scotts Road, Singapore.
1916. Ong Boon Tat, 51, Robinson Road, Singapore.
1910. Ong Siang Song, Sir, K.B.E., V.D., c/o Aitkin & Ong Siang, Singapore.
1923. Opie, R. S.,
1935. Oppenheim, H. R., c/o Derrick & Co., Hongkong Bank Chambers, Singapore.
1921. Orchard, H. A. L., Chinese Free School, Cecil Street, Singapore.
1935. Osman bin Haji Dahat, Supreme Court, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1931. Osman bin Taat, District Office, Kroh Upper Perak.
1934. Osman bin Ujang, Klang, Selangor.
1920. O'Sullivan, T. A., Inspector of Schools, Taiping, Perak.
1913. Overbeck, H., Bintaran Kidoel No. 2, Djokjakarta, Java.
1925. Owen, A. I., c/o. Port Office, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1929. Pagden, H. T., c/o The Director of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur.
1919. Park, Mungo, P. O. Delivery, 19, Kuala Lumpur.
*1908. Parr, C. W. C., C.M.G., O.B.E., Parrisees Hayne, Howley, nr. Chard, Somerset, England. (Vice-Pres., 1919).
1922. Pasqual, J. C., Jitra, Kedah.
*1921. Paterson, Major H. S., Penang.
1933. Pearson, C. D., Survey Office, Pontian Kechil, Johore.

Year of Election.

1928. Pease, R. L., Telok Pelandok Estate, Port Dickson, Negri Sembilan.
1934. Peel, J., c/o The Treasury, Taiping, Perak.
1931. Peet, G. L., c/o The Straits Times, Singapore.
1928. Penang Free School, Green Lane, Penang.
1926. Penang Library, The, Penang.
*1921. Pendlebury, H. M., Selangor Museum, Kuala Lumpur.
*1926. Pengilley, E. E., District Office, Kuala Pilah.
*1925. Penrice, W., Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1914. Pepys, The Hon. Mr. W. E., The General Adviser, Johore.
*1920. Peskett, A. D., c/o. Barclay's Bank, Uckfield, Sussex, England.
1925. Pijper, Dr. G. F., Batavia-Centrum, Java.
1935. Pilkington, Hugh P., Atherton Estate, Sitiau, Negri Sembilan.
*1921. Plummer, W. P.
1928. Powell, I. B., Lanfihangel, Talyllyn, Breconshire, Wales.
1934. Pratt, D. F., Sedenak Estate, Sedenak, Johore.
1932. Pretty, E. E. F., Secretary to the High Commissioner, Singapore.
1935. Purcell, Dr. V. W. W. S., Magistrates' Court, Ipoh, Perak.
1926. Purdom, Miss N., Education Office, Malacca.
1926. Rae, Cecil, Ipoh, Perak.
1934. Raffles College, Singapore.
1934. Raja Hitam bin Raja Yunus, District Office, Jelebu, Negri Sembilan.
1924. Raja Muda of Perak, Telok Anson, Perak.
1932. Raja Ratnam, A., Infant Welfare Centre, Ipoh, Perak.
1929. Raja Razman bin Raja Abdul Hamid, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1924. Rambuat, A. E., Forest Office, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1935. Raper, H. W., The Great Eastern Life Assurance Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1932. Rawlings, G. S., c/o Secretariat, Taiping, Perak.
1916. Rayman, L., c/o Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, 9, Grace Church Street, London.
*1926. Reay, J. McCabe, 29, Crystal Palace Park Road, Sydenham, S.E. 26, London.
1924. Reed, J. G., Sungkai, Perak.
1931. Rego, Rev. A. S., Portuguese Mission, Victoria Street, Singapore.
*1910. Reid, Dr. Alfred, Batang Padang Estate, Tapah, F.M.S.
1926. Rennie, A. A., Kuching, Sarawak.
1930. Rentse, A., Kota Bahru, Kelantan.

Year of Election.

*1921. Rex, The Hon. Mr. Marcus, The Residency, Taiping, Perak.
1923. Ridout, F. G., c/o Harbour Board, Singapore.
*1926. Rigby, W. E., c/o Malayan Establishment Office, Singapore
1934. Robinson, F. J., c/o British Borneo Timber Co., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
*1926. Robinson, P. M., c/o Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, 9, Gracechurch Street, London, E.C. 3.
1936. Ross, A. N., Asst. Adviser, Besut, Kelantan.
1931. Samuel, P., 489, Swettenham Road, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1934. Sanders, Dr. Margaret M., c/o Traffic Dept., F.M.S. Railways, Kuala Lumpur.
1926. Sanger-Davies, A. E., Forest Office, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
*1923. Sansom, The Hon. Mr. C. H., Police Headquarters, Kuala Lumpur.
*1919. Santry, D., c/o Westminister Bank, Glasshouse St., London.
1934. Sassoon, J. M., 8, De Souza Street, Singapore.
*1896. Saunders, C. J., The Lawn, Barcombe Mills, near Lewes, Sussex, England. (Vice-Pres., 1910-11, 1914-15; Pres., 1916-18).
1935. Schneeberger, Dr. W. F., Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Co., Ltd., Sandakan, B.N.B.
1935. Schweizer, H., c/o Diethelm & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
*1920. Scott, Dr. W., Sungei Siput, Perak.
*1915. See Tiong Wah, Balmoral Road, Singapore.
1922. Sehested, S., c/o Singapore Club, Singapore.
*1927. Sells, H. C., Satuan, Burnham, Bukinghamshire, England.
1935. Shangbin Tan, Sin Hwa Jit Pao, No. 130, Hantoy Road, Swatow, China.
1934. Sheehan, J. J., Kuala Lumpur.
1925. Shelley, M.B., C.M.G., c/o The Sports Club, 8, St. James Square, London, S.W.1. (Coun., 1930-1; Vice-Pres., 1934).
1929. Sheppard, M. C. ffranck, Kemaman, Trengganu.
1935. Simpson, H. Bentong, Pahang.
1921. Simpson, P., Presgrave & Matthews, Penang.
*1927. Simpson-Gray, L. C., Sticklepath Okehampton, Devon, England.
*1909. Sims, W. A., The Lodge, Gander Green Lane, Cheam, Surrey, England.
1931. Singam, T. R., Govt. English School, Kuantan.
1934. Sivapragasam, T., Co-operative Societies Dept., Fullerton Building, Singapore.

Year of Election.

1935. Skeat, Walter W., Romelandfield, Ramsbury Road, St. Albans, England.
1926. Skinner, C. F.
*1926. Sleep, A., c/o Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur.
1922. Small, The Hon. Mr. A. S., Colonial Secretary, Singapore. (Vice-Pres., 1936).
1936. Smith, G. A., c/o J. A. Wattie & Co., Ltd.,Surabaya, Nr. 1.
1912. Smith, Prof. Harrison W., Papeari, Tahiti, Society Islands.
1924. Smith, J. D. Maxwell, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1931. Smith, J. S., State Forest Office, Kuala Belait, Brunei.
1936. Smith, St. Alban, Peradin Estate, Pontian, Johore.
1930. Soang, A. I. C., Tanah Intan Estate, Martapoera, Netherlands S. E. Borneo.
1928. Sollis, C. G., Inspector of Schools, Kuala Lumpur.
1921. South, F. W., 1639, Gardens, Kuala Lumpur.
1934. Sta Maria, J. R., The Secretariat, Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
1928. Stanton, W. A., Brooklands Estate, Banting, Selangor.
1925. Stark, W. J. K., Emigration Office, Negapatam, South India.
*1917. Stirling, W. G., 84, Rodney Court, Maidavale, London, W.9. (Coun. 1923-5, 1927-9).
1930. Strahan, A. C., English School, Segamat, Johore.
1934. Straits Settlements Police Officers' Mess, The President, Thomson Road, Singapore.
1927. Strugnell, E. J., Forest Research Institute Kepong, Selangor.
1926. Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, Perak.
1927. Sungei Patani Govt. English School, Sungei Patani, Kedah.
1923. Sworder, G. H., Survey Dept., Kuala Lumpur.
*1918. Sykes, G. R., Immigration Office, S.S. & F.M.S.
1930. Symington, C. F., c/o C. Symington Gold Cook & Co., Bridge Road, London, E.C.4.
1908. Tan Cheng Lock, C.B.E., 96, Frist Cross Street, Malacca.
*1926. Tan Soo Bin, 9, Boat Quay, Singapore.
1934. Tan Yeok Seong, Chinese Protectorate, Singapore.
1913. Tayler, C. J., Telok Manggis Estate, Sepang, Selangor.
*1928. Taylor, E. N., Singapore. (Coun. 1933).
1933. Tempany, Dr. H. A., C.B.E., c/o The Colonial Office, London.
1935. Thatcher, G. S., Executive Engineer, Kluang, Johore.
*1921. Thomas, L. A., Chief Police Officer, Ipoh, Perak.

Year of Election.

1926. Toyo Bunko, 26, Kami-Fujimayecho, Hongo, Tokyo, Japan.
1932. Trumble, D. H., 2, Fort Canning Road, Singapore.
1930. Turner, H. G., District Officer, Temerloh, Pahang.
1935. Turner, R. N., c/o District Office, Kuala Pilah, F.M.S.
1932. Tweedie, M. W. F., Raffles Museum, Singapore. (Hon. Treasurer, 1936).
1923. Undang of Rembau, Dato Sedia Raja Abdullah, The, Rembau, Negri Sembilan.
1930. University Library, The, Rangoon, Burma.
1935. Veerasamy, The Hon. Mr. S. M., J. P., c/o Sanders & Co., Klyne Street, Kuala Lumpur.
1925. Venables, O. E., District Officer, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
*1926. Waddell, Miss M. C.
1931. Walker, F. S., Forest Office, Klang, F.M.S.
*1926. Wallace, W. A., Tewantin, via Cooroy, Queensland, Australia.
1932. Watherston, D. C., c/o Malayan Establishment Office, Singapore.
1916. Watson, J. G., Forest Research Institute, Kepong, Selangor.
1927. White, The Ven. Graham, 1, Mount Sophia Road, Singapore.
1935. White, L. E., Tebing Tinggi Estate, Kusial, Kelantan.
1923. Whitfield, L. D., Anderson School, Ipoh, Perak.
1933. Whitton, C. H., Deputy Public Prosecutor, F.M.S.
*1926. Wilcoxson, W. J., Straits Trading Co., Ltd., Singapore.
*1920. Wilkinson, R. J., C.M.G., My Helen May, Chios, Greece.
*1926. Willan, T. L.
*1921. Willbourn, Dr. E. S., c/o Geological Survey, Batu Gajah, Perak.
*1922. Williams, F. L., Chinese Protectorate, Singapore.
1933. Williams, The Rev. N., The Parsonage, Taiping, Perak.
1934. Williams, R. E. F., Bentong, Pahang.
1935. Wilton, W. K., c/o Survey Dept., Singapore.
*1910. Winkelmann, H.
1934. Wolfe, Dr. E. D. B., Health Office, Pahang East, Kuantan.
1932. Wong, The Hon. Mr. S. Q., 7, Cairnhill Circle, Singapore.
1920. Woolley, G. C., Jesselton, British North Borneo.
*1905. Worthington, A. F., Longclose, Pennington, Lymington, Hants, England. (Vice-Pres., 1924).
1921. Wurtzburg, C. E., Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore. (Coun., 1924-6, 1930; Hon. Sec., 1925; Vice-Pres., 1927, 1929, 1933-5, President, 1936).

Year of Election.

1914. Wyly, A. J., Lebong Donok, Moeara Aman, Sumatra.
1923. Wynne, M. L., Police Dept., Singapore.
1926. Yahya bin Ahmad Afifi, 70, The Arcade, Singapore.
*1923. Yates, H. S.
*1917. Yates, Major W. G.
1932. Yeh Hua Fen, Chinese High School, Singapore.
*1920. Yewdall, Capt. J. C., " Seatoller ", Berkhamsted, Herts, England.
*1904. Young, H. S., Rosemount, Tain, Rosshire, England.
1920. Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad, Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, Perak.

A PROPOS D'UNE NOUVELLE THÉORIE SUR LE SITE DE S'RĪVIJAYA.

par G. CŒDÈS.

M. le Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales vient de publier dans *Indian Art and Letters* (vol. IX, No. I) les résultats d'une mission qui a été défrayée par S. A. le Mahārāja Gaekwar de Baroda, et qui avait pour but de rechercher sur la Péninsule Malaise l'une des voies de pénétration de la culture indienne dans l'Insulinde.

Le Dr. Wales a exploré, en territoire samois, les sites archéologiques de Takua Pa, C'aiya, Vieng Sa et Nak'ôn Si Th'ammarat (Ligor), déjà connus par les recherches de Gerini [1], de Bourke [2], du Comm[t] de Lajonquière [3], et de J. Y. Claeys [4], sans parler des Siamois, en particulier de S. A. R. le Prince Damrong. Au point de vue strictement archéologique, la mission du Dr. Wales n'apporte pas grand' chose d'inédit, sauf peut-être en ce qui concerne les vestiges de T'ung Tu'k à Takua Pa, le temple de S'iva à Ligor, et surtout les gisements de céramiques anciennes accompagnant les sites étudiés.

L'intérêt et la nouveauté de son article sont dans les conclusions historiques qu'il tire de ses observations, et qui sont au nombre de deux.

1° La route de Takua Pa à C'aiya par les vallées de la rivière de Takua Pa et de Girirāṣtra a été une voie importante de pénétration de la culture indienne d'Ouest en Est, et C'aiya qui correspond au royaume de P'an-p'an des historiens chinois a été un relais et un centre de diffusion de cette culture vers l'Indochine et l'Insulinde, dont les divers royaumes, une fois hindouisés, ont ensuite poursuivi chacun son évolution propre.

2° C'aiya, qui fut remplacé dans la suite par Ligor, était la capitale de l'empire des S'ailendra.

Sur le premier point, je crois que tout le monde est d'accord avec le Dr. Wales pour admettre que la Péninsule Malaise a servi de relais entre l'Inde d'une part, l'Indochine et l' Insulinde d'autre part. M. Pelliot a été le premier à émettre cette opinion [5] que j'ai moi-même soutenue à plusieurs reprises [6]. Même si C'aiya ne correspond pas effectivement au P'an-p'an d'où venait Kaundinya, l'hindouisateur du Fou-nan, le Dr. Wales donne de bons arguments basés sur des faits matériels pour montrer que la région de C'aiya a été un centre assez important de culture indienne. Mais

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[1] *Siamese Archaeology, a synoptical sketch*, JRAS., avril 1904, p. 233 ;—*Historical retrospect of Junkçeylon Island*, J. Siam Soc., II (1905), p. 117.

[2] *Archaeological Notes on Monthon Puket*, J. Siam Soc., II (1905), p. 49.

[3] *Le domaine archéologique du Siam*, BCAI., 1909, p. 188 ;—*Essai d' inventaire archéologique du Siam*, Ibid., 1912, p. 19.

[4] *L'archéologie du Siam*, BEFEO., XXXI (1931), p. 361.

[5] *Le Fou-nan*, BEFEO., III (1903), p. 290-291.

[6] *Les collections archéologiques du Musée National de Bangkok* (*Ars Asiatica*, XII, 1928), p. 23 ;—*Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, II, p. 4.

telle qu'elle est présentée, avec carte à l'appui, sa théorie semble être beaucoup plus ambitieuse, même si l'on tient le plus grand compte des réserves par lesquelles il se défend de vouloir réduire l'importance d'autres routes terrestres restant à explorer et des routes maritimes par lesquelles la culture indienne pénétra de très bonne heure en Extrême-Orient. Car l'impression qui se dégage de son article et de sa carte, c'est celle du rôle de premier plan attribué à C'aiya où il retrouve " la survivance de types très anciens, et non encore différenciés, d'architecture coloniale indienne". En d'autres termes, la source commune des architectures indiennes de Java, du Champa et du Cambodge serait, sinon le Wat Kêu de C'aiya lui-même, que le Dr. Wales ne croit pas antérieur au IXe siècle, du moins le type local auquel appartient cet édifice. Si ces vues étaient exactes, l'architecture du Wat Kêu devrait être plus archaïque et plus proche de l'Inde propre que celle des monuments du Dieng à Java, de Mi-so'n au Champa ou de Sambór Prei Kuk au Cambodge. Or, est-ce bien le cas ? Et ne peut-on pas aussi bien se demander si la ressemblance plus ou moins profonde qui a été signalée entre le Wat Kêu de C'aiya et certains monuments du Cambodge, du Champa et de Java[1], ne s'expliquerait pas par des influences javanaises qui se seraient exercées sur l'Indochine méridionale et la Péninsule Malaise ? Il est probable que chacun des pays qui, durant les premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne, furent hindouisés, soit directement par mer, soit par l'intermédiare de la Péninsule, est devenu à son tour un centre de diffusion à l'égard de ses voisins. Que Java ou Sumatra aient pu, au VIIIe siècle, jouer ce rôle par rapport à l'Indochine, c'est ce qui ressort à la fois de l'épigraphie indochinoise [2] et des traditions javanaises [3]. Et c'est à ce reflux de la culture indienne ayant déjà reçu l'empreinte javanaise, revenant du Sud par une sorte de choc en retour, que je serais disposé à attribuer les édifices et les statues de style indo-javanais trouvés à C'aiya, où rien de ce qui subsiste actuellement ne paraît devoir être daté d'une époque sensiblement antérieure au VIIIe siècle.

La première thèse du Dr. Wales sur le rôle de C'aiya dans l'hindouisation de l'Inde extérieure me paraît donc ne pouvoir être admise qu'avec de sérieuses restrictions. Sa seconde thèse sur le rôle politique de C'aiya à l'époque des S'ailendra me semble beaucoup moins acceptable encore.

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[1] G. Cœdès, *Recent archaeological progress in Siam*, Indian Art and Letters, 1927, p. 65 ;—*Les collections archéologiques du Musée National de Bangkok*, p. 25.—J. Y. Claeys, *L'archéologie du Siam*, BEFEO., XXXI (1931), p. 280 et suiv.

[2] Les faits épigraphiques sont : 1° la découverte à Ligor de la stèle de Wat Sema Mu'o'ng, de 775 A.D., au nom d'un roi de S'rīvijaya ; 2° la mention répétée, dans les inscriptions du Champa, d'incursions malaises ou javanaises à la fin du VIIIe siècle (G. Maspero, *Le royaume du Champa*, p. 97-99, 103) ; 3° l'apparition au Cambodge, à la fin du IXe siècle, d'une écriture nāgarī qui ne semble pas y être venue directement de l' Inde, mais parait plutôt dérivée de l'écriture nāgarī employée par les S'ailendra dans leurs inscriptions de la fin du VIIIe (Barth et Bergaigne, *Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 351).

[3] TBG, 59 (1920), p. 417.

L'histoire de S'rīvijaya a subi dans ces dernières années les plus étranges vicissitudes. A la suite de mon article publié en 1918 [1], l'équation S'rīvijaya = (Che-li)-fo-che = San-fo-ts'i = Zābag = royaume des S'ailendra = royaume de Palembang, soutenue par l'autorité des Professeurs Vogel [2] et Krom [3] et de M. Ferrand [4], fut admise sans conteste pendant une dizaine d'années. Le premier coup lui fut porté en 1929 par le Dr. Stutterheim [5] dans l'opuscule où il montra que les S'ailendra étaient une dynastie javanaise. Plus récemment, en 1933-1934, le Professeur R. C. Majumdar [6] a attaqué l'équation par un autre côté, en essayant de prouver que le royaume sumatranais de S'rīvijaya avait à la fin du VIIIe siècle étendu sa domination jusqu'à Ligor, et que peu après cette date il fut absorbé par le royaume Jāvaka, le San-fo-ts'i des Chinois, ayant sa capitale à Ligor et gouverné par les S'ailendra d'origine indienne [7]. Ce nom de Jāvaka fut appliqué par les navigateurs arabes, sous la forme Zābag, à l'ensemble des possessions des S'ailendra qui dès la fin du VIIIe siècle comprenaient Java et au XIe s'étendaient sur Sumatra et sur toute la Péninsule Malaise.

C'est cette théorie que reprend le Dr. Wales en la modifiant sur certains points et en la complétant. Il admet les témoignages chinois plaçant au VIIe siècle un état nommé S'rīvijaya (je suppose qu'il a en vue le Fo-che), mais il doute que la suzeraineté de ce royaume se soit étendue sur la Péninsule Malaise et que l'inscription de Wat Sema Mu'o'ng de 775 implique cette suzeraineté. Pour expliquer la présence sur la Péninsule de cette inscription au nom d'un roi de S'rīvijaya, il propose l'une des deux alternatives suivantes : ou bien le royaume péninsulaire de Jāvaka avait déjà en 775 absorbé le royaume sumatranais de S'rīvijaya et pris son nom, ou bien le pays de Jāvaka portait lui aussi, et indépendamment, ce même nom de S'rīvijaya. Quelle que soit l'origine du nom de S'rīvijaya, en tant qu'il désignerait la région de C'aiya, le Dr. Wales base cette nouvelle localisation géographique de S'rivijaya, d'une part sur la richesse archéologique du site, d'autre part sur sa toponymie (C'aiya = Jaya; Sivic'ai = S'rīvijaya, nom d'une colline située au Sud de la ville), et enfin sur des considérations phonétiques assez peu claires : " A difference in the native pronunciation of the word Srīvijaya in the region from its pronunciation in Sumatra might well account for the Chinese form San-fo-ts'i being applied to the empire from the 10th century onwards, while in the 7th and 8th centuries the Sumatran state of Srivijaya had been referred to by the Chinese as Fo-che = Che-li-

[1] *Le royaume de S'rīvijaya*, BEFEO, XVIII (1918), VI.

[2] *Het koninkrijk S'rīwijaya*, Bijdr. 75 (1919), p. 626.

[3] *De Soematraansche Periode in de Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 1919, et *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*.

[4] *L'empire sumatranais de S'rīvijaya*, JA., 1922.

[5] *A Javanese period in Sumatran history*, 1929.

[6] *Les rois S'ailendra de Suvarṇadvīpa*, BEFEO., XXXIII (1933), p. 121;—*The S'ailendra empire*, J. Greater India Soc., I (1934).

[7] Le rapprochement proposé par Majumdar entre les S'ailendra et les S'ailodbhava et les Gānga de l'Inde a été combattu par le Professeur K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, TBG, 75 (1935), p. 605.

fo-che." Tout en admettant comme vraisemblable l'existence à Sumatra au VIIe siècle d'un royaume indépendant nommé S'rīvijaya, le Dr. Wales estime que les recherches du Professeur Majumdar et les siennes ont clairement démontré que ce royaume sumatranais n'eut pas dans les siècles suivants l'importance que moi-même et d'autres auteurs avons cru pouvoir lui attribuer.

On voit que le problème se complique de plus en plus, et ce n'est pas la toute dernière hypothèse du Dr. Stutterheim tendant à localiser S'rīvijaya (Che-li-fo-che) à Indragiri en Sumatra [1], qui est faite pour le simplifier.

Le moment me semble venu de faire le départ entre les améliorations certaines qui depuis 1918 ont été apportées à l'équation initiale et les hypothèses insoutenables dont il est urgent de montrer l'inanité. Je prendrai un à un les termes de l'équation en indiquant sous chacun d'eux les faits certains qui s'y rapportent [2].

S'rīvijaya.—En 683-686 ce nom apparaît dans trois inscriptions en vieux-malais [3], l'une provenant de Kĕdukan Bukit à Palembang, la seconde de Karang Brahi dans l'hinterland de Djambi, la troisième de Kota Kapur à Bangka : dans les deux derniers textes, *S'rīvijaya* apparaît comme un état exerçant son autorité sur les territoires d'où proviennent les inscriptions. En 775, la stèle de Wat Sema Mu'o'ng à Ligor, que le Dr. Wales suppose gratuitement originaire de C'aiya, porte sur sa première face une inscription au nom d'un roi de *S'rīvijaya*. En 1006, la grande charte de Leyde nomme Māravijayottuṇgavarman, fils de Cūḍāmaṇivarman, issu de la famille des S'ailendra, roi de Kaṭāha (en tamoul : Kiḍāra) et de *S'rīvisaya*. Ces deux rois sont mentionnés dans les textes chinois comme des rois du San-fo-ts'i. En 1030, une inscription de Tanjore relate les campagnes de Rājendracoḷa I contre le roi de Kaḍāram et de *S'rīvijayam* qui apparaît comme le suzerain d'une série d'états localisés à Sumatra et sur la Péninsule Malaise.

Che-li-fo-che ou *Fo-che* est mentionné dans les textes chinois de 670 à 742. C'est un état voisin du Malāyu (Djambi) qu'il conquiert à la fin du VIIe siècle. Phonétiquement, ce terme correspond très exactement à S'rīvijaya.

San-fo-ts'i apparaît dans les textes chinois à partir de la fin des T'ang (début du Xe siècle) et est mentionné régulièrement jusque sous les Ming. Phonétiquement, *fo-ts'i* peut représenter *vijaya*, mais *san* reste embarrassant [4]. Historiquement, *San-fo-ts'i*

[1] *Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Palembang* door F. M. Schnitger. Bijlage A : *Verslag over de gevonden inscripties* door Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, Palembang, 1935, p. 4.

[2] Tous les documents utilisés ci-dessous sont reproduits ou mentionnés dans G. Ferrand, *L'empire sumatranais de S'rīvijaya*, JA., 1922.

[3] G. Cœdès, *Les inscriptions malaises de S'rīvijaya*, BEFEO, XXX, (1930) p. 29.

[4] L. Aurousseau a proposé de considérer le caractère *san* comme une erreur pour un autre caractère de forme trés voisine, qui se lit *che* (=S'rī). BEFEO, XXIII, p. 477.

est à identifier au S'rīviṣaya/Kaṭāha de la grande charte de Leyde puisque Cūḍāmaṇivarman et son fils Māravijayottuṅgavarman sont nommés dans les Annales des Song comme des rois du *San-fo-ts'i*. Géographiquement, *San-fo-ts'i* est localisé par les Chinois à Palembang. En 1225 Tchao Jou-koua dit que le pays est situé dans l'Océan et est maître des détroits par où doit passer le trafic étranger de l'Occident en Chine et vice-versa. Parmi les dépendances du *San-fo-ts'i* énumérées per cet auteur figurent plusieurs états mentionnés dans l'inscription de Tanjore comme ayant été conquis par Rājendracoḷa au cours de sa campagne contre le roi de S'rīvijayam/Kaḍāram.

Zābag.—C'est l'empire du Mahārāja, roi des îles, abondamment cité par les Arabes, du IXe au XVIe siècle. Phonétiquement, ce terme correspond à *Jāvaka*, nom d'un royaume qui eut au XIIIe siècle des démêlés avec Ceylan[1], et qu'une inscription de C'aiya de 1230 permet de localiser dans la région entre C'aiya et Ligor. Géographiquement, les données des auteurs arabes qui ne font trop souvent que se répéter les unes les autres, ne permettent pas de délimitation précise. D'après eux, les deux principales " dépendances " du *Zābag* sont Sribuza et Kalah : Sribuza que certains auteurs, par exemple Abūlfidā, présentent comme " l'île du Mahārāja," correspond phonétiquement à S'rīvijaya, et Kalah soit à Kra, soit à Kedah, en tout cas à une partie de la Péninsule Malaise. Le couple Sribuza/Kalah est l'équivalent du S'rīvijayam (S'rīviṣaya)/Kaḍāram (Kiḍāram, Kaṭāha) des inscriptions indiennes.

S'ailendra.—Ce nom apparaît pour la première fois en 775 sur la deuxième face de l'inscription de Wat Sema Mu'o'ng qui est absolument indépendante de la première au nom d'un roi de S'rīvijaya. Presque à la même date, en 778 à Kalasan et en 782 à Kĕlurak, le roi Panangkaran, appartenant semble-t-il à une dynastie purement javanaise, se donne comme un membre de la famille des *S'ailendra*. En 850, la charte de Nālandā rattache à cette famille un roi de Java (*Yavabhūmipāla*), qui était le grand-père du Bālaputra, roi de Suvarṇadvīpa, fondateur d'un monastère à Nālandā. En 1006, la grande charte de Leyde nomme comme étant issus de la famille des *S'ailendra* deux rois de S'rīviṣaya/Kaṭāha, connus par les historiens chinois comme des souverains du San-fo-ts'i.

En combinant ces diverses données, on aboutit aux résultats suivants :

S'rīvijaya, correspondant phonétiquement au (Che-li)-fo-che des Chinois et au Sribuza des Arabes, désigne un état qui, à la fin du VIIe siècle, étendait sa domination sur Palembang, Bangka et l'hinterland de Djambi, conquit le Malāyu (Djambi) vers la même époque et laissa en 775 sur la côte orientale de la Péninsule Malaise un témoignage de sa domination. Au début du XIe siècle, il est gouverné par des souverains appartenant à la

[1]G. Cœdès, *A propos de la chute du royaume de S'rīvijaya*, Bidjr. 83 (1927), p. 459.

dynastie des S'ailendra, qui sont aussi rois de Kaṭāha (Kadāra) et étendent leur autorité sur une partie de Sumatra et de la Péninsule Malaise. Deux de ces rois, nommés dans la grande charte de Leyde, sont connus des Chinois comme des rois de San-fo-ts'i. Il me paraît donc très difficile de mettre en doute l'équation S'rīvijaya (Che-li-fo-che)=San-fo-ts'i= Palembang. La chronologie des documents montre d'une facon assez nette l'expansion de la puissance de ce royaume, confiné d'abord dans le Sud de Sumatra (fin du VIIe siècle), s'installant ensuite sur la côte Est de la Péninsule (fin du VIIIe) et assujettissant enfin celle-ci presque tout entière (XIe-XIIIe siècles).

Les S'ailendra entrent dans l'histoire à Java à la fin du VIIIe siècle (778-782), apparaissent à Ligor à une date qui est sûrement postérieure à 775, et sont en 1006 souverains de S'rīviṣaya/Kaṭāha, c'est-à-dire, d'après les Chinois, du royaume de San-fo-ts'i.

Zābag est une expression sans grande précision géographique, mais ses deux dépendances principales, Sribuza et Kalah, sont précisément celles que l'épigraphie de l'Inde du Sud nous fait connaître au XIe siècle comme étant les éléments constitutifs de l'empire des S'ailendra en qui, je le répète une fois de plus, les Chinois nous ont appris à reconnaître les rois du San-fo-ts'i. Si le nom du Zābag est réellement emprunté au royaume des Jāvaka attesté sur la Péninsule au milieu du XIIIe siècle, son emploi par les Arabes pour désigner l'ensemble des possessions du Mahārāja, roi des Iles, n'est qu'un exemple de plus de l'habitude consistant à désigner un pays par le nom de la première province ou de la première tribu, avec laquelle on entre en contact.

De l'observation objective de ces faits, il semble difficile de ne pas conclure que les termes géographiques S'rīvijaya (Che-li)-fo-che, San-fo-ts'i, Zābag, royaume des S'ailendra, royaume de Palembang, ont simultanément ou successivement désigné un état dont le berceau était situé à Palembang, et qui, à la faveur de son expansion vers le Nord jusqu'à Kedah (Kaṭāha, Kaḍāram) ou à l'isthme de Kra (Kalah) a réussi à commander les détroits. L'équation entre ces termes reste donc exacte, sous réserve des remarques suivantes, qui constituent des améliorations certaines à la thèse présentée par moi en 1918 et développée par G. Ferrand en 1922.

1° (Che-li)-fo-che et San-fo-ts'i sont attestés à des dates différentes ; le premier nom désigne le royaume sumatranais à ses débuts, et le second s'applique à l'empire au moment de son apogée. J'ai écrit récemment à ce sujet[1] que l'identification du Che-li-fo-che avec le San-fo-ts'i n'était certaine ni phonétiquement, ni historiquement. Je dirai ici avec plus de précision : historiquement, les deux termes succèdent l'un à l'autre ; phonétiquement, ils ne sont pas exactement superposables.

2° Zābag correspond phonétiquement au Jāvaka de la Péninsule, et l'identification serait à peu près certaine si ce nom de

[1] *On the origin of the S'ailendras of Indonesia*, J. Greater India Soc., I (1934), p. 63.

Jāvaka y était attesté dès le IXe siècle, époque à laquelle Zābag apparaît dans les textes arabes. Quoi qu'il en soit, Zābag n'en désigne pas moins l'ensemble de l'empire, y compris Sribuza= S'rīvijaya.

3° Les S'ailendra sont probablement une dynastie javanaise[1] dont une branche est devenue, par voie de conquête ou par droit de succession, souveraine de S'rīvijaya, peut-être dès la fin du VIIIe siècle ou le début du IXe (deuxième face de la stèle de Wat Sema Mu'o'ng), en tous cas avant 1006 (grande charte de Leyde).

4° Le centre du royaume de S'rīvijaya, qui était à Palembang à la fin du VIIe siècle, a pu, à un certain moment, être doublé ou concurrencé par un autre centre situé sur la Péninsule : c'est cette dualité qu'expriment les couples S'rīvijaya/Kaḍāram= Sribuza/Kalah. Et c'est dans ce sens que j'ai pu " reconnaître la force des arguments du Professeur Majumdar, tirés de mes propres travaux, qui tendent à placer le siège du Zābag, dans la Péninsule Malaise."[2]

Mais le tort du Professeur Majumdar et du Dr. Wales est d'y chercher le centre unique et permanent de l'empire ; et c'est surtout contre cette conception que je tiens à m'élever ici. Un de leurs principaux arguments est la pauvreté archéologique du site de Palembang comparée à la richesse de la Péninsule Malaise. Il est exact que l'archéologie de Palembang n'est pas encore très abondante, bien que de récentes recherches, ignorées du Dr. Wales, l'aient notablement enrichie[3]. Mais le Dr. Wales commet une erreur de fait en disant que les rares sculptures qui en proviennent sont presque toutes de style javanais tardif. Car le grand Buddha de pierre exhumé par M. Westenenk, et dont M. Schnitger vient de retrouver la tête au Musée de Batavia, est une remarquable production de l'école d'Amarāvatī. Par ailleurs, le Professeur Krom souligne le caractère non-javanais des sculptures découvertes aux alentours du Seguntang. Enfin, les statuettes

[1]Sur l'origine de cette dynastie, j'ai proposé dans l'article précité une hypothèse rattachant les S'ailendra d'Indonésie aux rois du Fou-nan. Je suis obligé de reconnaître que cette théorie a été assez mal accueillie, notamment par M. J. Przyluski (*The S'ailendravaṁs'a*, J. Greater India Soc., II, 1935, p. 25) et par le Professeur Nilakanta Sastri (*Origin of the S'ailendras*, TBG., 75, 1935, p. 605). Je me garderai d'instituer ici une discussion qui m'entraînerait trop loin. Je me bornerai à signaler que ces deux auteurs se sont mépris en croyant que j'ai *basé ma thèse* sur un passage d'une inscription dans lequel le roi du Cambodge Īçānavarman I, destructeur des derniers restes de la puissance du Fou-nan, est qualifié de S'ailarāja. J'ai cru simplement que ce texte était *un exemple de plus* du titre de "roi de la montagne" porté par les souverains du Fou-nan. Si mon interprétation est inexacte, il n'en reste pas moins que ce titre, sous la forme *parvatabhupāla*, est mentionné à deux reprises dans une autre inscription déjà signalée par L. Finot (J.A., 210, 1927, p. 186).

[2]*Ibid.*

[3]F. D. K. Bosch, *Verslag van een reis door Sumatra*, O.V., 1930, p. 133.— N. J. Krom, *Antiquities of Palembang*, An. Bibl. I.A., 1931, p. 29 (avec une bibliographie).—F. M. Schnitger, *Oudheidkundige Vondsten in Palembang*, Palembang, 1935 et Leyde, 1936.

de bronze trouvées à l'embouchure du Komering, si elles appartiennent bien à l'art javanais, ne présentent cependant aucun caractere " tardif ". L'apparente richesse de C'aiya, qui fait du reste assez pauvre figure à côté de certains sites du Champa, du Cambodge et même du Siam central, est due peut-être à ce que cette localité a fait l'objet de fouilles étendues, à la suite de la découverte par le Prince Damrong des beaux Bodhisattva de bronze du Musée de Bangkok[1].

En faveur de sa thèse, le Dr. Wales tire argument de la toponymie, rapproche de S'rīvijaya les noms de C'aiya et de la colline Sivic'ai, et se demande si le nom de la rivière de Girirāṣṭra " royaume des montagnes " ne rappellerait pas celui du S'ailendra " roi des montagnes ". Au Siam, il est imprudent de faire état de noms géographiques sanskrits, surtout lorsque leur forme est aussi correcte et aussi bien conservée que dans le cas de *Girirāṣṭra*. Car ils ont toute chance d'avoir été forgés par l'un des trois rois lettrés qui se sont succédé sur le trône du Siam de 1851 à 1925. C'est le cas notamment de *Pračuop Kirikhan* (*Girikhaṇḍa*), nom officiel et récent du district le plus méridional de la province de Ratburi où apparaît précisément le mot *giri* " montagne ". Les noms de C'aiya et de la colline Sivic'ai ont plus de chance d'être anciens, mais lorsque, se fondant sur eux, le Dr. Wales pose la question de savoir s'il n'y aurait pas eu deux S'rīvijaya, l'un à Palembang, l'autre à C'aiya, on est tenté de lui rappeler que la tradition historique siamoise place Sivic'ai à P'ra Pathom, qu'il y a dans le Siam central une localité qui s'appelle P'ic'ai (Vijaya) et que l'une des capitales du Champa fut au XIIe siècle à Vijaya (dans l'actuelle province de Binh-dinh en Annam).

L'argument toponymique me paraît donc sans grande valeur, car (S'rī)vijaya n' est pas seulement attesté à Palembang et à C'aiya, mais en beaucoup d'autres endroits. Pour départager C'aiya et Palembang qui sont seuls en cause pour le moment, il y a un fait géographique dont le Dr. Wales ne tient aucun compte et qui semble pourtant décisif.

C'aiya gît au fond de la baie de Ban Dôn, qui est située elle-même dans le golfe de Siam. Je veux bien admettre que la position de C'aiya au débouché d'une voie de transit à travers la Péninsule, lui ait conféré une certaine importance commerciale. Mais comment cette localité, ainsi placée à plusieurs jours de navigation de Singapore, aurait-elle pu contrôler le trafic des détroits ?

Car c'est sa position privilégiée dans l'archipel, à l'entrée des détroits qui, selon les Arabes et Tchao Jou-koua, faisait la fortune du Mahārāja du Zābag, " roi des îles," et des souverains du San-fo-ts'i. A supposer que le progrès des recherches vienne à montrer que Palembang ne fut pas toujours la capitale de l'empire,—ce qui est possible—, ou même ne le fut jamais,—ce qui me paraît beaucoup plus difficile à concilier avec les textes—, des témoignages

[1] G. Cœdès, *Les collections archéologiques du Musée National de Bangkok*, pl. XV-XVII.

concordants conduiront forcément à chercher cette capitale dans l'archipel, à portée des détroits.

Que C'aiya ait joué un rôle commercial important dans les provinces septentrionales, correspondant en gros au Ka āha (Kaḍāram)/Kalah des textes, c'est ce que je suis, je le répète, tout prêt à admettre. Mais que cette localité, placée dans une position excentrique, au fond d'un cul-de-sac, ait pu être la capitale d'une thalassocratie d'où le Mahārāja exerçait la surveillance et l'exploitation du commerce maritime par les détroits, voilà une impossibilité géographique qui me paraît suffire à condamner la thèse du Dr. Wales.

Hanoi, décembre, 1935.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ANCIENT TIMES IN THE MALAY PENINSULA AND THE STRAITS OF MALACCA.

By ROLAND BRADDELL, M.A. (Oxon:) F.R.G.S.

§ 3. *Pre Funan* (Continued from Vol. XIII, pt. 2, 1935, p. 109)

(Plates I - III)

A digression must now be interpolated in further explanation of the purpose of this essay.

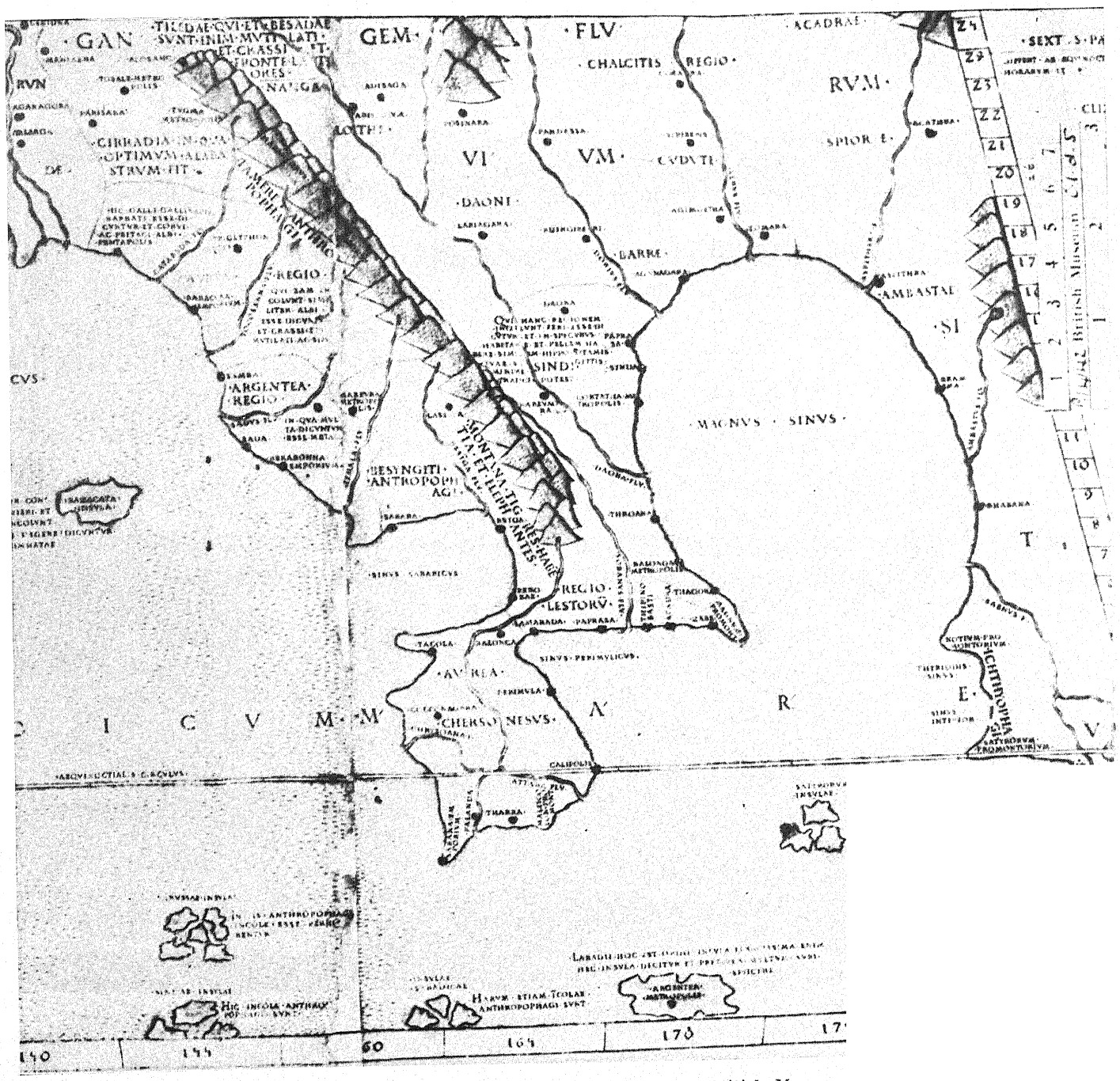
Since the opening of the present century it may be said that we have had in the main three historians—Dr. Blagden, Mr. R. J. Wilkinson and Sir Richard Winstedt—each of whom has contributed articles and notes to this Journal on various subjects and at varying intervals of time, Sir Richard Winstedt being by far the most prolific contributor of the three. In addition, Mr. Wilkinson has written a popular *History of the Peninsular Malays*[1] and Sir Richard Winstedt has recently contributed a corpus of historical writing which includes a general *History of Malaya*. This corpus of writing is of unique value where the author is dealing with the Mohammedan period and will prove to be a gold-mine to future historians but, where he is dealing with the pre-Mohammedan period, only a brief view is given, the author treating the period as merely introductory to his main theses and relying principally upon current Dutch views. It is interesting to note how Sir Richard's mental attitude has changed and how we have now to thank one, who in 1911[2] wrote of himself "I am no historian either by taste or training", for the largest body of local history which we possess.

In their writings Mr. Wilkinson, with one exception[3], never cites any authorities, Dr. Blagden very few and Sir Richard Winstedt very largely those in the Dutch language, which is a shut book to the vast majority of possible students in the Peninsula. Any person beginning the study of the ancient history of the country is, therefore, faced first with the task of discovering what are the authorities to which he must go.

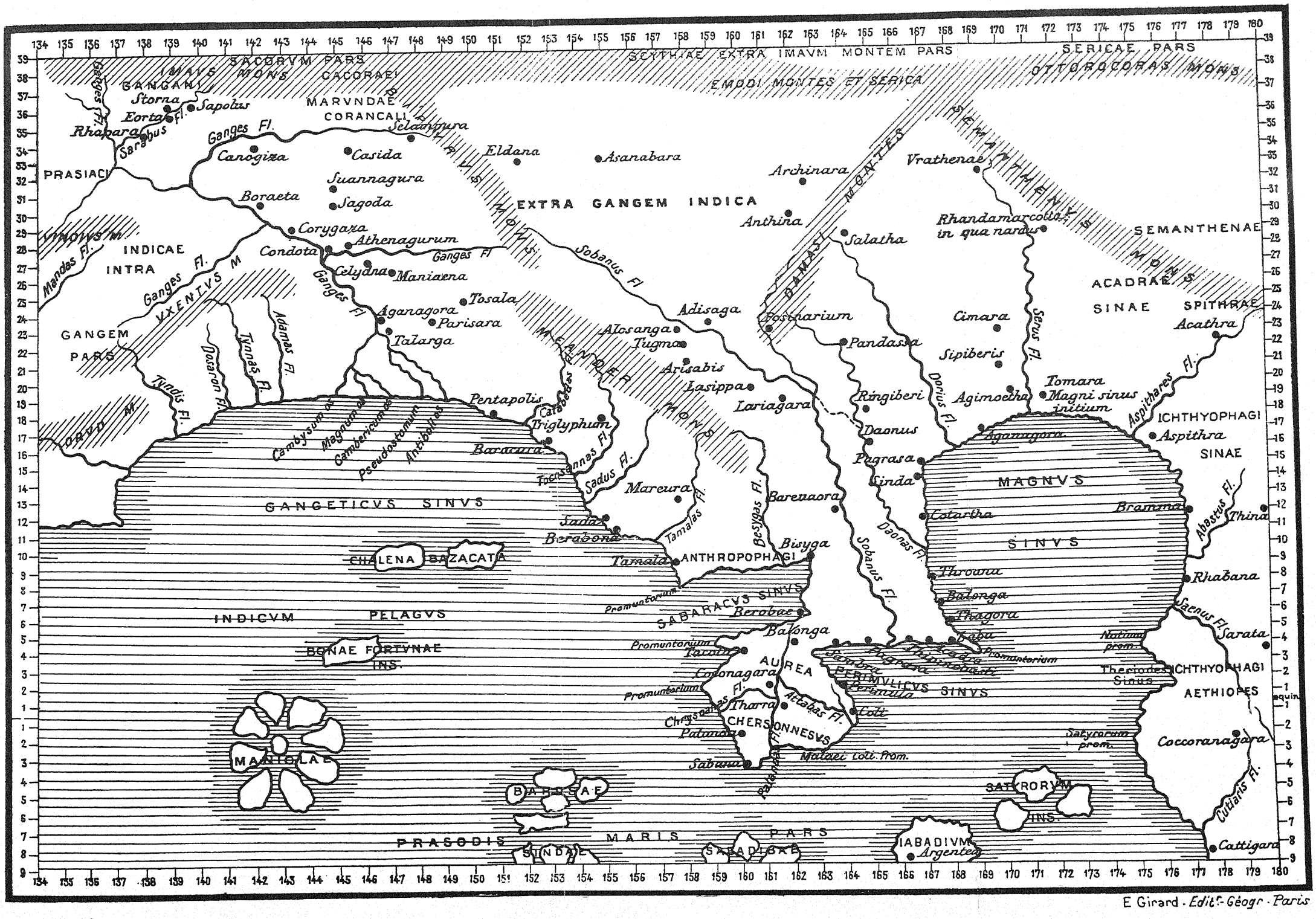
It is the object of this essay accordingly to assist any intending student by providing him with references to easily available authorities in the English and French languages, by giving him some view of present theories and by throwing out some suggestions for his consideration and possible exploration. Dutch and German writings are not quoted since the writer is not familiar with those languages and it is the most unfortunate fact that no close *précis* of the most important articles in the Dutch language has been contributed to this Journal save a very brief outline of

[1] 3rd edition, revised, 1923.
[2] See J.R.A.S. (S.B.), No. 57, p. 183.
[3] *Some Malay Studies*, see No. 96 in the bibliography hereto.

A map of 1623 A.D. showing a river crossing the Peninsula.
(*Langren in Linschoten, Dutch Edition*).



Ptolemy's idea of south-eastern Asia from a late edition in the British Museum
Published by the courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



Carte de l'Inde Transganetique d'après le Venetus 516 (R) (from Renou's Edition of Book VII) Fourteenth Century Map.

the first part of one of Rouffaer's most important articles by Winstedt[1]. It would be most useful if such *précis* could be contributed now; it is a task which one recommends to those able to perform it. It has sometimes been said that unless a person has a thorough knowledge of the Dutch and Malay languages he should not attempt to write concerning our ancient history but, if that were to be acted upon, the subject would soon be dead in Malaya; and there is in reality not the least reason why the ancient history of the country should be regarded as the peculiar domain of linguists alone, though it is obvious that the historian can only begin where the linguists have finished. The majority of the contributors to this Journal[2] and to its predecessor, Logan's Journal of the Indian Archipelago, have been amateurs, not professional scholars; and only by encouraging a healthy amateur interest first shall we find anyone content to pass into that semi-professional class to which Mr. Wilkinson and Sir Richard Winstedt[3] belonged. The present writer naturally makes claim to nothing except diligence and an urgent desire to awaken interest in a most fascinating and useful course of study.

By the beginning of the Christian era the great republic of Rome had given way to a still greater empire and the writings of Strabo, 20 A.D., show a large trade between Rome and India, to which a great impetus was given in the time of the Emperor Claudius (41-54 A.D.) by the Roman discovery of the periodic change of the monsoons. About 45 A.D. a sea-captain Hippalus made this discovery and sailed from the Red Sea to India out of sight of land; and in his honour the Romans named the south-west monsoon the Hippalus. Thereafter, a great direct sea-trade between the Roman Empire and India developed and in about 60 or 80 A.D. (or even perhaps during the reign of Domitian 81-96 A.D.) there appeared a trade handbook called the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*[4] written by an Egyptian Greek merchant, name unknown but an inhabitant of Berenike; and this book forms the first record of organised trading by the West with the East. In about 150 A.D. we have Ptolemy's geography which contains the first exposition of what lay beyond the Bay of Bengal.[5]

The great emporium of the trade was Alexandria, where a colony of Indians was established to carry it on, while at Madura in India there was a colony of Roman merchants. Dion Chrysostom (c. 100 A.D.) tells us of the geography of India and the adjacent countries as described in the Puranas and says that the information was obtained from those who come from India. Ptolemy says that he got his information from persons who had resided in India; and it is very clear that Roman commercial agents lived in India in this age (see generally 52).

[1] J.R.A.S. (S.B.), 1922, No. 85, pp. 256-260.
[2] In which expression we include the Journal of the Straits Branch, R.A.S.
[3] Both were Civil Servants, as was their predecessor Sir William Maxwell.
[4] Voyage round the Indian Ocean.
[5] Godinho de Eredia (writing between 1597 and 1600 A.D.) says that it was written in A.D. 163; see Translation by J. V. Mills, J.R.A.S. (M.B.), 1930, Vol. VII, at p. 229.

Among the tales which early filtered into the Roman Empire were those of a wonderful El Dorado beyond the Bay of Bengal. Pomponius Mela (c. 43 A.D.) mentions Argyra and Chryse, the land of silver and the land of gold, but says nothing about them except that they are opposite to the mouths of the Ganges. Pliny, 77 A.D., mentions the promontory of Chryse but has in fact nothing to tell about it. The author of the *Periplus* is the first to give us any detailed information, but only hearsay since it is clear that his actual knowledge did not extend beyond the port of Korkai in the Pandya country. He says (35, p. 45) that Chryse produced tortoise-shell, that the ships which sailed to it were called *colandia*[1] and were very large (*ibid* : p. 47) and finally (p. 48) that just opposite the Ganges " there is an island in the Ocean, the last part of the inhabited world towards the east, under the rising sun itself, it is called Chryse ; and it has the best tortoise-shell of all the places on the Erythraean Sea. " He does not mention Argyra at all.

Ptolemy is the first European to give us a picture of the East beyond India. His *Geographiké Syntaxis* is usually considered to have been written in the middle of the IInd century A.D. but the facts in it must date back several decades earlier. The work is divided into eight books with twenty-six maps, not one of which latter, however, remains to us. Of the books, the first forms an introduction, the eighth a summary description of the maps ; the second and third are devoted to Europe ; the fourth to Africa ; and the fifth, sixth and seventh to Asia. Book VII is the most important for our present purposes since it treats of India, Cisi- and Trans-Gangetic, as Ptolemy calls them, of the Sinae and Taprobane, which last is, of course, Ceylon, while the Sinae are the southern Chinese. This seventh book has long been a source of interest and of much vexation to its students. As Gerini has written (46, p. 1) "Klaproth, Cunningham, Yule, Lassen and others, while meeting with fair success in identifying Ptolemy's names of places west of the meridian of the Ganges, had failed to evolve the slightest order out of the chaos of his trans-Gangetic Geography, and to locate with certainty even a single one of the numerous cities he names beyond the outskirts of the Gulf of Bengal. The more eastern portion of Ptolemy's geography came, therefore, to be looked upon as utterly unreliable if not fantastic ; and the severest strictures were passed on the great cosmologist and geographer, to the effect that he had made a mess of his eastern longitudes and latitudes, coined names of cities and peoples out of his fancy, confused islands and continents, making pretence to a knowledge of regions which his contemporaries had never reached, and on which they possessed but second-hand information of the vaguest possible character."

Since those words were written, however, the researches of many scholars, including Gerini himself, have helped to clear

[1]This word is probably derived from the Sanskrit *Kolantarapota* " ships for going to foreign shores ", see Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. 1, p. 115, see also note by Mr. C. N. Maxwell in the Appendix hereto.

away the fog so that at this date there is no possible excuse for dismissing Ptolemy with observations such as that " it is all too speculative. "

The problem, of course, is to reconstruct Ptolemy in the light of modern geography and to identify the places which he mentions ; and the first task naturally is to discover, if possible, what Ptolemy really did say. In other words, the first question is one of texts.

Ptolemy's work from the 2nd to the 16th centuries A.D. was constantly consulted and often added to or corrected by those who used it or adapted it to their personal experiences. Actually of the existing MSS. only one is as old as the 11th century while one other belongs to the 13th and the rest are later. Of the maps in existence the oldest seems to date from 1401 A.D. and not one is from any of Ptolemy's (53, pp. 111, 112). This is particularly unfortunate if Rylands (54, p. 17) is correct in the following observations: " In the first book of the Geographia (Ptolemy) explains how he made his maps of the " habitabilis ", and in the following books he gives us—not, as seems to be generally supposed, the list of stations or places from which he made his maps, but having first plotted, by a process of simple triangulation, the positions on his map—his lists were constructed from it. In other words, the list of places, with their longitudes and latitudes appended to the several maps, form an index to the maps, and not a table of the data from which they were constructed."

Berthelot (53, p. 112) points out that none of the old maps extant is taken directly from any of Ptolemy's originals since the dimensions of the degrees do not accord with Ptolemy's own statement of his proportions and he says that the maps of Trans-Gangetic India are particularly bad in this respect.

Bunbury (55) has a long discussion (pp. 572-579) as to the purpose of Ptolemy in Book VIII of the geography and arrives at a conclusion, described by him as inevitable, that Ptolemy, who was much more an astronomer than a geographer, was not recording in that Book " the results of observations but stating for the information of his readers what he knew must be the fact, *assuming* the position of the place to be such as it was already determined in his tables. The same explanation may be extended to all the other statements contained in the eighth book. They are evidently not, as they have been commonly regarded, a fresh series of *data* for certain positions which have been already determined, but a statement of certain astronomical facts with regard to a certain number of places, the position of which is assumed to be already known. "

The best edition of Book VII at this date is that by Renou (56), published in 1925 and used by Berthelot as the basis of his book, though he has not followed it exactly in regard to all the positions of longitude and latitude given by Renou, who gives in footnotes all textual variants, thus enabling the reader to follow him and providing a most useful adjunct to the body of his

work. Gerini worked upon McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*. 1885 edition[1], which was based upon that of Nobbe (Leipzig, 1843) ; but Renou considers Nobbe's edition not to have been well chosen (56, p. v.).

We shall follow Renou's text, giving the names as spelled by Ptolemy therein.

The next question that arises is the manner in which to reconstruct Ptolemy's maps. It is very clear that his ideas cannot be stated with precision in our own geographical terms since they were so very far from the truth. In trying to re-construct Ptolemy there are four methods used, which may be described as (*a*) the purely geographical or mathematical, (*b*) the etymological, (*c*) the historical, and (*d*) the mixture of the previous three. The first method can never be conclusive as will be illustrated below ; the second seems too frequently to lead to an ignoring of elementary logic and in any event can, again, never be conclusive ; the third fails because of the paucity of material ; but the fourth, if followed wisely, does provide a path to solution. The late Colonel Gerini was an exponent of this last method and a word or two concerning his well-known book is necessary in justice to his memory. His book is too often mentioned, particularly by local students, only to be spurned or criticized but actually it is remarkable for its erudition, for its anticipation of theories accepted to-day, for its pointers in the right direction and for its store-house of quotations and facts. It is a work which cannot possibly be ignored (indeed, it will be found that Warmington (34), to take one writer, cites it continuously and bases much upon it) and, although at this date much correction and rejection have to be made, it must stand in the library of every serious student of the ancient history of south-eastern Asia and must be the subject of his constant reference and attention. As Professor Nilakanta Sastri says (57, p. 257 n.), Gerini's work " deserves grateful acknowledgment from all students of the historical geography of Eastern Asia. "

Ptolemy gives us a picture of the sea-route from India to southern China. Working in his study in Alexandria, he collated and combined in a truly remarkable manner all the geographical information then known to the Western world and from this information he created a kind of cartographic lexicon in which he enumerated the positions in longitude and latitude of the places mentioned. He based his work largely upon that of Marinos of Tyre, known to us only from Ptolemy's quotations of it, but he criticizes and corrects Marinos from the latest information available, relying above all upon the recent accounts of merchants, some of them contemporary (34, p. 106). But, unfortunately, he was not working upon scientific data ; he had few direct astronomical observations at his command ; he was compelled to calculate and compare itineraries, rendering days' journeys and

[1]A reprint of which has been issued in 1927, edited by Surendranath Majumdar Sastri.

voyages into stadia, and to use other such rough methods. Furthermore, the ancient Greek sailors worked by dead reckoning since the log was not invented until the beginning of the XVIth century. A just critic will, accordingly, emphasize the fact that Ptolemy was so right rather than that he was so wrong, for, as we shall see, Ptolemy's general statement of south-eastern Asia is clear enough although his detailed positions are often very wrong and though he often laboured under serious misconceptions.

To arrive at the mathematics of the Ptolemy problem one must first ascertain how he works out his degrees of longitude and latitude. Gerini's calculations are based upon a system which is so complex and so ingenious that his critics reject it for that reason ; Berthelot's system, on the contrary, possesses the merit of simplicity and uniformity ; as does that of Rylands (apparently unknown to Berthelot, judging from his bibliography), though Rylands' method again differs from the other two. These differing methods naturally give different results ; thus for the Ptolemaic 167° long : Gerini gives 104°21′ E. Greenwich, Berthelot 101°20′. while Rylands gives for the Ptolemaic 180° long : 114°29′ E. Greenwich, Berthelot 110°.

It must then be clear that the mathematical method of reconstructing Ptolemy is a dubious one, to say the least of it. Moreover, commentators who work upon different texts naturally get differing results and this causes further confusion. Nevertheless, Berthelot's method produces most interesting and useful results so that we shall use him as a basis for our consideration of the problem.

For his longitudes Ptolemy took the difference in hours of any given place from his initial meridian which was in fact that of Alexandria, where he wrote, though in theory it was the westernmost point of the Fortunate Islands, *i.e.* the Isle of Ferro in the Canaries, that being the furthest point west then known ; but Ptolemy was in a difficulty since the ancients had no portable chronometers. He himself preferred astronomical data " but as a matter of fact Hipparchus is the only person who has given polar elevation of some few cities, while some of his successors have recorded ' the positions lying opposite to one another ', that is, approximately under the same meridian. Moreover, distances (especially east and west) have been inaccurately reported, owing to the want of sufficient astronomical knowledge, and also to the neglect of the observation of lunar eclipses " ; thus Ptolemy, as quoted by Rylands [1], who goes on to point out that " this being so there remained no other course but to set down certain fundamental points, whose position Ptolemy believed was accurately determined, and starting from these the remaining positions were consecutively put in according to stadial measures or other evidence " (54, p. 22). Moreover, Berthelot (53, p. 119) says that the stadial measures differed in the different maps ; thus, in Ptolemy's map No. 10, which was of Cis-Gangetic India, he gave

[1] I have only the text of Book VII and so must merely quote. R.B.

to a degree of longitude 458½ stadia, whereas in map No. 11, which was of Trans-Gangetic India (and so the important one for us) he gave 500 stadia.

Now, 10 stadia equalled 1 geographical or nautical mile; but according to Ptolemy's system of measuring (35, p. 54) the circumference of the earth was estimated at 180,000 stadia, with 500 stadia to the degree, whereas it should have been 600 stadia, since 10 stadia equalled 1 minute of a degree, *i.e.* 1 geographical mile.

In order to correct Ptolemy Berthelot considers it necessary to deduct only 60° from his longitudes since he finds that to be roughly the distance between Alexandria, the true meridian, and the island of Ferro, the theoretical one; so, when Ptolemy says that a place is 160° east, it means 100° east of Alexandria, whose meridian is actually 29° 53'E. of Greenwich, which Berthelot simplifies into a rough 30° for general purposes (53, pp. 122, 123).

Ptolemy's latitudes in principle were observed directly by measuring either the height of the sun or the length of the longest day in the year. In map No. 11 (Trans-Gangetic India) he allows 500 stadia, says Berthelot, to a degree of latitude, thus making it equal to a degree of longitude in the same map. Ptolemy, however, worked also by calculations based on a day's sail and Berthelot (at p. 382) corrects the distance for a day's sail in the Indian Ocean from Ptolemy's 516 stadia to 600, or 60 geographical miles, and, using this formula, works out his latitudinal positions from the distances given by Ptolemy between the places which he mentions, these distances being converted by Berthelot into kilometres.

With these prefatory remarks we can now approach the problem of identification.

Ptolemy's name for the Malay Peninsula was the Golden Chersonese; and it is clear that the Roman ships for that destination, having made for a point on the west coast of India, then sailed south, round the bottom of India and up to a point on the east coast, which Ptolemy called the terminus (Apheterion), whence they sailed across the Bay of Bengal for the Golden Chersonese. Near this Apheterion was a town called Paloura.

Our first task will be to identify, if possible, the Apheterion and Paloura.[1]

Ptolemy entirely misconceived the shape of India, having no idea that it was a peninsula. It is generally agreed that his Cape Komaria[2] (which the *Periplus* calls Comari) was our Cape Comorin but he did not realize that it was India's most southerly point since he placed considerably to the south-east of it another cape which he calls Kory[3] (not mentioned in the *Periplus*) and

[1]Also written Palura.
[2]Also written Comaria.
[3]Also written Koru.

which he says was also called Kalligikon. This latter cape seems to be the same as that which Pliny (VI, 72) calls the promontory of Kalingon ; and it is generally agreed that it is our Calimere Point. From it Ptolemy takes the coast north-east up to the mouth of a river which he calls the Khaberos[1] (probably Camara in the *Periplus*) generally agreed to be the Kaveri, and then south-east again to the Apheterion which he makes the most southerly point of India.

The Bay of Bengal is called by Ptolemy the Gangetic Gulf and this he makes to begin at Paloura.

The respective positions of these places, as given by Renou, are :—

Cape Komaria	121° 20′ E.	13° 30′ N.
Cape Kory	125° 20′ E.	18° N.
R. Khaberos	129° E.	15° 15′ N.
Apheterion	136° 20′ E.	11° 20′ N.
Paloura	136° 20′ E.	11° N.

But Berthelot corrects the positions thus :—

Cape Komaria	121° 20′ E.	13° 30′ N.
Cape Kory	125° 40′ E.	13° 20′ N.
R. Khaberos	129° E.	15° 20′ N.
Apheterion	136° 20′ E.	11° 20′ N.
Paloura	136° 40′ E.	11° 30′ N.

Ptolemy places the Apheterion in Maisolia[2] (called in the *Periplus* Masalia) and Paloura in the Gangetic Gulf. In Maisolia there is the river Maisolos[3] and Maisolia is generally taken to be the district of Masulipatam while the Maisolos is the Kistna (or Krishna) River, though Gerini thinks it to be the Godavari which otherwise is not mentioned at all by Ptolemy, nor is it in the *Periplus*.

In Maisolia, Ptolemy says, there was also the emporium of Kantakossyla and a modern epigraphic discovery enables us to identify the River Maisolos and Kantakossyla. Extensive Prakritic inscriptions[4] of the IIIrd century A.D. were found on the site of Nagarjunikonda on the right bank of the Kistna (or Krishna) River and amongst the geographical names mentioned in them is that of Kantakasola[5], which is the exact equivalent of Ptolemy's Kantakossyla and shows how accurate in that instance was his nomenclature.

We can, then, identify Maisolia and Kantakossyla with certainty as being in the Kistna-Godavari area in the centre of which

[1]Also written Khaberis.
[2]Also written Maesolia.
[3]Also written Maesolos.
[4]Published in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xx.
[5]See *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1934, p. 21.

Masulipatam lies on the coast ; and we are thus in the southern part of the ancient Kalinga territory which, as already has been stated, is said by Professor Mookerji to have extended at one time from the mouth of the Ganges to the mouth of the Kistna (or Krishna) River and to have had its capital at the present Kalingapatam. Masulipatam was one of its principal ports. If Ptolemy's Apheterion was in Kalinga territory we can readily understand how the name K'ling or Keling or Talaing became, or continued to be, so widespread in south-eastern Asia and why it persists to this day as a name for south India,[1] and for south Indians generally and particularly for those who came from the Coromandel (or Chola) Coast. Moreover, Ptolemy's Cape Kory also called Kalligikon (Pliny's promontory of Kalingon) gives us the name again ; yet, curiously, Ptolemy does not speak of the Kalingas by that name at all nor does the *Periplus*.

Berthelot on good reasoning places Paloura where Coringa is to-day and here again we have a variant of the name Kalinga ; but he points out (53, p. 312) that the facts given by Marcianus of Heraclea would place the Apheterion exactly at the modern Kalingapatam, the best harbour, so he says, upon the whole coast and in this connection it is interesting to note that Sylvain Lévi (58), proceeding upon purely etymological grounds, in which Przluski (59) agrees, identifies Paloura with Dantapura, the ancient Kalinga town. Despite the facts given by Marcianus of Heraclea Berthelot on good reasoning rejects Kalingapatam and identifies Paloura with the Coringa of to-day, placing the Apheterion accordingly just to the north of the mouths of the Godavari.

It is interesting to note here that Ptolemy gives another Paloura on the westernmost mouth of the Ganges and that this Paloura appears to be Tamralipti (Tamluk), a famous port of embarkation in the VIIth century A.D., as witnessed by I-Tsing and Hsüan-tsang, and the sea-port of Bengal in the Post-Vedic and Buddhist periods, frequently mentioned in the great epics.

We can now cross the Bay of Bengal and we find that Ptolemy places on the same latitude as Paloura the town of Sada in the country of Argyra, which is generally accepted as being the southern Arakan of to-day. Sada was the port for which the Greek ships from the Apheterion made ; St. John (60, p. 231) says " Ptolemy, in his review of Marinos, says distinctly that the passage across the Gangetic Gulf is from Paloura to Sada and thence to Temala ; from Temala (or Tamala) to the Golden Chersonese the direction is still towards the south-east. " North of Sada was the River Sados ; and we must identify, if possible, this river and the town.

In Argyra (Southern Arakan) Ptolemy gives the following places, against which are set the positions ascribed to them in Renou's text together with the distances between the places

[1]The mail-boat to Madras is called *Kapal Negri Kling*, the Kling country ship.

which Ptolemy gives as rendered in kilometres by Berthelot :—

Symbras[1], town		153° 30′	14° N.
Sados, mouth of the river	(98K.)	153° 30′	12° 30′ N.
Sada, town	(94K.)	154° 20′	11° 20′ N.
Berabonna, emporium	(106K.)	155° 30′	10° 20′ N.
Temalos, mouth of the river	(166K.)	157° 30′	10° N.
Temala, town ..	(79K.)	157° 30′	9° N.
Promontory after this town	(80K.)	157° 20′	8° N.

These positions are exactly the same as those given by Gerini (46, Table II), except that for Symbras he gives a latitude of 13° 45′ N.

Symbras is identified by Berthelot as the port of Kyank-pyu on the isle of Ramri ; Gerini identifies it as the town of Ramri. The river Sados then is either the Tanloua, 90 km. south, or the Sandoway, 120 km. south, Ptolemy's distance being 98 kms., and the town of Sada, which Ptolemy puts 94 kms. south of the river Sados,and so clearly not on its banks, will be Hsanda. St. John (60, p. 220) thought that the names Sados and Sada may be connected with the San-dwai (Sandoway) ; Gerini takes the river to be the Thate or Thade above Sandoway and Sada to be Sandoway itself. Berthelot says that if Gerini is right then the Sados should be the Tanloua and Ptolemy will have over-estimated the distance by 35 to 40 kilometres and Berthelot recalls, as Gerini points out (46, p. 45), that there is an ancient Indian settlement at Sandoway. Sylvain Lévi (61, p. 19) puts Sada between Akyab and Sandoway.

We can, therefore, safely assert that we are in the Sandoway district.

Berabonna, judging by Ptolemy's distance of 106 km., will be near Kyaung-tha, or, according to Gerini, Kwa. Berthelot points out that in a map of 1781 by G. de l'Isle, inserted in vol. 1 of Sonnerat's *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, there is to the north of Cape Negrais a town named Barreban.[2] St John (60, p. 220) says that Berabonna is the first of several names beginning with the Mon word *Be* (Bee) meaning "a river" and that it appears that words beginning with that syllable are connected with rivers.[3] Gerini agrees with St. John in this view (46, p. 199 n. 4) as does Blagden (62), and Sylvain Lévi says that it is probable that Berabonna belongs to an indigenous language which might be Mon (61, p. 22).

The mouth of the Temalos is clearly one of the mouths of the great Irrawaddy, says Berthelot, and it is only a question which is to be chosen. Gerini prefers the Bassein mouth and identifies the town of Temala with Bassein ; but, as Berthelot points

[1]Also written Sambra.
[2]See note by Mr. Justice J. V. Mills in the Appendix hereto.
[3]See note by Mr. C. N. Maxwell in the Appendix hereto.

out, the statements of Ptolemy exclude Bassein since he says that the town of Temala is 79 kms. beyond the river and he gives it one degree of latitude further south. Again, Gerini identifies the promontory after Temala as Cape Negrais as does Warmington (34, p. 126) while Rawlinson (33, p. 132) more cautiously says ' near Cape Negrais ' ; but Berthelot points out that this identification is in contradiction to the clear data given by Ptolemy. The promontory after Temala marks the entrance to the next area with which Ptolemy deals, the Sabarakos[1] Gulf which all are agreed is the Gulf of Martaban ; and the promontory is 80 km. from Temala and a degree south of it. Ptolemy's sequence is clear—a river, then 79 kms. beyond and 1 degree south, a town, after which a promontory 80 kms . further on and one more degree south. The latitudes are wrong, of course, (even if the delta of the Irrawaddy has much changed since Ptolemy's time) but they corroborate the fact that the places were distant from each other. Berthelot identifies the Temalos as the present main mouth of the Irrawaddy, Temala near the present Pya-pun, and the cape as Elephant Point at the mouth of the Rangoon River.

St. John (60, p. 221) says that he has long been of opinion that Temala ought to be identified with Diamond Island at the mouth of the Bassein River and he observes that *Ti* in Mon means ' earth ' and Di (pronounced Ti) ' a tidal wave '. The Burmese, he says, call Diamond Island *Thami-la* but there is every reason to think that the word is a corruption of some other name.

Whatever may be the precise identifications, it is perfectly clear that we have reached the Irrawaddy delta and that we now turn into the Gulf of Martaban, where we reach what Ptolemy calls the country of the cannibal Besyngitai[2] ; and we give the positions and distances in the same way as before :—

Sabara, town	(162K.)	159° 30′	8° 30′ N.
[3]Besynga, emporium .	(214K.)	162°	9° N.
[4]Besyngas, mouth of the river	(26K.)	162°	9° 30′ N.
[5]Beroba, town . .	(240K.)	162° 20′	6° N.
Promontory after this town	(294K.)	159°	4° 20′ N.

Gerini differs from these positions only in that he gives for the Besyngas river 162° 20′, 8° 25′, and for the promontory he has 4° 40′ latitude.

It will be observed that according to Ptolemy we go east and south with a turn back west to the promontory which marks the end of the Gulf ; and this is fairly correct since that promontory also marks the beginning of the Golden Chersonese or Malay Peninsula. Ptolemy gives the total distance as 774 km. but he

[1]Or Sarabakos.
[2]Also written Besungitae or Besyngeitai.
[3]Or Besunga.
[4]Or Besungas.
[5]Also written Berabai.

takes 82 kms. for the day's run (516 stadia). Berthelot considers that a day's run would more properly be taken at 111 km., which means that Ptolemy's distances should be increased by 3/8ths, thus getting 1062 kms. About 1/3rd of the way down Ptolemy gives the mouth of the Besyngas, about 2/3rds the town of Beroba and the promontory at the end. Berthelot says that 360 kms., down the coast one has the vast estuary of the Tavoy, 320 kms. south of that and 400 kms. north of Junk Ceylon one has Karathuri near a tin-mining district: so he identifies the Besyngas as the Tavoy, Beroba as Karathuri and the promontory as Junk Ceylon. The emporium of Besynga will then be one of the many ports in the Tavoy estuary and Berthelot observes that the port of Tavoy itself is the first usual calling-place after Moulmein. He says that the name of the town Sabara and the Sabarakos gulf are said to be derived from the Pali name for the Salween River, *Saravari*, and variants for the town and gulf in some of the MSS. are Saraba and Sarabakos. Here he is evidently quoting Gerini (46, p. 71) but St. John (60, p. 223) doubts if the name Salween is really old. Berthelot identifies Sabara with the Martaban of to-day.

In considering Ptolemy's distances it must be remembered that the coast of the Gulf of Martaban is fringed with innumerable islands which make exact calculations impossible.

Gerini's identifications are very different from those of Berthelot and, one is bound to say, not nearly as probable. He identifies Sabara with Twante, Besynga with Rangoon, and the Besyngas with the Rangoon River, Beroba with Mergui and the promontory beyond it with Boyce's Point; but these identifications ignore Ptolemy's data as to distance. Rawlinson (33, p. 133) and Warmington (34, p. 127) (both doubtless following Yule) identify Besynga with Bassein but St. John (60, p. 221) shows that Yule's reasoning was wrong and he observes that the name Bassein is a modern corruption.

Berthelot's method of identifying by distances and the general application of Ptolemy's data seems to be the only sensible one to apply to the purely geographical aspect of the problem. Where etymology disagrees with the data, it should surely be rejected. We suggest, then, that in general Berthelot's identifications along the Gulf of Martaban should be accepted. They appeal to one's sense of logic in that they assign to the only river mentioned by Ptolemy the most important one in the district, the Tavoy, and they assign to the promontory that marks the beginning of the Chersonese the land-mark that has always marked for sailors the entrance to the Straits of Malacca, namely Junk Ceylon, which, though actually an island, gives the general effect of a promontory.[1]

[1]Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer*, 1828, says that it is " twice a day an isthmus, and the same number of times an island, being separated from the mainland by a sand-bank, daily overflowed at high-water, the springs rising about ten feet; length forty miles by fifteen in breadth. It forms the northern point of the Straits of Malacca"; vol. 2, p. 62.

We may note here that Ptolemy distinguishes quite clearly between promontories and capes, using for the former the Greek *akhroterion* and for the latter *akhron*.

We now come to the Golden Chersonese and travel down its west coast, round its extremity and up its east coast. Ptolemy is the first European writer to appreciate the true nature of the Peninsula and he distinguishes it from Chryse which he says (VII, ch. 2, sec. 17) was situated below Argyra and was a neighbour of the Besyngitai. Argyra, he says, was the place where the majority of the silver mines were to be found while Chryse possessed very numerous gold mines. We shall now set out as before the positions and distances of all the places mentioned by Ptolemy in the Malay Peninsula :—

Takola, emporium ..	(80K.)	160° 30′	4° 15′ N.
Promontory after this town	(166K.)	158° 20′	2° 20′ N.
Khrysoanas, mouth of the river	(134K.)	159°	1° N.
Sabara, emporium ..	(325K.)	160°	3° S.
Palandas, mouth of the river	(121K.)	160° 30′	2° S.
Meleoukolon, cape ..	(158K.)	163°	2° S.
Attabas, mouth of the river	(112K.)	164°	1° S.
Kole, town	(83K.)	164° 20′	equator.
Perimoula	(203K.)	163° 15′	2° 20′ N.
Perimoulikos Gulf ..	(162K.)	162° 30′	4° N.

Gerini gives the following positions :—

Takola	160°	4° 15′ N.
Promontory	158° 40′	2° 40′ N.
[1]Khrysoanas R.	159°	1° N.
[2]Sabara	160°	3° S.
Palandas R.	161°	2° S.
[3]Meleoukolon	163°	2° S.
Attabas R.	164°	1° S.
[4]Kole	164° 20′	equator.
[5]Perimoula	163° 15′	2° 20′ N.
[6]Perimoulikos Gulf	162° 30′	4° 15′ N.

In addition to the above places Ptolemy gives the following

[1]Khrysoana.
[2]Sabana.
[3]Maleu Kolon.
[4]Koli.
[5]Perimula.
[6]Perimulik.

inland towns :—

Kalonka	162°	1° 20′ N.
Konkonagara	160°	2° N.
Tharra	163° 15′	1° 20′ N.
Palanda	161° 15′	1° 20′ S.

for which Gerini gives the positions thus :—

[1]Kalonka	162°	4° 40′ N.
[2]Konkonagara	160°	2° N.
Tharra	162°	1° 20′ S.
Palanda	161°	1° 20′ S.

Ptolemy further tells us (VII, Ch. 11, S. 12) that the Khrysoanas, the Attabas and the Palandas rivers spring from an un-named mountain crest which dominates the Golden Chersonese and, flowing together in a common stream, then divide to form the Attabas at 161° 30′ E., 3° N. and the Khrysoanas at 161° E., 1° 20′ N., and that the remainder becomes the Palandas, for which unfortunately he gives no further positions.

One's first observation must be that, whatever were the positions which Ptolemy actually did give, certain general deductions can be made from his data. In the first place, it is clear that he realized he was dealing with a peninsula which widened out and narrowed again. It is also clear that he appreciated the general direction of the Peninsula to slant from north-west to south-east ; the Chinese, as we shall see, regarded it at one time as running west to east.[3] It is further clear that he thought the equator to run through the peninsula, a mistake which, as we shall see later, seems to have been shared by the Arabs and Chinese centuries after Ptolemy wrote.

It is further interesting to note that there were two important entre-pots, or emporia as Ptolemy calls them, in the Peninsula, one in the north and one in the south, just as there are to-day ; and, as we trace the history of the Straits of Malacca, we shall see that entre-pots continued to exist throughout in the north and south. They were, of course, the natural and direct results of the north-east and south-west monsoons and of the economic fact that it was cheaper and quicker to tranship than to make the complete voyage from India to China or *vice versâ*.

Berthelot, working as usual on distances, arrives at these deductions. Ptolemy says that 80 ks. from the initial promontory was the emporium of Takola ; this distance increases to 110 ks. according to Berthelot's formula and that leaves a choice between Gherbi at 90 ks. and Trang at 140 or a place in between,

[1]Balongka.
[2]Kokkonagara.
[3]Johore men call Pahang men *orang barat*, western men, as also do the Pahang men call the Kelantanese ; see also notes in the Appendix hereto by Mr. Justice Mills and Mr. Linehan.

but Trang fits in better with the succeeding statements, says Berthelot, so he identifies Takola with Trang. Then 166 ks. (225 ks.) from Takola Ptolemy gives a promontory un-named and below that 300 ks. (410 ks.) from Takola the mouth of the Khrysoanas river. It is difficult to see why Berthelot renders Ptolemy's distances from Takola to the Khrysoanas as equivalent to 410 ks. but that is not very important. He thinks the promontory to be the island of Penang since he says that Gunong[1] Jerai (Kedah Peak) creates no projection from the coast. Penang, he says, is 220 ks. from the Trang River and 180 ks. further is the Perak River which he identifies as the Khrysoanas but in an endeavour to quote Gerini (apparently, though he does not name that author)[2] he makes the curious mistake of saying that the Malay word *sungai*[3] means gold and that this is still given to an affluent of the Perak, the Sungai Jarum. He says that Sabara (Sabana) was later replaced by Malacca, but gives no authority for that statement; and he says that at the time of the Portuguese the Straits of Malacca " dans cette partie était encore dénommé détroit de Saban ", quoting from an article by Gerini in 1904[4]; but here again Berthelot misunderstands since Gerini was speaking of the *east* entrance of the Straits of Malacca, recorded as *Saban* by Galvano and *Sabam* by Teixeira. The strait of Sabam in Portuguese times was the strait between Sumatra and Kundur, which latter island was itself called by them Sabam[5]. The mouth of the Palandas he gives as the west entrance of the channel of Singapore, and appears to regard the Straits of Johore (Selat[6] Tebrau) as part of the Johore River in the eyes of Ptolemy since he writes " celle du Johor pour lequel le choix est offert entre deux embouchures, a l'ouest et a l'est de l'ile de Singapour. " He says that, the assimilation of the Johore with the Palandas being very plausible, the difficulty is to place Sabana and leaves it at that.

Cape Meleoukolon (Malaio-Kolon) he identifies with Tanjong[7] Penyabong since the usual identification with Cape Rumenia does not agree with Ptolemy's data, and (so he says) that cape only exists on the maps " sa pointe extrême (Randkoun (*sic*) Penyousouch) est unie et boisée, sans relief et se reconnait par les bancs de sable et de corail qui la prolongent (bancs Roumenia); les navires passent entre eux et le continent ". This does not seem to make much sense but we will deal further with the question below.

The Attabas he identifies with the Pahang; Kole with Tanjong Penunjok (though doubtingly); Perimoula in the delta

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[1]Malay for ' mountain.'

[2]See 46, p. 97 where Gerini writes of the Sungei Jarum-mas in Perak and the Sungei-mas in Johol and says quite clearly that *mas* means ' gold ', as, of course, it does.

[3]It means, of course, ' river '.

[4]J.R.A.S. 1904, p. 723; also see 46, p. 758.

[5]See J. V. Mills' translation of Godinho de Eredia, J.R.A.S. (M.B.), 1930, Vol. VIII, p. 225 and map facing.

[6]Meaning ' strait '.

[7]Meaning ' cape, head-land or promontary '.

of the Kelantan ; and the Perimoulikos Gulf as beginning at the great lagoon of Tale-Sap. Kalonka (Balongka) he puts in the valley of the Menam-luang ; Konkonagara (Kokkonagara) towards Kuala Kangsar; Tharra somewhere in the upper basin of the Pahang ; and Palanda at Kota Tinggi.

Gerini differs entirely from Berthelot but then Gerini cuts off all the south part of the peninsula. He writes (46, p. 104), after identifying Cape Maleou-kolon with Tanjong Kuantan :

" My predecessors have almost invariably jumped to the conclusion that the promontory our author had in mind was Ramenia (or Rumenia) Point at the southern end of the peninsula. I must, however, differ from them on account not only of the calculated result obtained, but also on the score that Ptolemy evidently knew nothing of the configuration of the peninsula below the fourth parallel of North latitude. Hence he made the peninsula terminate at Palanda (Perak) on the western side and at Cape Maleu Kolon (Tanjong Kuantan) on the eastern ; assuming, I suppose, that the coast ran straight, or nearly so, between the two places, since he assigns to both the latter the same latitude, and makes them 2° of longitude apart. The correct distance is 3° of true longitude."

But Gerini does not do justice to Ptolemy's data in this passage for surely Sabara (Sabana) is where the peninsula terminates on its west side and not Palanda. Further, the illogical nature of Gerini's view is shown by the fact, that, though he makes Ptolemy ignorant of the nature of the peninsula he nevertheless finds by his own method of calculation that Ptolemy has calculated the exact position of Cape Meleoukolon with not a minute's mistake,+or Gerini works it out at 4°8′ in our latitude which is exactly where Tanjong Kuantan (which name he corrects later to Tanjong Gelang) lies. The confusion in the names of the Tanjong is due to the fact that he changed his map as he went along (ibid : p. 476).

The fact is that it is necessary to reject Gerini's identifications in the Malay Peninsula entirely, utilizing his book in this connection merely for the wealth of information which it contains. Forcing him as it does to cut the peninsula below the 4° N. lat., his geographical method breaks down entirely; and his assumption of Ptolemy's ignorance is unwarrantable.

We are, accordingly, left with Berthelot as our only exponent of the mathematical approach to the problem : and we have difficulties. If a map is constructed according to Ptolemy's own positions, and upon it are marked each place which he names and in the position named, and then, since we do not know Ptolemy's own idea of the coast lines, straight lines are drawn from place to place starting at Sada and going round to the country of the Leistai (with which we have not yet dealt), one is at once filled with doubt as to the positions and distances upon which Berthelot has to proceed. In any event, how can we possibly believe that any extant text gives all Ptolemy's positions or distances exactly as

he himself originally gave them ? We can only use in a general way such information as the best texts give us.

Berthelot's method of using distances is at least useful ; unfortunately, however, he does not give Ptolemy's data but only his own version of them in the French measure and, as already stated, the only text available to the writer is that of Book VII which gives no distances.

Ptolemy was stating (or endeavouring to state) in scientific terms the results of the information which he received and it appears to us that it is more profitable to try to deduce in very general terms what that information might have been than to make mathematical calculations from figures which are from any point of view dubious. We shall, therefore, try to make such deductions, first reminding the reader that for our purposes a Ptolemaic degree of longitude and of latitude is 500 stadia or 50 geographical miles and a day's sail is taken by Ptolemy at 516 stadia (82 kms.) or just over a Ptolemaic degree.

Ptolemy starts the Chersonese at the promontory (Junk Ceylon) which he places in 4° 20′ N. (or 4° 40′ N, according to the text) and he makes its southern-most place to be Sabara (Sabana) in 3° S. ; that is to say, he allows about 7½ Ptolemaic degrees of latitude or 375 geographical miles for the Chersonese.

He places Takola and the beginning of the Perimoulikos Gulf on the same latitude but 2° or 2° 30′ degrees apart according to the text. Calling it 2° we get 1000 stadia or 100 geographical miles.

Then, he places the promontory below Takola and Perimoula exactly on the same latitude but 4° 35′ or 4° 55′ apart according to the text. Calling it 4° 50′ we get 2250 stadia or 225 geographical miles.

Now, on our maps the 8th parallel of north latitude runs through Junk Ceylon and the Peninsula ends approximately at 1° N., thus allowing 7° of latitude or 420 geographical miles.

The widest part of the Peninsula lies between Tanjong Hantu on the west coast and Tanjong Penunjok on the east, and they lie about 3° of longitude apart or 180 geographical miles ; the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*[1] says ' about 200 miles '.

On the figures given in Renou's text it will be seen that the western-most point given by Ptolemy is 158° 20′ E. long : and the eastern-most is 164° 20′; thus giving the Peninsula a slant W. to E. of 6 Ptolemaic degrees or 300 geographical miles.

On our maps the west coast of Junk Ceylon lies in approximately 98° E. longitude and the western-most part of the peninsula in a little over 104° E. ; call it approximately 6° degrees or 360 geographical miles.

The above series of comparisons gives one to think furiously

[1] 14th ed., Vol. XIV, p. 713.

and, when taken in conjunction with what appears in the next paragraph but one, fills one with admiration for Ptolemy.

Roman trade with India collapsed about 215 A.D. and from then onwards knowledge in Europe of what lay beyond the Bay of Bengal grew dimmer and dimmer until it practically faded out,[1] to be revived only after the Portuguese and Dutch penetrations by which time, of course, the science of navigation was aided by many inventions not existing in the time of Ptolemy. Any reader interested in primitive methods of navigation will do well to study Ferrand's book (63), which forms the first volume of a series[2] called *Bibliothèque des Géographes Arabes*.

As we shall be considering ancient geography throughout this essay it will be convenient here to remind the reader of a few facts and to utter a caution against thinking of ancient places in terms of modern geography. At this date south-eastern Asia has fallen into well-defined and well-known political divisions with surveyed areas and a modern nomenclature. In particular, it is possible at this date to purchase splendid maps of the Malay Peninsula and of all the Malay States under British protection but it is only quite recently that the country has been properly surveyed so as to make this possible.[3] When the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was founded in 1878 accurate knowledge of the Peninsula was extremely small and one of the first tasks of the Society was to prepare a map. In 1884 the late Mr. A. M. Skinner, of the Colonial Service, issued a geography of the Malay Peninsula (64) in which will be found a map of the Peninsula as it was then known together with a description of the whole territory and its then political divisions. In it he wrote (at p. 5) "although the Peninsula has been coasted round by Europeans and at a few places occupied by Forts and Factories ever since the beginning of the XVIth century: and although the interior is nowhere more distant than 100 miles from the sea, yet it still remains one of the least known lands in Asia and one of the few regions of which the greater portion can still be said to have been unvisited by civilised man." At this date motors, roads and railways have made us familiar with the Peninsula, huge areas of which have been cleared, developed and inhabited. It is difficult to picture it as it was in ancient times (or even for that matter as late as 1884) but we must endeavour to do so. We must think of a land the vast part of which was covered by jungle with a high and difficult range of mountains dividing the west from the east and with its main rivers following in all probability very different courses from those which we know to-day. At various points in this territory there were small trading and mining stations where only civilisation existed. Such inhabitants as the country possessed, who were not immigrant traders and miners, were the fore-runners of such wild tribes as survive to-day

[1]Compare, for instance, Ptolemy with Cosmas Indikopleustes.
[2]Discontinued owing to Ferrand's recent death.
[3]Indeed, even at this date, there are very large tracts of the Peninsula which are still unsurveyed.

with others now extinct or bred out into other tribes. Of Malays as we know them to-day there was not one.[1] In Ptolemy's time there were no political divisions and no royal princes. It is possible to assert this because Ptolemy mentions royal towns where he knew them and cities to which he could give the name of Metropolis. In the Chersonese he gives none such ; the most important places which he mentions are merely emporia, *i.e.*, entre-pots or trading stations, markets for the interchange and collection of goods and produce. His description of the peoples met with ends just above the Chersonese with Chryse, the Besyngeitai and the Leistai ; in the Chersonese he mentions none at all.

Let us now see what we can do to identify the various places named by Ptolemy and let us consider first his three rivers, the Khrysoanas, the Palandas and the Attabas, since it will help us very much if we can identify these rivers. We can, in very general terms, summarize Ptolemy's information thus :—

(*a*) these three rivers rise from the same crest of mountains and after running as one stream for some distance branch off ;

(*b*) the Khrysoanas runs from east to west and branches off at a latitude not far north of its mouth ;

(*c*) the Attabas runs from west to east and branches off at a latitude considerably north of its mouth and north of where the Khrysoanas branches off ;

(*d*) the remainder of what was a joint stream becomes the Palandas which flows from north to south, its mouth being very far south of those of the other two and nearer longitudinally to the mouth of the Khrysoanas than that of the Attabas.

We think that we can deduce concerning these rivers that since they are the only ones mentioned they were at that time the three most important rivers in the Chersonese, not necessarily by reason of size but for other reasons, and that they had trading or collecting stations at their mouths since they obviously were land-marks and ports of call for the ships. It is also a fair assumption that, since gold was one of the principal things for which the ancient Indians came and since the name for the peninsula shows that it was famous for its gold, these three rivers were connected with gold either as being gold-bearing or as water-ways from important gold-bearing districts, and possibly as both. We can further deduce that one of the rivers, the Khrysoanas, from its very name must have been connected *par excellence* with gold.

At this date nobody would consider the Malay Peninsula as an important gold area ; indeed, Scrivenor (65) is almost sarcastic about it in that connection. Here again we must not think with modern minds but must remember that the great discoveries of gold in Australia, California and South Africa only occurred in the

[1]Though doubtless anatomically this may not be true.

XIXth century. To the ancients gold was a much rarer, more valuable commodity than to us; and methods of working it, which for us would produce pitiful results, were profitable to them.[1] It will be as well to consider quite summarily the position of the Malay Peninsula in early European eyes as an historic gold area. Eredia (66, p. 228), writing at the beginning of the XVIIth century, says, " this Peninsula was so celebrated among all the ancient writers especially Curtius, Strabo, Pliny, Pomponius Mela and others on account of the many large gold-mines which existed therein, that they all commonly called it ' Land of Gold '." He tells us (at p. 233) how he saw Malays sifting the sands along the shore north of Malacca fort with sieves and getting gold. He tells (p. 233) that ' Patane ' was the first seat of the Empire of the Malays in 7° N. latitude and one of the famous Oriental ports with an extensive trade and commerce, and that it contained even in his day " large gold-mines which have been discovered in the mountains and ranges and in other parts of the territory along the course of the River of Cea,[2] where one finds a large quantity of gold in the form of dust and small grains, which is taken for sale to the port of Malacca, as is well-known to the captains and merchants of the latter place, who always buy it for the trade with Choromandel. ". He then says that Pahang was the second seat of the Empire of the Malays and that it was a port just as much frequented by merchants because of the gold from its mines. " It was from here, one presumes, that there came the gold which formed the subject of the ancient trade with Alexandria or Grand Cairo. " The Pahang gold was " nowadays " taken to the port of Malacca for sale. " So much so, that the King of Pam (*i.e.* Pahang) sent from Adea[3] a beautiful piece of gold-stone two and a half yards in length, as a present for the Captain or Governor of Malacca, Joao da Silva: who out of curiosity to see gold in this form, ordered the piece of gold-stone to be broken at once in his presence; enclosed in the inside there was found a vein of gold a yard wide; this happened in the year 1586 and was well known to the people of that day. "

Hamilton (68) in the beginning of the XVIIIth century tells us that over 13,000 oz. of gold were then exported from the Pahang River. Newbold (69), 1839, has a great deal to say about Malayan gold and describes how it was assayed by " Chuliahs or Klings " who used " *the batu uji* or touch-stone brought from India."[4] (see vol, I, pp. 145, 147).

Coming to recent times, Skinner (67, p. 51) says that of the mineral states Pahang is placed first by the Malays, then Kelantan and then Patani. He says, and it is true, that " gold is found in Pahang almost exclusively in the central line of the State—at Paso on the Bera, at Luet, the Jelei, the Kelau, the Lipis and its feeder at Raub etc. Whatever the explanation may be, it is worth

[1] See note by Mr. Linehan in the appendix hereto.
[2] See note by Mr. Justice J. V. Mills in the appendix hereto.
[3] See notes by Mr. Justice J. V. Mills in the appendix hereto.
[4] See note by Mr. Linehan in the appendix hereto.

noticing here, as it has been noticed before, that the principal gold-workings of the Peninsula lie almost along a not very wide line drawn from Mounts Ophir and Segamat (the southern limit of the auriferous chain) through the very heart of the Peninsula, to the Kalian Mas, or gold diggings, of Patani and Telepin in the north." The gold-mining centre of Pahang is the Jelei district. In another place (64, p. 16) Skinner tells us that in 1884 Jelei gold was bringing a higher price by 3 per cent than the best Australian.

Pahang must have yielded vast quantities of gold through the centuries and mining still proceeds there at the famous Raub mine and at Buffalo Reef near which and at Selinsing are the remains of a vast and very ancient mine, round which have been found many stone implements. At long last these ancient mine-workings are to be explored archaeologically. A description of them by Sir Hugh Clifford will be found in his *Further India*.[1]

The present Malacca and Muar Districts were also famous gold areas of old and around Mount Ophir there are many ancient workings.

One last gold area that we must notice is the Batang Padang district in Perak where gold is still mined, and also washed after heavy rains. There is much information to be found about gold in Perak in Major McNair's book (70, pp. 35-57) while an article by Mr. Daly in 1878 (71) should also be studied. It would seem, however, that Perak never compared as a gold area with Pahang and the Malacca-Segamat region.

And now for Ptolemy's rivers, which, as we have seen, were identified by Berthelot as the Perak (Khrysoanas), the Johore (Palandas) and the Pahang (Attabas). He points out (53, p. 398) that the heads of these rivers are very close but he says that there is no actual contact between them and that Ptolemy accordingly is not relating actual fact. As will be seen, we do not agree with Berthelot's identifications; but apart from that it must be remembered that Malayan rivers have often changed their courses, particularly those of the east coast (72, p. 124). Only quite recently, on the west coast, the Kinta changed its bed; and the Perak was seen during heavy floods to make its way out to sea at Lumut. It is, moreover, not necessary to show that any three rivers correspond exactly with Ptolemy's data; it will be quite sufficient to show a correspondence close enough to make them correct in general.

Save for the distance of 325 kms. between the Khrysoanas and Sabara (Sabana), the three rivers which answer best to Ptolemy's rivers are the Muar, the Pahang and the Johore.

First of all, let us consider the Muar and the Pahang. Here we have the classic route across the southern part of the Peninsula and, indeed, the only easy one below its far north until the British opened up the country by building roads.

[1] 1904, p. 13.

Skinner (67, p. 53) wrote in 1878 that " the *common* source of the River Muar and the southern branch of the River Pahang is the key to the geography of the South of the Peninsula " ; the italics are ours.

Eredia's map (66, facing p. 207) shows under the name Panarican[1] the drag-way used for boats leaving the Muar and going to the Pahang. It says on the map " by the Panarican they travel from Malacca to Pahang in 6 days' journeying."

Hamilton in 1727 (68, ii, p. 81) wrote that the " Pahang River runs far into the country, and *washes the foot of Malacca Hill.* There is abundance of Gold Dust found in it, and I have seen some lumps of five or six ounces each ", etc. The italics are ours again.

Newbold (69, ii, p. 162) in 1839 wrote that the Muar River " has its rise according to the natives among the mountains of Jellabu and falls into the sea twenty miles east of Malacca. From these mountains the Serting River which disembogues itself into the China Sea at Pahang and the Calang[2] river which flows into the Straits of Malacca near Salangore have also their rise. "

Old maps of the XVIth and early XVIIth centuries[3] show a wide river running from Muar to Pahang and making an island of the Peninsula south of the Muar River. This shows how well-known and how much used the route must have been at that time.

There is an interesting account[4] of a trading journey from Malacca to Pahang in 1827 by a Mr. Charles Gray, who died as a result of jungle fever contracted during the trip. The village of Jelai was the centre of the traffic in gold at this time. Mr. Gray says " the river Serting, the lake of Brah and river Brah falls, fall into the river Pahang which empties itself into the sea " ; Brah is, of course, Bera.

Daly made the trip from Ulu[5] Muar and Jumpol to Pahang in 1875 (67, pp. 59, 60) and he says in his journal that the dividing land between the River Jumpol and the River Ilir[3] Serêting, as he calls them, was 24 chains or a little more than a quarter of a mile.

On the map at this date there is shown a lake area called Tasek[6] Bera from which running north is the Sungei Bera flowing into the Pahang. Slightly south of it is shown the Sungei Palong

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[1]From the Malay *penarekan*, meaning ' portage '.

[2]*i.e.*, Klang.

[3]*e.g.*, maps of 1596 and 1598 in Linschoten, 1605 Hulsius, 1611 Hondius, 1617 Visscher.

[4]See J.I.A., 1852, vol. VI pp. 369-375.

[5]It is the custom in Malaya, following that of the Malays themselves, to describe the hinterland or head-waters of a river by adding to its name the Malay word *ulu* (should be *hulu*) meaning ' head ; upper portion ; handle ' ; and to describe the lower reaches by adding to its name the Malay word *ilir* (should be *hilir*) meaning ' flowing down-stream ; movement or situation downstream '.

[6]Meaning 'lake.'

which makes a big bend towards and near Tasek Bera. The Palong flows on to become the Muar. Prospectors and topographical surveyors have proved that the Pahang changed its bed of old in at least one place and it is clear that at one time it must have carried on for miles and miles before turning due east and might even have gone down into the Johore. Whether this last was the case or not, the Segamat flows into the Muar and in amongst the mountains where it rises and not very far off the Selai also rises flowing into the Sembrong which in turn rises from practically the same place as the Pengeli which flows into the Johore.

The whole of these important watersheds can be studied in articles written by D. F. A. Hervey in 1879 (73) and in 1881 (74), and by Lake and Kelsall in 1894 (75). These articles, in addition to their interest and the valuable information which they contain, should be studied for the names mentioned many of which differ from those shown in our present maps.

The Muar river best of all would answer to the name Khrysoanas ; not only was it, with its feeder the Segamat, a gold river but it was the high way for the Pahang gold. All round it there are names connected with gold ; thus the district on the north side of Mount Ophir is known as Paya[1] Mas, while 7 miles south of Malacca there was a place called Teluk[2] Mas, which does not seem to be shown on the map to-day (76, p. 169). It must be remembered that the east coast of the Peninsula is shut off from use during the N. E. Monsoon and all traffic, that possibly could, would find its way over to the sheltered west coast. The gold in and around the Muar and the Segamat is described by Newbold (69, ii, pp. 163, 164, 166, 167), Daly (71, p. 195) and Scrivenor (65, pp. 21, 22).

Finally, it may be noticed that near the place where the Khrysoanas branched off, *i.e.*, 161° E., 1° 20′ N., Ptolemy puts the town of Kalongka, 162° E., 1° 20′ N.[3] Alternative readings for this town are Balonga, Balongka, Balonca and Baloncha. While entering the strongest possible caveat against deductions from modern names, one cannot but help recalling the following facts. One of the celebrated exports of Malaysia from time immemorial was camphor and the original collectors of it were the Orang Utan, or wandering tribes, of Johore, also called Orang Rayet or Jakuns. There was a special language used in collecting camphor, called the *pantang kapur*,[4] which has been the means, it is thought, of preserving some remnants of the aboriginal dialects (77), as has also the *pantang gaharu*, used in collecting *gaharu*, lignum aloes or eaglewood which *pantang* also applies to the search for gold (78). Ridley in 1894 said that the Kapur Barus, or camphor tree, is a Bornean tree and that although for

[1]Meaning ' swamp, morass '.

[2]Should be written *telok*, meaning ' bay.'

[3]The exact latitude is doubtful but we take that given by Renou.

[4]*Pantang* means that which is taboo ; *Kapur* means ' camphor '; and *pantang kapur* is the secret language for use when camphor-hunting, plain Malay being forbidden.

some time it had been known that the tree producing it was a native of the Endau district of Johore the fact had not been recorded at that time in any botanical work. It was to be found then on the Madek and Kahang rivers in Johore in the Endau district (79). Doubtless this camphor found its way down the Muar to the west coast. The *pantang kapur* was preserved amongst the Jakun encampments which were to be found in the seventies, eighties and nineties along the Madek and Palong rivers. In 1908 Boden Kloss stated that on the upper tributaries of the Siak River in Sumatra there was a tribe of Jakun aborigines called Palong (80) and one of the Malay words used amongst miners is *palong* meaning a sluice-box made of a tree split in half and hollowed out (81). Actually, the word *palong* means a ' hollow with stagnant water ' but is used specifically of troughs of wood for watering cattle or feeding poultry; and is also a descriptive name for a dugout canoe. It may be stated here that for all Malay words we use Wilkinson's magnificent dictionary, 1932, as great a contribution as has ever been made to Malaya and by which his name will always be remembered. From Palong to Balonga does not seem impossible; at all events, the attention of etymologists is called to the facts just stated.

The name Palandas reminds one immediately[1] of the Malay *pelandok*, the mouse-deer, which plays such a favourite part in the folk-lore of the Malays, and whose name is written by Eredia as *palandos* (66, p. 25) and *palandas* (64, p. 27). It plays a part in the Malay legend of the founding of Malacca,[2] and there was a place on the left bank of the Endau River in Johore called Tunjang Pelandok, meaning ' the hoof-marks of the pelandok ', which is celebrated in pantuns (74, p. 128 and see map facing p. 126). It is, of course, quite common for rivers in Johore to receive animal names, *e.g.*, Sungei Gajah (elephant), Sungei Landak (porcupine), etc. Gerini suggests (46, pp. 729, 730) that the origin of the name Palandas is to be found in " Belandas, Blandas or Belendas, a tribe now still surviving in the Sungei Ujong and Negri Sembilan Districts."

Attabas certainly suggests the Malay word *atap*, ' roof or thatch ',[3] and Gerini gives this as its derivation though he puts the river far north, the Trengganu in fact. There is a Sungei Atap Layar shown on Hervey's map (74) and plant-names are the commonest of all Malay names in the Peninsula. There seems to be no trace left in the Pahang or its tributaries of Attabas or any thing like it but that, of course, means nothing.

It seems to us that the Perak could never have been the Khrysoanas since it fits none of Ptolemy's data save possibly the distances as worked out by Berthelot. The Bernam would be a bit better but the passage across the Peninsula by the Bernam

[1]But see Mr. C. N. Maxwell's brilliant note in the Appendix hereto; it is very convincing.

[2]See Leyden's Malay Annals, 1821, p. 89.

[3]But see note by Mr. Linehan in the Appendix hereto.

is too arduous ever to have been a trade route. As the crow flies it is 170 miles, so Swettenham said, but his route took him over 420 miles (82).

Concerning the identification of Takola a regular literature has grown up in connection with which Berthelot makes this delightful observation (52, p. 383) " Il en est peu dont l' emplacement ait suscité plus de controverses. Le débat a dévié sur le terrain de l'étymologie et les linguistes s'y sont ébattus joyeusement ". How often as his studies progress will the student find the linguists gambolling joyously in the pasturage of Indian, Chinese and Arabic names !

The best etymological discussion of the name Takola is that by Sylvain Lévi (61) with which may be considered that of St. John (60) but the name of the place will appear again and we shall have occasion later to refer to these articles and others. The debate has now crystallized into general acceptance of the theory that Takola was, vaguely, " in the region south of the isthmus of Kra ", though exactly where is a matter of dispute.

Ptolemy placed Takola 1° or 1° 30′ E. of the promontory (Junk Ceylon) and 5′ or 25′ S. of it ; but according to Berthelot he stated that the distance between the two was 80 kms. ; *i.e.* just on 1 day's sail. This makes it unlikely that the latitudinal position is really the one which Ptolemy gave. Taking the longitudinal positions we have 50 or 75 geographical miles and taking the latitudinal only a few miles. A geographical solution of the problem by using Ptolemy's data as given in the extant texts does not seem possible and we suggest that unless history or archaeology can help us the exact identification must be abandoned. Etymology, we submit, should be made the basis of an identification only in cases of absolute certainty ; otherwise, it should be used as corroborative or cumulative evidence only. Names in Malaysia were never constant and were applied very often to one or more localities just as to-day Malacca means to the British either the town or the district of that name while to the Dutch it has the further meaning of the entire Malay Peninsula.

Berthelot, as we have seen, put Takola at Trang ; Gerini identified it with Takuapa. From this latter place there is a very ancient Indian trade-route running across to the Bay of Bandon and this route has recently been explored by Dr. Quaritch Wales (82A). Two rivers with only five miles between them form the route, with fine anchorages on both coasts ; the reader is referred to the article cited for a full descripton. Dr. Wales (ibid. p. 5) says that this route " was primarily one of expansion rather than of trade, and was certainly much more suited for such use than either the more northerly Mergui-Pracuab crossing or the well-known Kra route, both of which were used by Europeans and others in later centuries, but neither of which appears to have been suitable for early colonial expansion because neither offers on the east coast large quantities of well-watered territory and fine harbours. Moreover, not the slightest sign of Indian remains

has been noticed on either route, and both have been traversed by observers not devoid of archaeological interests, while the Kra route was in fact carefully searched by Prince Damrong's orders." The author (at p. 10) also observes that Gerini's identification of Takuapa with Takola may be correct but the available archæological evidence does not go as far back as Ptolemy's time ; in the map at p. 28, however, he places Takola definitely at the modern Takuapa. We would suggest that the identification by Gerini rested only upon etymological reasoning and that it must be rejected because it does violence to Ptolemy's text. There can, one imagines, be no doubt that the promontory which begins the Golden Chersonese is Junk Ceylon and Takola was south of this promontory ; therefore it could not be Takuapa which is considerably north of it. We shall have much more to say about Takola in later parts of this essay.

Taking Berthelot's reckonings, the promontory which succeeds Takola is more likely to have been Kedah Peak than Penang, since Berthelot was wrong in thinking that the former was not a prominent mark. It is visible 30 miles distant and has always been a mark for sailing vessels. It is possible, too, that the archaeological remains found upon the Peak represent ancient beacons to guide sailors by night, though Ivor Evans thinks that they were religious (83, pp. 105-111). It is not possible, of course, to date these remains, though they were probably very early as we shall show later.

But is Berthelot right ? It seems a little extraordinary that Ptolemy, mentioning only one promontory on the west coast, should have chosen Kedah Peak or Penang and ignored all the rest. If, on the other hand, Takola had been in ancient Kedah, the capital of which seems to have been in about 6° N., and if the Khrysoanas were, as we suggest, the Muar River just above 2° N., then we should get a prominent feature of west coast navigation. Ptolemy puts his promontory roughly half way between Takola and the mouth of the Khrysoanas ; and roughly half way between 6° N. and the mouth of the Muar one gets the bulge of land between the Perak and Bernam Rivers, or Pangkor north of it ; and between them are the Sembilan Islands, a well-known mark for sailors. Crawford's description of his trip from Calcutta down the Straits in 1821 is well worth study (84).

For the southern emporium Sabara, or as it is more usually called Sabana[1], Singapore Island at once suggests itself, since Sabara was the southernmost point of the Chersonese.

Tanjong Burus, or Bulus, now called Tanjong Piai, in Kukup, must be rejected, though it would correspond with Ptolemy's data. It would have been a senseless place for an emporium, if only for reasons of navigation. There is only one very slight

[1]McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 199, 1927 edition, suggests that Sabana " may be a somewhat distorted form of Suvarna, golden coloured." We have not quoted his identifications of places in the Golden Chersonese since they are useless and must be discarded at this date.

piece of evidence that there was any ancient settlement on Singapore Island. In 1891 a stone axe-head was found which proved to have come from Tanjong Karang on the west coast of Singapore Island and to have been made from local stone; a description of this implement[1] and of the circumstances in connection with its discovery has been given by H. N. Ridley (85). There seems certainly to have been a stone-age portage between Johore and Singapore Island as is proved by the number of neoliths that have been found on the Johore coast in front of Singapore Island. It has been stated by local historians that there was once a 'Mon' settlement on Singapore Island but upon what evidence (if any) the writer does not know. It hardly seems likely that the Indian sailors would have ignored an island which stood at the nodal point of the Indian and Chinese routes, which had splendid water and which was covered with fine timber particularly suitable for masts and spars as we know from books written during the Clipper period.

It is, however, impossible to assert that Sabara was at any definite place save, vaguely, the southernmost part of the Peninsula.

As we have identified the Khrysoanas with the Muar and the Palandas with Johore, Palanda may well be Kota Tinggi, as Berthelot suggests.[2] With regard to the Khrysoanas Berthelot says that Ptolemy gives 325 kms. as the distance from that river to Sabara, but seeing that the distance from Penang to Singapore is 395 miles and that, according to Berthelot, Ptolemy's distances must be increased by 3/8ths we need not pay much attention to the distance. On the other hand, Ptolemy's figures represent 4 days' sail but in the Straits of Malacca it is not possible to assert any definite distance for a day's sail since too much depends upon wind and tide. If, however, Ptolemy really did give 4 days' sail as the distance, the Khrysoanas could not have been the Muar. We think that Ptolemy's evidence concerning the course of the three rivers outweighs the distance as given in the present texts; and we do not see how that evidence could be made to fit any river further north than the Muar.

Cape Meleuokolon is almost invariably taken to be Cape Rumenia, though both Gerini and Berthelot disagree. If Sabara was Singapore and the Palandas was the Johore, then Cape Meleukolon could not have been Cape Rumenia, assuming that the distances given at present are correctly those of Ptolemy.

Let us first try to fix the place where the Perimoulikos Gulf began, and then work downwards.

It hardly seems possible that so sheltered an anchorage as that of the Bay of Patani could have been ignored in Ptolemy's time. Skinner says (64, p. 25) that " the Bay of Patani is formed

[1]To be seen in Raffles Museum, Singapore.

[2]There is evidence which shows an ancient settlement near Kota Tinggi, though it is not possible to date it.

by the projection of a narrow strip of land about 7 or 8 miles in length, which, connected with the mainland to the eastward, bends round to the north-west like a horn and protects the road-stead, so that vessels can at most seasons ride in safety; which accounts for the high estimation in which it was held by early navigators." How could sailors ever have failed to use such a place, situated as it was on an otherwise inhospitable coast? Moreover, into the Bay flows the Patani which taps the gold-bearing area. We suggest that the Bay of Patani was where the Perimoulikos Gulf began. Ptolemy calls the Gulf of Siam the Great Gulf.

Now taking Ptolemy's distances as recorded by Berthelot and turning them into day's sails, we get about 1 3/8th days from Cape Meleuokolon to the Attabas (Pahang), 1 day's sail from there to Kole, 2½ days more to Perimoula and slightly less than 2 days more to the Perimoulikos Gulf; call it, a total of 7 days' sail.

If the Perimoulikos Gulf has been placed correctly, then Perimoula will be either in the delta of the Kelantan, as Berthelot suggests, or at the mouth of the Trengganu. Either would fit but the Kelantan is a high-way into the gold-bearing area.

The Attabas being placed as the Pahang, Kole might be at the mouth of the Kemaman River where Chukai is to-day. Tanjong Penunjok, which is doubtingly suggested by Berthelot, would surely be too bleak a spot for a port of call on the east coast.

Cape Meleuokolon will then be Tanjong Penyabong opposite which is that well-known land-mark for sailors Pulau[1] Tioman.

Of the inland towns Kalongka cannot be fixed in any particular place; there seems to be doubt as to its latitudinal position. In dealing with it previously we have given the position in Renou but an alternative is 4° 40′ N., being a difference of no less than 3° 20′.

Tharra, of which alternative readings are Threa or Tarra, is situated again in positions which vary too much. Berthelot says that no less than 10 different versions appear in the extant texts! It is impossible to suggest any locality for such a place.

Finally, we have Konkonagara, also written as Kokkonagara. Its position seems to have been given in all the texts as 160° E. 2° N. It was, therefore, in the region through which the Khrysoanas (Muar) ran but it is impossible to place it precisely. The name, however, is definitely Indian, *nagara* being sanskrit for country. It suggests a connection with the people in Southern India whom Ptolemy called the Konkonagai whose town was Dosara. Berthelot (53, p. 302) considers that the Konkonagai were the Kalingas and that Ptolemy's river Dosaron was the Mahanadi. Cocanada seems to have been another name for Coringa. If all this is so, then Konkonagara in the Golden

[1]Meaning 'island.'

Chersonese had a Kalinga connection and, as we shall see, it was very common for Indians to carry the names of well-known places in their own country into south-eastern Asia, just as Australians, Canadians and Americans have carried English names. At all events, Konkonagara is the one patently Indian name[1] which Ptolemy gives in the Peninsula. A long discussion of it by Gerini (46, pp. 94-97) is interesting.

This concludes the places given by Ptolemy in the Peninsula and there only remain the islands which he mentions as being near to it. Of them, however, we shall confine ourselves to the famous reference to Iabadiou.

It is curious that, although Ptolemy was the first to describe the Malay Peninsula, no local writer hitherto has turned his attention to the subject ; and it need hardly be said that the present writer proffers what he has written above with the utmost diffidence.

So far archaeology has produced nothing in the Malay Peninsula that can be said to be contemporaneous with Ptolemy. We need not despair, however, since archaeology in British Malaya is only just beginning and we would call the attention of readers to the great value and importance of potsherds. A study of Dr. Quaritch Wales' article (82 A) on the Takuapa trade-route will illustrate this for he points out how Mr. R. L. Hobson of the British Museum was able to date potsherds found on the route and says (at p. 10) " the evidence of the identified pottery therefore, quite apart from other evidence that will be discussed later, seems to suggest that the settlement flourished from about the fifth or sixth to the eighth or ninth century A.D." Raffles Museum possesses a quantity of potsherds collected by Mr. Gardner on the Johore River and these possess interesting features though they have not yet been examined thoroughly and no attempt has yet been made to date any of them. One can only repeat that a piece of broken pottery may turn out to be even more important than a bronze statue and that care should be taken to preserve any find of potsherds and to report it at once to Raffles Museum.

In Book VII, ch. 2, para. 29, Ptolemy refers to Iabadiou. Here is what he says according to Renou's text :—

" Iabadiou, which means " isle of barley " ; it is said that this island is very fertile, that it produces a great quantity of gold and that it has a metropolis called Argyre, situate at its western extremity in 167°, 8° 30′ S. ; the eastern extremity of the island is situate 169°, 8° 10′ S."

The late Professor Kern showed that Iabadiou corresponds with a prakrit Yavadivu, which evolved into Javadivu (86) and

[1]In connection with Kole it is worth nothing that there was a Koli in ancient India, see the *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* by Nundo Lal Dey, 1927, p. 102 ; see also *the Frazer Lectures*, 1922-1932 edited by Warren R. Dawson, 1932, p. 64.

philologists at this date are all agreed that Iabadiou is the same place as the sanskrit Yava-dvipa to which with Suvarnadvipa a passing reference has been made earlier in this essay; and these names lead us to a consideration of ancient Indian geography and history in the first centuries of the Christian era.

The earliest periods in the ancient history of the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca can only be visualized as a part of the general history of south-eastern Asia and so of Greater India. No one at this date could doubt that the basis of Malay culture is Indian; and the farther north one goes the more pronounced does that fact become, doubtless because of the strong Siamese influence. Remove the uppermost layer of Islam, take away the lowermost aboriginal layer and what remains is Indian, so that to this day it may be said that the large part of Malay culture is ancient Indian in origin. In 1881 Sir William Maxwell (87, p. 29) wrote that "there would be more observers of curious customs and beliefs among the Malays if Englishmen in these latitudes would get out of the habit of regarding the Malays simply as a Muhammadan people inhabiting the countries in the vicinity of the Straits of Malacca. Let them regard the Muhammadanism of the Malay as an accident not to be taken into account in studying the character and tracing the origin of the people." In 1919 Sir Richard Winstedt (88, p. 119) wrote that "the more one studies the subject, the more one realizes the immense debt Malaya owes to India for folk-tales as well as for language, religion, custom, literature and general culture." The whole question obviously merits a book to itself but none has yet been written; and Indian scholars are handicapped by the fact that no corpus of authoritative translations of the best Malay texts has yet been made.

Possibly the best introduction to a survey of ancient Indian history and geography is the traditional descent of the Malay Sultanates; the States of Perak, Johore, Malacca and Singapore, on the one hand, and the ancient northern kingdom of Kedah, on the other.

The traditional histories of Perak, Johore, Malacca and Singapore are concerned, amongst other matters, with tracing the descent of their Rajas back to the ancient Indian-Malay kingdom which they call Palembang and also with tracing the descent of the kings of Palembang. Unfortunately, however, if these histories were ever put into writing in pre-Mohammedan times, no copy exists to-day and in their present form they date from what Wilkinson calls the Augustan era of Malay literature, namely the first decades of the XVIIth century A.D., at a time when a very strong Persian influence permeated it (89, pp. 15-20). Most important of these histories is the *Sejarah Malayu*[1] or Malay Annals, as they are called, though *Sejarah* actually means 'genealogies.' They have been translated into English by Leyden (90), whose translation we shall follow herein, and there is an annotated

[1]We use the old spelling in preference to the new *Melayu*.

abstract by Braddell (91).[1] There are several variant reclensions of the Malay Annals but as yet no authoritative translation into English with textual variants has been published, though there is a fairly recent Malay text by Shellabear. A good English edition of the *Sejarah Malayu* is urgently needed.

The *Sejarah Malayu* was written in 1612 A.D. from a Malay book which had been brought from Goa, or so its author says, to the Court of Acheen at a time when that Court was in its highest ascendancy ; the writer modestly describes himself as an ignorant man but in reality he was, to use the words of Mr. Wilkinson, " a very uncommon man, the descendant of a long line of great public servants." Unfortunately, however, he began with the object of re-writing the book which had come from Goa ' in proper form ' and this fact may account for the very Persian flavour of the genealogy of the Palembang kings and, possibly, other distortions. Blagden has said that there is little doubt that the Annals are founded on earlier records, which had not survived, and it is clear that at the beginning of the XVIth century A.D. the Portuguese writers had access to traditional history which was at considerable variance with the accounts in the *Sejarah Malayu*.

Were the traditions recorded by the Portuguese written or oral ? From the preface to the *Sejarah Malayu* it seems clear that there had been previous written traditions. Do any such remain in Goa or in Portugal ? It would be a fascinating quest to seek them.

The *Sejarah Malayu*, as Wilkinson says (89, 0p. 32) " is an anecdotal history ; its kernel is the pedigree of the royal house of Malacca ; its flesh is made up of the legends and of the gossip associated with that royal house. As evidence of historic truth it is usually treated rather uncritically, being sometimes overvalued and sometimes unfairly depreciated."

In his *History of Malaya* (92, pp. 34, 35) Sir Richard Winstedt writes :—

" The historian makes a sure land-fall at last when he comes to the fourteenth century Tumasik, so-called[2] by Wang Ta-Yuan in 1349 and in the Malay Annals—probably anachronistically as having been " visited " by a Chola King after his conquest of Lenggiu on a tributary of the Johore River in the eleventh century! The history of ancient Singapore in those same annals is unfortunately only a hotch-potch of myths and tradition. The annalist gives a dynasty of five Kings. The progenitor of the line bears the name of Sang Sapurba after a nymph of Indra's heaven, perhaps a corruption of Prabhu, a fourteenth century title of Majapahit princes ; but criticism is hardly concerned with a male nymph who was credited with being the founder of the royal house of old Palembang and at the same time the son of Raja Suran, the

[1]There is also a French translation by L. M. Devic, *Légendes et traditions historiques de l'Archipel Indien*, 1878.

[2]Actually the Chinese represents Tan-Ma-Hsi.

Chola invader of the XIth century ! As ruler of Palembang he styled himself Trimurti Tribuana ! A son of his with the name of another nymph, Nila Uttama, married the daughter of a Permaisuri queen of Bentam, and descrying Tumasik from a tall cliff, while hunting deer, crossed over, became its first King and changed its name to Singapura, styling himself Batara Sri Tribuana. The style Tribuana was best known as that of a queen of Majapahit (1329-50) but may refer to the three Kings of Sri Vijaya to whom the Ming chronicles allude. The last king but one of Singapore is given the old Sri Vijaya title of Sri Maharaja, while the last of all is credited with the Muslim title of Iskandar (or Alexander), because Sumatran folklore connected Alexander with Mahameru, the mountain of the Sailendra dynasty, and as the Malay rulers of Malacca claimed descent from these Sailendras, they also must have been connected with an Alexander who must have been the Macedonian conqueror ! The end of the thirteenth century saw the coming of Islam ; and according to Malay historians Alexander brought it ; so tradition slipped an Iskandar into the Malacca genealogy at the most plausible place, the only possible place between the Hindu period and the historical rulers of Malacca. So much for the olla-podrida of the *Malay Annals*."

It would be a pity if this passage were allowed to be the last word upon the traditional matter of the Annals and we shall devote our remaining space to suggesting other views. What ancient history, particularly what Oriental history, is not "a hotch-potch of myths and tradition " ? Are not the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, the Puranas capable of being so described ? But has historical scholarship abandoned them for that reason ? Surely we should endeavour to ascertain the historical basis upon which the tradition, however distorted, is based. Science nowadays treats traditions with respect and finds them on many occasions to be clues and guides to the facts which lie at their base.

The existence of ancient Singhapura is vouchsafed nowhere save in the Malay traditions which the Malay Annals embody ; the name is not even mentioned anywhere else. But no scholar has yet denied its existence or hesitated to ascribe the name to the Tumasik, Tamasak or Tan-ma-hsi of other records or to the ruins of the ancient settlement which remained visible when the British came to the island of Singapore in 1819. Either the Malay Annals are utterly worthless as being " a hotch-potch of myths and tradition ", in which case they must logically be rejected *in toto*, or they are not entirely worthless, in which case they must be subjected to criticism and analysis. The latter view was that which prevailed prior to the appearance of the *History of Malaya* and it is by no means clear from that work and his other writings that it is not Sir Richard Winstedt's own view despite the derision of the passage which we have quoted.

We feel that Indian scholars, if they were provided with an authoritative and complete translation of the Annals and the other traditional texts, would agree with Sir William Maxwell

when he wrote (93, p. 183) " if, as there seems good reason for believing, the Hindoo legends in these works are traceable to the Braminical scriptures of India, their value from an ethnological point of view may perhaps some day be better appreciated." Maxwell himself dealt with these Indian origins in two well-known articles to which the reader is referred (94 and 95).

Let us examine shortly the traditional descent as given in Leyden's translation (90). The first annal deals with the descent of the ancient kings of Palembang which it traces from Alexander the Great, called Raja Secander, or Iskandar, and this has long remained a favourite name with Malay Rajahs. As already observed in the passage quoted from the *History of Malaya* the last king of Singapore (who was the first of Malacca) is called Iskandar Shah in the Annals. Wilkinson has dealt at length with the Alexander Myth (96, pp. 75-78) and has suggested that it was not really myth but " bad historical research, the work of men who tried to make events fit in with their idea of the course that events should have taken." Would it not perhaps be better to say that it was not so much bad historical research as a deliberate gloss endeavouring to attune an almost forgotten tradition to the ears of the writer's own times ? As the author says, " I happened to be present at an assembly of the learned and noble, when one of the principal persons of the party observed to me, that he had heard of a Malay story, which had been lately brought by a nobleman from the land of Gua,[1] and that it would be proper for some person to correct it according to the institutions of the Malays, that it might be useful to posterity." Wilkinson (89, p. 19) records this passage as " I have just heard that a Malay history has been brought from Goa ; let us re-write it in proper form so that it may be a source of knowledge to our descendants who may profit by its contents." It is clear, then, that the Malay Annals was a re-writing; and one ventures the suggestion that a name had descended in the tradition which sounded like Secandar or Iskandar and which in Mohammedan times had become that appellation. The writer of the Annals accordingly takes the original founder of the line to be the great Iskandar and begins his book with the Persian version of Alexander's life and goes on therefrom to give a kind of Persian dynastic genealogy, beginning with one Araston Shah who reigned for 350 years which Braddell (91, p. 131) says is the usual way for Eastern histories to express a dynasty. The names of the kings which follow next are well worthy of philological examination ; Braddell attempted it but he was writing in Penang in 1851 and far from any reference library.

What then is the explanation of Raja Secandar and Iskandar Shah ? We shall see later the strong connection of the Indian ruling families in south-eastern Asia with the dynasties of Southern India and particularly with the Pallava dynasty, and the suggestion immediately occurs to one's mind that the original name may have been Skanda, Skandavarman, Skandasishya or Skan-

[1]Goa.

daunishya; names closely connected with, and constantly recurring in, the ancient history of southern India.

Proceeding through the curious genealogy we reach a Raja Narsi or Tarsi Barderas who married the daughter of a Raja Salan, King of Amdan Nagara. By this marriage there were three sons, Raja Heiran who inherited Hind, Raja Suran to whom was given his grandfather's Amdan Nagara, and Raja Panden who reigned in Turkestan. From Raja Suran is traced the descent of the Malacca Sultans.

Braddell (91, pp. 132, 133) says that in this three fold division the annalist takes a deeper step into Persian history and that it "is clearly copied from that made in the reign of Feridoun, 6th of the Peishdadian dynasty, about 750 B.C." and he says that the Heiran and Suran of the annalist are obviously Iran and Turan. Maxwell (94, pp. 94 ff.) suggests that Amdan Nagara was Gujerat and not Hamadan in Persia as Braddell had taken it to be. Maxwell (95, p. 399) further points out that "one of the most striking coincidences in the traditions of different Malay States is the constant recurrence of three persons as the founders of kingdoms, the authors of government and order, or the progenitors of a line of rulers." He then quotes from a Menangkabau, Sumatra, tradition in the Malay MS. which was at that time in his possession telling how Iskandar Z'ul Karnayn (Lord of the two horns, *i.e.* Alexander the Great) begot three sons named respectively Maharaja Alif, Maharaja Dipang and Maharaja Diraja. These three while on a voyage arrived at Ceylon where they agreed to separate. Then the eldest Maharaja Alif claimed the Crown *Makota*[1] *Singhatahana*[2]. The brothers disputed over the crown and an angel came to whom they surrendered it, and who let it fall into the sea, instantly vanishing thereafter. "Then said Maharaja Alif "How now, my brethren, will ye sail towards the setting of the sun?" Maharaja Dipang replied, "I intend to sail for a land between the rising and setting of the sun." And Maharaja Diraja said, "As my two elder brothers have thus decided, I shall sail for the rising sun, and we will take our chance of what fortune may befall us". Then Maharaja Alif set sail for the setting sun, namely, Roum; and Maharaja Dipang sailed to the dark land, the country of China; and Maharaja Diraja sailed away to the land of the rising sun, and after a long time reached the top of the burning mountain (Menangkabau in Sumatra)."

Maxwell goes on to quote from Marsden (97, pp. 341-2) a Johore legend also dealing with the three brothers and the crown: he only quotes part but the full passage from Marsden is as follows:—

"Upon the obscure history of these supposed brethren some light is thrown by the following legend communicated to me as the belief of the people of Johor. "It is related that

[1]Mahkota; Malay for 'crown' from the sanskrit *Mukuta*.

[2]A name again well worthy of philological examination; see *infra* (p. 51) the way in which Wilkinson spells the name.

Iskandar dived into the sea, and there married a daughter of the King of the ocean, by whom he had three sons, who, when they arrived at manhood, were sent by their mother to the residence of their father. He gave them a *Makuta* or crown, and ordered them to find Kingdoms where they should establish themselves. Arriving in the straits of Singa-pura they determined to try whose head the crown fitted. The eldest trying first could not lift it to his head. The second the same. The third had nearly effected it, when it fell from his hand into the sea. After this the eldest turned to the west and became king of Rome, the second to the east and became king of China. The third remained at Johor. At this time *Pulo Percha* (Sumatra) had not risen from the waters. When it began to appear, this king of Johor, being on a fishing party, and observing it oppressed by a huge snake named *Si-Kati-muno*, attacked the monster with his sword called *Samandang-giri*, and killed it, but not till the sword had received one hundred and ninety notches in the encounter. The island being thus allowed to rise, he went and settled by the burning mountain, and his descendants became kings of Menangkabau." "

There are actually three sets of three sons in the traditions and the last quoted legend seems to mix two of these sets because as we shall see it was Raja Suran who married the daughter of the ocean King and had by her three sons.

Of the three sons of Raja Salan as stated in the Annals, *i.e.* Heiran, Suran and Panden, the Malay Sultanates trace from Suran, who is supposed to be the progenitor of the kings of Palembang, as we shall show later. Might there not be here the lingering distorted tradition that these kings claimed a descent from the Indian Solar Kings?

There are three houses which were the recognized royal houses in India and " Indian princes even at the present day generally trace their descent to one or another of these houses " (98, p. 42). These three houses were the Lunar from Candra or Candramas, the Solar from Surya, and the Agni-Kula, who were from the sage Jamad-Agni. According to Gunawardhana the earthly ancestor of the solar race was Manu VII, Chief of the Dravidas, as the Bhagavata Purana states. Whether Surya was the sun-god or was the brother of King Sambara whom the Aryans are supposed to have defeated, he stands as the head of the Solar Kings just as Candra, Sambara's other brother, stands as the head of the Lunar Kings.

It may further be noted that in the fourth Annal we get a reference to " a raja of the land of Kling, named Adi Bernilam Raja Mudeliar, who was descended of Raja Suran. He was a raja of the city of Bija Nagara, and had a son named Jambuga Rama Mudeliar, who succeeded to the throne on the death of his father " etc. Here we have a southern Indian King claiming descent from Raja Suran.

Is it a possible suggestion that Raja Suran was once Surya?

At all events, the inference from the dim and almost forgotten legends which the Malay traditional descents embody is that the kings of Palembang traced their descent from some great ancestor and from three brothers, of whom one is called Raja Suran in these traditional descents. Quite possibly the three brothers were not descended from the great ancestor but *vice versâ*, in which case one would have an ancestor with a name such as Skanda-varman etc. descended from Surya, one of the three great houses of Kings. Admittedly it is speculation and can be nothing else.

The continual reference to the loss of the crown, a different version of which appears in the Malay Annals, may be explicable by the reasons for the coming of the kings to Sumatra but this we shall consider in a later place. It would certainly seem to point to some essential fact in their dynastic history.

Wilkinson in his Dictionary writes this *sub* Mahkota ; " Strictly speaking, Malay Sultans had no crown. The Malay idea of a crown was a tiered head-dress like the Papal tiara ; one is illustrated on the old Perak official buttons. It is probably of Persian origin though it bears some resemblance to Indo-Chinese head-dresses. The absence of a diadem is explained by tradition in a legend that the crown of Alexander which was brought by Sang Sapurba to Sumatra was afterwards lost in the sea. The Peninsular account makes Telok Blanga the scene of the loss (Malay Annals 32) ; the Sumatran account says that divers found the crown but could not drive away a serpent (*ular bidai*) that had coiled round it. They therefore had a copy made, the *mangkota sanggohani*, reputed to be in the Minangkabau regalia ; after which they slew the luckless jeweller who copied it so as to prevent his making other duplicates (*Must. Adat* 30, 31)." Unfortunately, there seems to be very little written about the Sumatran legends in English and it would be a most useful thing if some local Malay scholar would deal with the subject in this Journal. Wilkinson's reference to the Malay idea of a crown reminds one of a well-known passage from Wang Ta-Yuan concerning the " be-jewelled cap " of the chieftain of Tan-ma-hsi quoted by Winstedt (92, p. 35), which passage we shall notice further when we come to deal with ancient Singhapura.

The second Annal opens with the coming of three brothers, sons of Raja Suran, to Palembang and makes the founder of ancient Singhapura to be the son of one of these three. It is very clear that into the account of Raja Suran and in the second Annal's description of the founding of ancient Singhapura several hundred years of traditional history are telescoped, doubtless because that traditional history was so dimly remembered. The tremendous social, religious and political changes wrought by the coming of Islam doubtless caused the ancient Indian traditions to be more quickly forgotten than they would otherwise have been ; if indeed they would have been forgotten at all but for that coming. The same spirit which, as we shall see, caused the physical breaking of the ancient Indian effigies and religious places must have caused the spiritual breaking of the ancient Indian traditions.

We will now consider the identification of Raja Suran with the Chola King who ravaged the Straits of Malacca in the XIth century, an identification which is so very positively asserted in the passage which we have quoted from Sir Richard Winstedt's *History of Malaya*.

The Annals say that on the death of Raja Salan, Raja Suran reigned in his place at Amdan Nagara, all the kings of the east and west acknowledging his power except China which he determined to subdue. He collected an army accordingly and after marching for two months arrived at Gangga Nagara. The Annals identify this place as on the river Dinding in Perak. Except for this statement in the Annals there is not the slightest evidence that any place in the Peninsula was ever called Gangga Nagara, much less any part of Perak. The only name which we come across that has the slightest resemblance to it is Ptolemy's Kokkonagara or Konkonagara ; and that is clearly quite different because Ptolemy speaks of Gange and the Gangaridai in India, Gange being, of course, the equivalent of Gangga.

Having killed the King of Gangga Nagara and taken to wife his daughter, Putri Gangga, Raja Suran then advanced to Klang Kiu, which Braddell corrects to Glang Kiu (91).[1] The Annals say that Glang Kiu was in former times a great country, possessing a fort of black stone up the river Johore, and that its King was Raja Chulan.[2] Raja Suran killed Raja Chulan and married his daughter Putri Onang-Kiu. As we shall see, he had three sons by her. Once more there is no evidence at all save that of the Annals that Johore or any part of it was ever called Klang or Glang Kiu or Ganggayu.

Winstedt in the passage we have quoted asserts quite definitely that Raja Suran was a Chola invader of the XIth century who visited Tumasik after his conquest of Lenggiu on a tributary of the Johore River.

So far as the Chola invader is concerned, the reference is, of course, to Rajendra Chola I and his campaign along the Straits of Malacca *circa* 1025 A.D. In identifying him with Raja Suran it is clear that Winstedt must be accepting the identification of Gangga Nagara with Perak and Glang Kiu with Johore. He thus accepts the authority of the Annals at its maximum value and then proceeds to use his identification for the purpose of destroying the value of his authority. If the identification of Gangga Nagara and Glang Kiu is incorrect, nothing remains to connect the Chola King with Raja Suran. The whole argument, then, can be criticized as being illogical and it is furthermore a strange thing that it is not a Chola King who is the vanquisher but the vanquished, for surely Raja Chulan, if it suggests anything, suggests a Chola. Moreover if Raja Suran were a Chola, then the Kings of Palem-

[1]Given in Devic's translation as ' Ganggayou ', *i.e.*, Ganggayu.
[2]Given by Devic as ' Raja Tchoulin ', *i.e.*, Chulin.

bang were descended from Cholas by tradition, which would be a startingly novel proposition and for which there is no historical foundation whatsoever.

The history of this positive identification of Suran with Rajendra Chola I is illuminating. Colonel Gerini first made the suggestion, repeated in 1909 in his *Researches* (46, p. 98) and drew from Wilkinson in 1907 the following (89, p. 33) :—" Raja Suran is not a very convincing historical figure, and most of his adventures can be traced to the romance of Alexander. Nevertheless, Colonel Gerini, a well-known writer on Siamese subjects, has thought fit to take Raja Suran seriously and to give us the date on which he overcame Raja Chulan." In 1920 Blagden (98, p. 26) wrote that " comparing these somewhat scanty historical facts with the legends handed down by tradition and embodied in Malay literature, one is tempted to see in the mythical expedition of Raja Suran down the Malay Peninsula (*Sejarah Melayu*, Chapt. I) a vague reflection of the Chola raids of the 11th century." In the same year we have Winstedt (99) writing that " it is very probable, as Blagden has suggested (J.R.A.S. (S.A.) No. 81) that Raja Suran represents a Chula King who was at enmity with Palembang and ravaged Palembang's subject state Kedah." In 1924 Wilkins suddenly blossoms out as a wholehearted convert to the Gerini theory which in 1907 he had been deriding. He identifies (100, pp. 290-1) the Glang Kiu country with Lenggiu without giving any reason or authority for doing so ; and then says " The Malay Annals' recall the destruction of Kiu by a Chula King from southern India ; " and also " But Gangganegara (Bruas) of which the site is well-known and much more accessible, was also taken by the Chola King and yield inscriptions", thus identifying Gangga-negara with Bruas, again without giving reason or authority ; and saying that its site is well-known and easy of access, meaning in reality that the site of Bruas is well-known and easy of access.

As for this positive assertion that Glang Kiu is Lenggiu up the Johore River, which Winstedt has adopted in 1934 in the passage quoted from his *History of Malaya*, he himself provided the best answer in 1932 in his *History of Johore* (101, p. 3). After mentioning Raja Suran's conquest of Gangga Nagara, he quotes a passage from the Annals concerning Ganggayu, as he there calls it, *i.e.* Glang Kiu, and the fort of black stone, He then says: " If only that fort of black stone could be traced or a Hindu relic be unearthed at Chandi Bemban up the Madek river or scholarship determine the origin of such names as Lenggiu (a tributary of the Johor) on whose banks are places with names so suggestive as Pasir Berhala and Gajah Mina, then at last the early history of Johor might be unravelled." So there we have it ; the identification of Lenggiu (wherever or whatever that may be) with Glang Kiu is a mere guess ; and the fact is that there is no such place as Lenggiu at all. There is a Lenggiu River but nobody knows why it is called the Lenggiu.

So we find Blagden's temptation becoming Winstedt's probability and then Wilkinson's definite assertion and lastly passing into the *History of Malaya* as fact.[1]

Is it not far more likely that the annalist coming across a tradition that Raja Suran (or whoever the King actually was) had conquered Gangga Nagara and a place which reached the annalist as Klang or Glang Kiu or Ganggayu identified those places with his own country, the Malay Peninsula, either to extol the progenitor of his Rajas or because he thought it more acceptable to posterity ?

Gangga Nagara at once suggests India and the ancient Ganga-rastra or Gangaradha, as does Ganggayu, if that is really the way in which Glang Kiu should be written, as stated in the passage quoted from Winstedt's *History of Johore*. Pliny mentions the Gangaridae-Kalingae and they were one of those Kalinga tribes who made up the Tri-Kalingas or Three Kalingas. McCrindle (102, pp. 134-137) says that the three tribes mentioned by Pliny—the Maccocalingae, the Modogalingae and the Gangaridae-Kalingae—were subdivisions of the Kalingae, "a widely diffused race, which spread at one time from the delta of the Ganges all along the eastern coast of the peninsula, though afterwards they did not extend southward beyond Orissa. In the *Mahabharata* they are mentioned as occupying, along with the Vangas (from whom Bengal is named) and three other leading tribes, the region which lies between Magadha and the sea." A King of Vanga married a daughter of the King of Kalinga, says the Mahavamsa ; their son founded the Lion City, Simhapura, in Ceylon and became its King (see 103 generally). Ptolemy also mentions the royal city of Gange and the Gangaridai. It is unnecessary to pursue the matter further but we suggest that an explanation of Raja Suran's campaign is more likely to come from ancient Indian history than from Rajendra Chola I's campaign of the XIth century A.D.

The next matter worthy of note in connection with Raja Suran is the story of his descent under the sea and his marriage with the daughter of an under-sea king, by whom he had three sons, the youths with whom the story of the Palembang Kings begins. This marriage at once suggests a tradition of a Naga alliance and, if so, is thoroughly in keeping with any south Indian royal descent. Winstedt has sensed this in a characteristic note (104, p. 418) but the reader should also refer to the articles by Srinivasachari (105) and Przyluski (106). The former shows that the earliest Pallava epigraphs give accounts of the connection of the Pallavas with a Naga princess and there was a strong connection between the Chola country and the Nagas, Kaveripattinam, the ancient Chola capital at the mouth of the Kaveri, being traditionally recorded as the capital of the Nagas. The well-known connection between the Pallavas and the ancient Indian

[1]It even appears in the Annual Report on Johore, a Government Publication. R.B.

dynasties of south-eastern Asia quite possibly accounts for the fact brought out in Przyluski's article that throughout south-eastern Asia there are strong traditions of an alliance with a sea princess or a Nagi. At p. 276 in a footnote he cites the legend of Raja Suran from the *Sejarah Malayu*.

Chatterji (107, pp. 4-5) writes :—" The origin of the Sailendra dynasty of Srivijaya (with its headquarters at Palembang in S. E. Sumatra) seems also to be associated with the Naga tradition. In the Chu-fan-chi of Chao Ju-Koua, a work on Chinese trade in the 12th century, it is stated :—" They (the people of San-fo-tsi or Srivijaya) gave the title of ' long-tsing ' to their King." Now the Chinese word *long-tsing* according to Pelliot means " the seed of the Naga."

" The old Tamil poem Manimegalai mentions a town Nagapuram in Savaka-nadu which is the Tamil name for Java.[1] Two Kings of Nagapuram are mentioned—Bhumi Chandra and Punyaraja—who claimed descent from Indra. This Nagi legend is found, on the other hand, among the Pallavas of Kanchi. There are two inscriptions dating from the IXth century giving the genealogy of the Pallava Kings. According to the first, Asvathaman, the son of Drona, married a Nagi and their offspring was Skandasisya, the legendary ancestor of the Pallava Kings." Owing to exigencies of type we have had to alter Chatterji's spelling of several of the names above but the true Sanskrit pronunciation of Skandasisya, as we have had to write it, brings us very close to the Malay Iskandar Shah. We shall elaborate later the facts set out in the above quotation ; and for the present put it before the reader for his consideration in connection with what we have written about the Malay traditional descent.

We make the suggestion then that Raja Suran was a composite figure equipped with traditional matter which really related to several figures in the Palembang dynastic tradition ; and it appears to us that a close examination of this figure of Malay tradition by competent hands would be very profitable.

By the daughter of Raja Chulan of Glang Kiu, Raja Suran had three sons, Bichitram Shah, Palidutani and Nilumanam. By the daughter of the king of the land under the sea, he had also three sons, Bichitram Shah, Nila Pahlawan or Palawan, and Carna Pandita or Kama Pandita. But there is a curious break between the first and second annals, as given by Leyden. The first ends with the three sons, Bichitram Shah, Palidutani and Nilumanam. It tells us that Raja Suran placed his second son Palidutani on the throne of Amdan Nagara, and his son Nilumanam in the country of Chandukani but to his eldest son Bichitram Shah he only gave a small piece of territory which so displeased the prince that he embarked with " twenty vessels fitted out with all the apparatus of war determining to conquer all the maritime districts." He conquered many places until he reached " the sea of Silbou " where, being caught in a dreadful hurricane, his

[1]This is doubtful ; more likely ' the Malay Country.'

fleet was dispersed, and the half of them returned to the country of Chandukani, but the fate of the other half is unknown. The adventures of this prince were very numerous but here are only alluded to briefly."

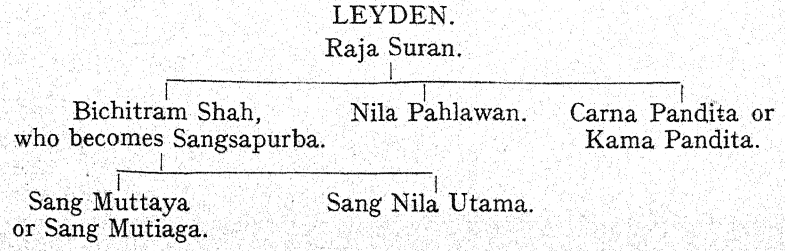
The second annal tells of the appearance of three princes in Palembang. We learn that the ruler of Palembang at that time was called Damang (Demang) Lebar Daun, or Chief Broad Leaf, which Maxwell (95, p. 404) has stated to be a name thoroughly characteristic of the aboriginal Malay tribes. We are told that two young girls are working in the terrace rice-fields and see their fields one night gleaming and glittering like fire. When daylight comes they ascend the mountain of Sagantang Maha Miru and find the grain of the rice converted into gold, the leaves into silver and the stalks into brass; then going further up they see that all the soil of the mountain is of the colour of gold and on the ground which had assumed this golden colour they see three young and handsome men. One of them wears the dress of a raja and is mounted on a bull, white as silver, while the other two stand on his either side, one holding a sword and the other a spear. The one on the bull explains that they are the descendants of Raja Secander Zulkarneini and the offspring of Raja Suran, king of the east and west. " My name ", he says, " is Bichitram Shah who am raja; the name of this person is Nila Pahlawan ; and the name of the other, Carna Pandita. This is the sword *Chora sa mendang kian*, and that is the lance, *Limbuar* ; this is the signet, *Cayu Gampil*, which is employed in correspondence with Rajas."

The name of Bichitram Shah was changed into Sangsapurba and the bull vomited foam from which stepped a man named Bat'h who began to recite the praises of Sangsapurba and gave him the title Sangsapurba Trimarti Trib'huvena. Nila Pahlawan and Carna Pandita married the two girls who had met them in the rice-fields, while Sangsapurba married the daughter of Demang Lebar Daun and assumed the throne of Palembang, the Demang becoming his *mangkubumi*.

Sangsapurba had two sons, Sang Muttaya and Sang Nila Utama, the founder of Singhapura.

Braddell (91) from his text gives the names of the sons of Raja Suran as Bichitram Shah, Nila Palawan and Kama Pandita ; and the sons of Sangsapurba as Sang Mutiaga and Sang Nila Utama.

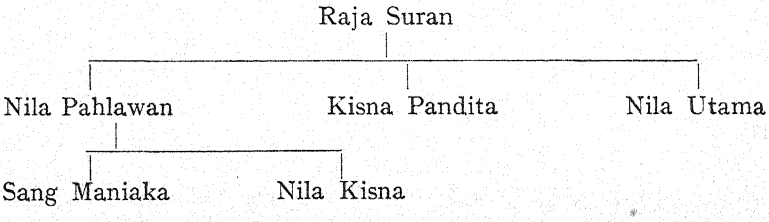
We can summarize the above genealogy thus :—



Winstedt (104, p. 413) writes: "According to Dulaurier's text (*Collection des Pincipales Chroniques Malayes*, vol. 11, Paris, 1856, p. 35) Bichitram Shah accompanied by Nila Pahlawan, Kisna Pandita and Nila Uttama, came from heaven down to a mountain in Palembang, Bichitram Shah was given the title of Sang Sapurba, made ruler of the country and begat two sons Maniaka and Nila Kisna.....(ib. p. 54)—it would appear however that this text has dragged in a redundant Bichitram Shah not to leave him out of the story." Now, there is no copy of the 1856 Dulaurier edition available to the present writer, though there is an 1849 one in Taiping. Devic, however, states in his preface that his translation is that of Dulaurier's text. Devic's French translation mentions Bichitram Shah as one of the three sons of Raja Suran by one mother while the three by the other are named as Nila Pahlawan, the eldest, Kisna Pandita, the second, and Nila Utama the third. There is no redundant Bichitram Shah whatsoever nor is he mentioned at all in this connection. It is Nila Pahlawan who becomes Sang Sapurba and has two sons Sang Maniaka and Nila Kisna.

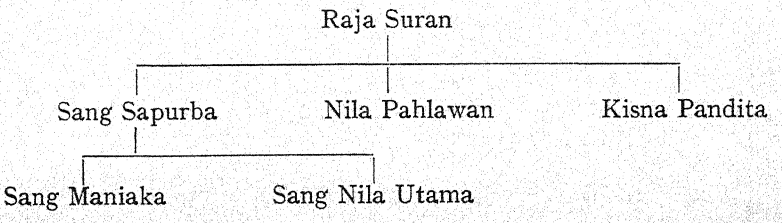
We can summarize these genealogies as follows:—

DEVIC



Shellabear's Malay text according to Winstedt (104 p. 413) states that "the three persons who descended on the Palembang hill were Nila Pahlawan, Kisna Pandita and Nila Uttama and that they were half-brothers of Bichitram Shah, their father being Raja Suran and their mother a princess from a kingdom in the depths of the sea. Nila Uttama is given the title of Sang Sapurba and begets Maniaka on a daughter of a Palembang aboriginal chief."

Wilkinson in *Twentieth Century Impressions of Brtish Malaya*, 1908, gives this as being the genealogy in the Malay Annals,



He says that the author of the Malay Annals, however, gave a different genealogy to his friend the author of the *Bustanu's salatin*, as follows :—

Raja Suran

Sang Sapurba — Sang Baniaka — Sang Nila Utama

Sir William Maxwell (95) gives a variant of the story of the princes from a Perak MS. then in his possession. Here the princes are named Najitram, Paldutani and Nila Asnam ; and " they were seated on a white elephant and each of them had girded on by his side a sword named " Chora Samandang Kiri." This is the royal sword of state of all Malay rajas. Each of them also held in his left hand a wand (*Kayu gamit*), that is to say, the *chap halilintar* (' the seal of the thunderbolt ')." It is also said in this MS. that they were " the sons of a raja who had descended from the abode of Indra." " The eldest prince was sought out by the people of Andalas[1] and made by them King of Menang Kabau. And he took the royal title of Sang Purba. Afterwards the people of Tanjong Pura[2] came and fetched away the second prince. His royal title was Sang Manika. The youngest remained at Palembang with Raja Demang Lebar Daun, and was made King at Palembang and invested with the royal title of Sang Nila Utama. To him Demang Lebar Daun resigned his throne, and became Mangko- bumi or Chief minister."

Here we have quite obviously a very different version from that of Leyden's text ; and in Appendix A of their *History of Perak* (108), Winstedt and Wilkinson deal with the Perak version of the dynastic legend, in which we get still other names. In the first version there are two princes, Raja Kilan and Raja Chulan, the sons of Raja Suran, and they appear in a rice-clearing in the land of Minangkabau. Raja Chulan married the daughter of Demang Lebar Daun, Chief of that country. In the other version we get four sons of Raja Chulan—Nila Utama, Nila Pandita, Nila Pendaga and Nila Kechil Bongsu. The first became Emperor of Byzantium and China, the second Sultan of Singapore and Malacca, the third Sultan of Perak. Then the authors say (at p. 120) " These legends are Perak variants of the stories told in the " Malay Annals " of the founders of the Palembang and Singapore dynasties. Even there they are folk-lore (J.R.A.S.M.B., 1926, vol. IV pp. 413-419)[3]. Nila Uttama, for instance, is Tilottama, an Apsara or nymph of Indra's heaven ! "

Such is the most unsatisfactory condition in which we find the names of the princes in the traditional legends and the absence of a critical study and an authoritative text is much to be deplored. How can one criticize a thing until one knows exactly what that thing is ? Winstedt wrote (99) " Accord-

[1]Sumatra.
[2]A part of Borneo.
[3]*i. e.*, No. 104 in the bibliography hereto.

ing to the *Sejarah Melayu*, (Leyden's " Malay Annals ", pp. 20-44) the founder of old Singapore was Sang Nila Utama. He was the grandson of Raja Suran and the son of Sang Sapurba, ruler of Minang Kabau, and he had a brother Sang Maniaka. The more scholarly author of the *Bustanu's-Salatin* made Sang Sapurba, Sang Baniaka and Sang Nila Utama, three brothers, the children of Raja Suran." Winstedt then goes on to show that his authority for identifying Sang Sapurba with a female nymph is an article in Dutch by van der Tuuk. He writes that " it is hardly perhaps known to English students that van der Tuuk, in his *Bataksch Leesboek*, IV, pp. 115, has robbed Singapore of its legendary founder by identifying Sang Sapurba, Sang Maniaka and Nila Utama with Suprabta, Tillottama and Menaka, three well-known nymphs (*apsaras*) of Indra's heaven " etc. The whole note should be studied; it shows the authority upon which some of the statements which we have quoted from the *History of Malaya* are made. Leyden's Annals as a fact do not mention Sang Maniaka at all.

The identification of Nila Uttama with an *apsara* named Tilottama is, then, the theory of a very distinguished Dutch orientalist. On the other hand, however, Uttama was in fact a royal name in India, *e.g.* Uttama Data, who was one of the early Naga Kings (109, p. 15). In sanskrit *Uttama* means 'highest, supreme or chief.'

As for the name Sang Sapurba, Sir William Maxwell (95, p. 403, n. 2; see also 110) said that " *Sang* is a title applied in Malay and Javanese to Gods and heroes of pre-Muhammadan times. Applied to gods it is often coupled with the word *hyang* which means " divinity " " deity " and then becomes *sangyang*. Sang is still an ordinary title among the chiefs of the aboriginal tribes of the Peninsula. It is probably of Sanskrit origin and, like the *sain* and *sahib* of India, is probably derived from *swami*. *Purba* is the sanskrit word *purva* 'first'. Sang Purba may therefore be translated " first deity " or " first chief "." Wilkinson's Dictionary shows that *sang-yang* is used in connection with major divinities such as Visnu, and that it is added to the titles of heroes and kings and also certain minor dignitaries but he says that these last *sang* titles are now obsolete. We shall at a later stage adduce also an interesting Chinese reference to the title *sang*. Blagden (111, pp. 150-151) shows that the name Sungei Ujong is really Sang Hyang Hujung, which means much the same as our " Holyhead."

If the *Purba* in Sang Sapurba is really Prabhu (as it quite likely is), then the name would be Saprabhu or something like that. Now it is a fact that Suprabha is the name of one of the seven princes who were the masters of the continent of Shalmali as stated in the Puranas, *e.g.* the Agni Purana, Ch. CXIX; the Vishnu Purana, section IV. So, is there any need to assert that the male prince Sang Sapurba was the nymph Suprabta merely because of a similarity of name?

Nila is used in the Annals in respect of both men and women, see, for instance, the opening of the fourth Annal in Leyden's version. In sanskrit *nila* means 'dark blue or sapphire' etc, and it is an epithet of Siva; there is one of the puranas called the Nila Purana and one also finds Nila in the name of a mountain[1] and a river. Nila Uttama in sanskrit would accordingly seem to mean the Sapphire-blue Chief or Supreme Being.

Unable as we are to read Dutch, we cannot state the reasoning which led van der Tuuk to convert Sang Nila Uttama into Tilottama; but there does not seem from other sources open to us to be any reason for thinking that it is other than a sanskrit expression applicable to the founder of a dynasty.

Whoever Sang Nila Uttama was, he could not have been the founder of Singapore in the way in which the Annals tell the story; and once more we have the annalist telescoping legendary history, fitting such facts as have reached him on to such figures as have reached him.

According to Leyden's Annals, Bichitram Shah who was given the title of Sang Sapurba first became king of Palembang and then king of Tanjong-pura, after which he went to Bentan, which is Bintang opposite Singapore. Here his son Sang Nila Uttama became Raja of Bentan and Sang Sapurba "gave him a kingly crown, the gold of which could not be seen for the multitude of gems, pearls, and diamonds with which it was studded". This crown was the one lost in a storm opposite Singapore according to the Annals. Then Sang Sapurba finally became king of Minangkabau where he slew the great serpent Saktimuna; and from him, say the Annals, are descended all the rajas of Pagaroyung to this day.[2] Nila Uttama went on from Bentan to found Singhapura.

We get therefore the *propositus* Raja Suran; his son, Sang Sapurba, founder of the dynasty of Palembang; his grandson, Nila Uttama, founder of Singhapura and the royal Malacca dynasty. The ancient kingdom at Palembang dates from the 7th century at the latest; and Singapore from the thirteenth. It is clear that in the second Annal we are being given the traditional arrival of the Palembang kings in Sumatra but where the annalist fails after that is that he telescopes several centuries of history and makes Singhapura to be founded by the son of the first Palembang King. Blagden pointed out in 1920 (111, p. 26) that the coming of the three princes to Mount Siguntang Mahameru was "not a Malay national legend but an echo of the dynastic tradition of the Palembang family which claimed to spring from "the King of the mountains"," *i.e.* the Sailendravamsa, or Family of the Lords of the Mountain.

Winstedt deals with Mahameru in the passage which we have quoted from his *History of Malaya*. Wilkinson in his dictionary under "Seguntang" writes "Bukit Seguntang; (locally) Bukit Siguntang-

[1]The Nila Mountain is mentioned in the Puranas.
[2]Pagar-ruyong was the seat of the Rajas of Menangkabau.

guntang ; the traditional hill at the foot of Mahameru on which Sang Seperba and his brothers appeared before founding the Shailendra or " mountain " dynasty of Sri Vijaya (Palembang). The dynasty was founded in the eighth century A.D. The hill of Seguntang is really a hummock on the banks of the Jambi River, the site of a later palace of the Shailendras; cf. *Hang Tuah.* Geographically it has nothing to do with Mahameru ; but later tradition which knew of the legendary coming of the kings from the Mahameru foothills (Shailendra) and knew them also as Seguntang Kings identified the latter site with the foothills of the former."

This passage is open to criticism, as we shall see later when considering the history of Sri Vijaya, but it serves as a good introduction to the consideration of the Malay tradition concerning Mount Mahameru.

Braddell wrote the following note as to Bukit Seguntang in 1851 (91, v, pp. 176-7) :—" *Sagantang Maha Miru.* I am not aware whether the derivation of this word has been satisfactorily settled. The following is offered as a probable one from Hindu mythology. We are informed that the earth is circular and flat, 4,000,000,000 of miles in circumference, in the centre is Mount Meru 600,000 miles high etc., etc. this mount has three peaks, one of gold, one of silver, and one of iron, the seats respectively of Brahma, Siva and Vishnu, etc., etc. The Himalaya mountains are called Maha Miru, but whether figuratively, as resembling the general description of that mount, or literally, I am not aware ; nor does it appear to be of much consequence at present. Bichitram Shah is described as descending to the Palembang Plains from Mount Maha Miru, and we can suppose that, at the time these annals were written, that event had become traditionary, and would consequently be involved in mystery and fable. The Indian prince, of a superior race, and of a higher degree of civilization, would probably, among the simple inland inhabitants of Palembang, be considered as a new Avatara, and the mountain from which he descended, would be holy as the heaven or Maha Meru of Vishnu. At the very place described as that from which Bichitram Shah appeared, we have the sacred Gunong Dempo and a further similarity will be found in the fact that in conjunction with Dempo, are two other peaks Lumut and Berapi, the latter as its name denotes being a volcanic mountain, which, among all uncivilized nations, is the object of veneration. These three would form a sufficient likeness, taken in conjunction with their great height, to the original Maha Meru. (The Semiru of the Brata Yudha, see Raffles' Java, has most probably a similar origin)."

Though written more than eighty years ago, the modern citations which we are about to make will show how right in essence this note is.

We must remind the reader once more of the ancient Indian habit of carrying about the names of famous or holy places. Even

in India itself they did this; thus, Sarkar (29, p. 11) says that " for the benefit of those who could not travel, some local rivers and cities of the south were named after those of the north and regarded as equally sanctifying. Thus, Madura is the southern Mathura, and the Godavari is the southern Ganges, Ganga Godavari." In their colonies they used almost entirely names taken from their own country. It is impossible, accordingly, to attribute a place-name solely to India merely because in India we find a well-known place of that name. We should be like historians some hundreds of years hence arguing that Boston could not be in America because it was in England. Maha Meru, or Sumeru, was, of course, the most celebrated mountain in ancient Indian geography and mythology but that does not mean that there was not a Mount Maha Meru in Sumatra. On the c ntrary, we should expect to find important mountains in Indian settlements similarly called; and so we do. Dr. Vogel writes (112, p. 5) concerning Java that " the loftiest mountain top of the island is known by the name of Sumeru or Semeru, in which we easily recognize the Sumeru of Indian mythology. Other volcanoes bear the familiar names of Arjuna, Brama (*i.e.* Brahma), and Kawi. The principal river of Central Java and of the whole coast is the Serayu, which takes its rise from the southern slopes of Mount Prahu. Evidently the name *Serayu* is the Javanese form of the Sanskrit *Sarayu*, the ancient name of the Gogra, the well-known tributary of the Ganges. Ayodhya, the glorious capital of Rama, was situated on the bank of the Sarayu, and this alone will suffice to account for the name having been applied to a river in far-off Java."

The Malay tradition which identifies Bukit Seguntang with the first kings of Palembang has received striking corroboration in recent years. The reader will have noticed that we have been referring throughout this part of our essay to ' Palembang ' and ' the kings of Palembang.' We have done this deliberately because the whole question of identifying Palembang with Sri Vijaya and its kings with the Sailendra dynasty has recently been put at large again. We shall examine the question at length when we reach the period called ' Sri Vijaya ' in this essay.

Dr. N. J. Krom in an interesting note (113) written in 1933 has pointed out that until quite recently ancient Palembang (which he identifies with Sri Vijaya) had not yielded any traces of antiquarian remains. " It is true that a few relics had come to light in the adjoining highlands, but until 1920 neither in Palembang itself nor in the districts of the Palembang lowlands anything of interest had been found, notwithstanding the fact that according to the Chinese sources the capital of the realm must undoubtedly have stood on the bank of the river at no great distance from the coast. It happened in the year just mentioned that a stone slab bearing an inscription in Pallava-grantha characters was discovered on the north-western side of the Seguntang hill which is situated to the west of the town ". So came to light on Bukit Seguntang the oldest inscription in the Malay language, dated Saka

605 (A.D. 683), the actual language being that mixture of sanskrit and malay which is nowadays called Old-Malay. Other inscriptions were found later and with them all we shall deal at the appropriate place ; here we merely note that once again a tradition has been confirmed by archaeology as has occurred so very frequently all over the world.

Gunong Dempo is half-way along the Pasemah plateau and it dominates the whole region, its crater-top (for it is a volcanic cone) being 3150 metres high. On the Pasemah plateau are the very interesting megalithic remains to which we have already referred[1] very shortly and which are so admirably described in Dr. van der Hoop's book (24) and summarized in an article written by him in 1934 (114). He writes (24, p. 32) that " the top of the Dempo principally consists of an old, semi-circular shaped crater wall in the south-east. This encloses an old crater bottom which in the north-west is itself intersected by the new crater with the crater lake. The old crater wall is 3022 M. high, the old crater bottom a little lower and the top of the new crater wall, called the Goenoeng Merapi, is 3159 M. high ". Van der Hoop's conclusions are that the civilization, to which the remains belonged, mainly flourished previous to the advent of the Hindu settlers and cannot be much younger than the Christian era ; a find of bronze ' kettle drums ' would seem to date from 50 to 200 A.D. (114, p. 43). All the conclusions are naturally tentative but it seems safe to assert that the Pasemah civilization was ' Indonesian ' and that it was in existence in Ptolemy's time. Demang Lebar Daun was an ' Indonesian ' chieftain. The Malay Annals tell us in effect that into an ' Indonesian ' settlement there intruded Indians whose prince appeared first on the slopes below Dempo ; archaeology corroborates that around Dempo there was an ' Indonesian ' settlement and that Indian influence obtruded into it and over-grew it.

The kingship which the Malay Annals record as having been founded in ancient Palembang was clearly an Indian one and has left many survivals in Malay law and custom. Thus the Sultans of Perak to this day are installed by the head of a family called the *Bangsa Muntah Lembu*[1] which claims descent from Bat'h and which avoids the flesh of the cow, as well as milk, butter, ghi, etc. and whose head is styled the Sri Nara Diraja; a Mohammedan family still clinging to ancient Brahminism. The Sri Nara Diraja whispers into the ear of the Sultan whom he is installing the *chiri* or installation formula which is in the *bahasa Jin,* or language of the genii, actually a very corrupt sanskrit, a study of which is to be found in the *History of Perak* (108, App. J) and concerning which further information is contained in *Shaman, Saiva and Sufi* (115, pp. 150, 151) and Maxwell's article on the Chiri (94). The Perak regalia are also interesting for the use of the *naga* or dragon in parts of it ; complete replicas are contained in Raffles Museum, Singapore, and some illustrations with a full

[1]See this Journal Vol. XIII, Part II, pp. 79, 94.
[2]Family of the Cow's vomit.

description will be found in the *History of Perak, supra,* while Wilkinson (116, App. III) gives some valuable information concerning the regalia.

A full study of Malay court customs throughout the Peninsula would be useful; so far, Wilkinson and Winstedt are practically our only authorities, in the articles and works cited in this essay. As is well-known a Malay Sultan is an absolute ruler but the form of absolutism during the Mohammedan period is taken from Islam; Indian monarchy was different. Radhagovinda Basak (117, p. 526) writes that Hindu political thinkers worked out a kind of compact between the two parties, the king and his people, "the former agreeing to rule righteously and not in accordance with his own sweet will and to protect the rights of his subjects, and the latter agreeing to pay him taxes (*bali*) in return for his services to the community." Generally ancient Indian kingship belonged to the *Ksatriya* caste and it was usually hereditary though election to the royal office was not unknown. At the basis of ancient sovereignty in Malaya lay a somewhat similar concept of a pact, which is set out in the *Malay Annals* (90, p. 26) as the conditions on which Sangsapurba married Demang Lebar Daun's daughter, afterwards assuming sovereignty over Palembang. The pact was that Sangsapurba should engage, both for himself and his posterity, that the Demang, his family and descendants should receive a liberal treatment; and, in particular, that when they committed faults they should never be exposed to shame nor opprobrious language, but if their faults were great that they should be put to death *according to the law*; while Sangsapurba required in return that the other parties should engage in no treasonable practices against his descendants even though they should become tyrannical.

The divinity of rulers was taught emphatically in the Hindu political system and Manu laid it down that kings were created by God and made from the essences of the great gods, conceptions with which any student of Egyptology will be very familiar. In crowning the king it was Indra that was crowned, so a person who would be prosperous should worship his king as he would Indra. No one should obey a king as a mere man, but as a great god in human form (see 118). We have a well-known instance of the *Deva-raja,* or Royal God, cult in an Indian Colony in the case of Cambodia under Jayavarman II in the 9th century A.D., while something very like it, says Chatterji, was to be found in Champa and in Central Java (107, pp. 79, 80). The Malayan student will find a consideration of Siamese customs very useful to him and we would recommend him to two splendid books on the subject by Dr. Quaritch Wales (119 and 120). Indian inflence on Siamese culture was mainly brought about indirectly *via* the Indianized Kingdoms of Dvaravati, Sri Vijaya and Cambodia. "We can trace the influence of the Khmers fairly clearly, but the other two kingdoms, especially Sri Vijaya, exerted a strong if undefined

influence over the development of Khmer culture, and hence of that of Siam, the extent of which is hardly yet realized;" (119, pp. 18, 19). Dr. Quaritch Wales says (ibid. p. 29) that according to the Hindu theory, the king is identified with either Siva or Visnu and this theory attained its highest importance in ancient Cambodia, and he says that "the royal god was not Indra, the King of the gods, but a god of the King, either Siva or Visnu, presenting certain peculiarities and identified with a great ancestor or a legendary founder of the Kingdom." In the Malay Annals it is, of course, Siva since Sangsapurba appears on the bull, or Nandi. The Khmer cult of the Devaraja was "a highly specialized form of an earlier Indian conception of divine Kingship, in which the King was to some extent identified with the Hindu gods Siva and Visnu" (120, p. 16). Whether there was any form of Deva-Raja in ancient Palembang, we do not know, but the name which Bat'h gave to Sangsapurba was Sri Tribhuvana Trimurti, which brought forth one of Sir Richard Winstedt's exclamation marks in the passage from his *History of Malaya* which we are considering. *Tribhuvana* means the three worlds, *i.e.* the heaven, the sky or lower regions, and the earth; *Trimurti* means having three forms—the trinity, Brahma, Visnu and Siva—and it signifies the three powers *viz*: creation, the special attribute of Brahma, preservation, that of Visnu, and destruction, that of Siva. Bat'h, therefore, gave to Sangasapurba (the great ancestor or legendary founder of the Kingdom) a name whereby he declared that Sangsapurba had the attributes of Brahma, Visnu and Siva, and contained in him the essences of those gods; he thus treated Sangsapurba as the personification of the three great Hindu gods; and what is there surprising in that?

We can now leave the Malay Annals which we have introduced out of their chronological sequence in order to put the reader's mind in a receptive condition for what we are about to say concerning ancient Indian history and geography. In particular, would we impress on the reader that no tradition should be ignored or condemned; on the contrary, it should be recorded and explored most patiently and it must always be borne in mind, for at any moment a lucky strike of the *changkol* or a change of river-bed may corroborate it or explain it; or some historical passage come to light which it explains; or some other of the many chances of epigraphy or archaeology make it important. Finally, in regard to ancient Malay tradition or custom the chances are greater that an explanation will come from India than from anywhere else. Even so far as Malaya's prehistory is concerned we suggest that that of India may be as helpful as that of Indo-China to which at present our eyes are so much directed. We should, indeed, regard nothing as exclusive but cast our net as wide as we can and remember that whatever small catches we may make are bound to assist scholars in other parts of the world and, in particular, the great Indian scholars who are at present throwing such illumination upon their country's great past.

(*To be continued*).

APPENDIX.

The reader will be as deeply indebted as I am to the gentlemen whose notes appear in this Appendix. The spirit of co-operation shown is immensely gratifying and augurs well for the future of ancient history in Malaya. If other readers will also favour this Journal, or me personally with their notes, I shall feel that my labour in writing this essay, and the many years of reading which have preceded its writing, have been well spent.—R. B.

Mr. Justice J. V. Mills.

p. 13. I do not think Berthelot can be right in saying that G. de l'Isle made a map in 1781 : his first map was made in 1705 and I cannot find one made by him later than about 1757 (in an Atlas, so perhaps of earlier date). The appearance of BARREBAM is curious : my selection of maps does not purport to go outside the Malay Peninsula and only a certain number go as far as Burma : so far as my maps go, BARREBAM appears only in two French maps, one by de l'Isle, 1705, and the other by Mr. C., 1719 : (de l'Isle made another map in 1710 but as I have not got a copy I presume that it is no improvement on the map of 1705) : the map of 1719 I should say was a copy of de l'Isle's map as it contains two similar errors *i.e.* " Calanta " and " Paha " : if that conclusion is correct, then only de l'Isle in his map in 1705 (and perhaps in that of 1710) marks BARREBAM : I can throw no light on the name : the Ptolemaic BARABONA does not appear later than Waldseemuller's map of 1507.

p. 18 : " west to east " : you do not say at what period the Chinese thought that this was the direction of the Peninsula : it seems to me certain that when the Wu-pei-pi-shu charts were composed, not later than about A.D. 1435, the Chinese knew that the direction was approximately north-west to south-east.

p. 25 : " prepare a map " : what I regard as the earliest " modern " map of the Malay Peninsula is a map in 6 sheets, about 6 feet square, drawn by E. J. d'Souza, and published at the instance of the Straits Branch of the R.A.S. by Messrs. Stanford, in 1879 : when I have time I hope to bespeak a photostat from the British Museum.

p. 28 : " River of Ceu ". This is undoubtedly the river Sea or Telubin. It appears as ' Sai ' in the Nagarakretagama (1365 A.D.) ; also in Ferrand's *Relations des Voyages Arabes*. The name or a similar one appears in many of the old maps from A.D. 1536 to 1850 ; the name Telubin does not appear till after the latter date.

The details are as follows :—

Cay. c. 1536	Desceliers (?)	Say 1711	Thornton.
Ciu (?) 1542	Rotz	Seu 1726	Valentijn.

Seya (?)	1558	Homem	Sey	1728	Kuapton.
Sera	1568	Homem	Seu	c1740	Ottens.
Soia	1598	Linschoten	Seu	1750	Robert.
Sea	1613	Eredia	Seu	1752	d'Anville.
Soia	1617	Visscher	Seu	1775	Mannevillette
Sey	1635	Berthelot	Seu	1808	Cary.
Sey	c1673	Pauh	Seu	1813	Pinkerton.
Coy	1700	Eberard	Seu	1832	Wyld.

As to " ADEA ", Linehan suggests Endau, and I am unable to make any better proposal ; though it is curious that while the name Sedili appears in several maps from 1635 (Berthelot) onwards, I do not find the name Endau in any map before 1849 (" INDAU ").

p. 30 : " Panarican " : according to the *Malacca Strait Pilot*, 1924, only $2\frac{1}{2}$ cables ($\frac{1}{4}$ mile) separates the 2 streams and canoes can be dragged over the intervening swampy ground.

p. 31 : " Old maps " : I have looked into this matter of the " transpeninsular " river with the following results : you will see that it is shown in every map from c. 1536 to c. 1580 : and, with 4 exceptions, in every map down to 1623 : after that it is suddenly dropped (Eredia, of course, knew better) : Mercator-Hondius omit it from their map of 1633 though they had put it in their map of 1606 and Hondius in his Map of 1611 : apparently by 1633 they had learnt the truth, perhaps as a result, direct or indirect, of Eredia's discoveries (Eredia at Goa must have met and talked to a lot of travellers).

c.1536	Desceliers (?)	1550	Desceliers.
1541	Deslieus	1553	Desceliers.
1542	Rotz	1558	Homem.
1544	Cabot	1561	Gastaldi.
1546	Desceliers	1568	Homem.

1569 Mercator
c.1572 Anonymous.
1578 Martines.
c.1580 Dourado.
?1580 ? Dourado.
(Not in Anonymous map of ? 1580).
1590 Laco.
(Plancuis, 1592, is too indistinct to say).
1593 de Jode.
(Not in Ortelius, 1595).
1596 Laugren : (called " Malayo ").
1596 Lodewycksz : (called " R. Fermoso " and also " Muar R ".)

1598 Linschoten : (called " R. de Malayo ".)
1598 Linschoten : (called " Malayo ").
1598 Lodewycksz : (called " R. Formeso " and also " R. Muar ").
1599 Gijsberts Soon.
c.1600 Laugren.
1602 Tatton.
1605 Hulsius.
1605 Blaeu.
1606 Mercator-Hondius.
1611 Hondius.
(Not in Eredia. 1613).
1617 Visscher : (called " R. de Malayo ").
1623 Laugren : (called Malayo).
1623 Sauctes.

p. 32 : " Teluk Mas " : the name of the *Mukim* still appears in the 1927 map of Malacca.

p. 43 : ' Tan-ma-hsi ': I think the great majority of Malayan words and place-names will be found to be transcribed according to the dialect of the people of Amoy (the " Chincheos " of Eredia)—I am studying that hypothesis at present—, and according to that dialect the name is " Tan-ma-sek ".

p. 45 : There is something particularly satisfying in seeing the locality of a place definitely fixed in a map : the " Wu-pei-chik " chart gives us that satisfaction, in placing " Tam-ma-sek " a little to the north of the sea-route from the Kerimun Islands to Pedra Branca : I date the matter of the map at about July, 1433.

p. 60 : I am under the impression that Tanjong Pura was only one part of Borneo, but I have not enough books here to check that. However, Ferrand Relations &c. p. 660 states that the Chinese name " P'o-ni " dates from the 9th century, and the Nagarakretagama of 1365 gives many names other than Tanjong Pura.

Mr. C. N. Maxwell, M.C.S.

We find Palandas (p. 17) as the mouth of a river and Palanda (p. 18) as an inland town. I gather that Ptolemy plotted his maps from information obtained from sailing masters and travellers who came to the Malay Peninsula for gold (and tin). *Landa* (*melanda*) means to pan for ore. *Melanda mas*, to pan for gold, *dulang pelanda*, the wooden pan used by gold and tin washers to this day ; also *pendulang*. Pelanda or pelandas may therefore have been accepted as being the name of a river or town whereas it simply referred

to the places where people washed for gold *i.e.* the gold-fields.

p. 18 : " the remainder becomes the Palandas, for which unfortunately he gives no further positions." This may be accounted for by the fact that the gold-fields were extensive.

It looks as though the true name of the river was overlooked in favour of the object of the voyage and that the river was called Palandas because it was the gold-seekers' first port of call and the river which either contained gold or led to the gold-fields.

Kelang (*Klang*) and *Gaylang* (*kelang, kalang, galang*) show where the nature of the business, *i.e.* timber working and boat building, gave names to places in Selangor and Singapore which superseded the original Malay names of the rivers. I should say that Kalonka might describe any place where boats were laid up for a season for a general overhaul before the return voyage. But, there is another possible explanation of Kalonka.

Kelang-kaling means rocking backwards and forwards (as a cradle) and *kolong* means shallow alluvial mine workings, (fossicking depressions).

The radicals k and l, in this order, show you a pond, *kolam*,[1] a bowl, *sekul*,[2] or a boat, *kolek*;[3] vide sketch, ب$_1$ ب$_2$ ب$_3$ So it is just possible that Kalon (g) ka referred to places where there were shallow diggings and cradle washing.

Kolantarapota. (p. 2) " ships going to foreign shores ". This is an interesting translation which I should like to have analysed. Why " foreign shores "? *Kol* is certainly ship or boat ; cf. *kolek*; *Antara*, between. But what is *pota* ? Is it *putar* ? If so, Kolantaraputar might mean the ship that does the round voyage *i.e.* going with the one Monsoon and returning with the next.

Mr. W. Lineham, M.C.S.

p. 18 : note 3—yes, and to Pahang people Trengganu and Kelantan rice is known as *beras barat.*

p. 27-29—in addition to your arguments—not alone was gold more highly prized and abundant slave labour available but the metal, in the shape of rich alluvial " pockets "—by the 17th century mostly worked out—was more accessible. Exactly the same thing happened in Wicklow, Ireland, where during the early centuries A.D. gold-mining was operated on a very large scale (there is still gold there, but, it appears, it doesn't pay

to work). It is no exaggeration to say that gold is to be found even now in almost every river in Ulu Pahang. The peasants in certain localities (*e.g.* the Tui and the Kechau) still take out licences to pan for gold (*meriau mas*), and in this way they sometimes get 25 cents or even a dollar's worth of gold in a day. The people in the Pasir Mas[1] District of Kelantan (Kelantan Bharu) pan for gold in the same way.

p. 28 : *batu uji*—Malay gold-smiths used (and still use in Kelantan) neoliths of meteoric stone for the purpose.

p. 28 : Adea—in my history (of Pahang) I conjecture this to be Endau.

p. 29 : Selinsing—R. E. Williams of Bentong has been getting some remarkable discoveries of neoliths, early iron-age implements and pottery at Tresang in old gold workings.

p. 32 : I agree that of all the rivers in the Peninsula the Muar best fits the description of Ptolemy's Khrysoanas.

p. 32 : the facility with which Malayan rivers, particularly near the coast and especially on the east coast, change their courses is amazing. The Bebar changed its *Kuala* by 5 miles in the last forty years. The Pahang river shifted its estuary from Kuala Pahang Tua to Kuala Pahang perhaps in the latter part of the 15th century. During the 1926 floods the Tembeling at Kuala Nyong broke through a *tanjong* disclosing its ancient course on the banks of which was discovered a neolithic settlement.

p. 33 : *Palong*—if the word is Malay it appears to be the outlandish form of *Palang*, cognates *Galang* (we get a locality named Galong in the region of Lubok Paku), or *Alang* or Kalang which have the general meaning of 'obstruction' 'check', 'barrier', 'restraint'. Thus S. Palong may mean the "Barrier River" in which logs were placed across the river by the local Chief to facilitate the collection of dues from passing boats.

p. 34 : I don't think that Attabas has any connection with *atap*.

p. 41 : The religion of the Malays should not conceal their character and origin—The inhabitants of Pahang, (or some of them at least) as late as the beginning of the 17th century, were addicted to human sacrifice—apparently a relic of Mahayana Buddhism on which were superimposed Tantric orgies.

p. 44 : Tribuana—There was a Bendahara of Pahang about the middle of the 16th century with the style of Seri Tribuana. His daughter married Sultan 'Abdu'l-Kadir.

[1] *Pasir*, sand ; *mas*, gold.

p. 48 : *Singhatahana*—probably the Sanskrit *Singgasana*, a throne, synonomous with *takhta*, used even to the present day in royal epistolary literature *e.g.* a Sultan describes himself or is described as being *atas takhta singgasana kerajaan* " upon the throne of State ".

p. 51 : Loss of a crown—In Malay States the installation of a ruler was not complete (*sempurna*) unless the state regalia (*Kebesaran*) were available at his coronation. Sultan Sulaiman (1722-1760) declined to be installed till the Bugis had recovered the regalia. Sultan 'Abdul'l-Rahman had to be re-installed when the Dutch obtained for thim the regalia in 1822. These emblems of royalty were a possession which according to the constitution (*adat istiadat negeri*) the ruler could not part with.

p. 52 : " The Annals identify this place as on the river Dinding in Perak "—The Annals say that it was inland of the Dinding (*di-darat Dinding*) " on the further side of Perak."

p. 53 : Glang Kiu—The Malay Annals record that Raja Suran after conquering Gangga Negara proceeded to assault Ganggayu, that this name was the Malay pronunciation of Glang-Kiu (كلغكيو), that that place was situated in the upper reaches of the Johore and that it had a fort (*Kota*) of black stone which still existed in the author's day. In spite of the fact that the " Annals " say that Glang Kiu was in the hinter-land of the Johore and that there is there a stream named Lenggiu, it may be that the place the author had in mind was the famous Kota Gelanggi (كلغكي) situated near Pulau Tawar, Pahang, about 2 miles from the mouth of the Tembeling. According to traditions recorded by Cameron (J.S.B.R.A.S., No. 9, 1882) Kota Gelanggi was the seat of ancient kings and had a huge fort (*kota*), so the Malays called it *Kota* Gelanggi (the fact that the so-called fort is a collection of huge limestone caves does not detract from the argument—the locality is still under jungle and little exploration has been done). In 1870 Bendahara Ahmad sent men to the locality of Kota Gelanggi to capture a legendary princess who was said to reside there ! In 1882 he himself visited the Caves.

The Johore forces sacked Pahang in September, 1612, a year or so before the " Malay Annals " were commenced. The Johore men brought back captives who no doubt circulated legends of Pahang including that of Kota Gelanggi. Traditions are extant even in Johore to the present day of a black stone fort called Kota Gelanggi, see Winstedt's *History of Malaya*,

p. 124. It may be that this was the account which inspired Tuan Seri Lanang to connect Ganggayu and its king Raja Chulan with Gelanggi and its fabled monarch. Why do the "Annals" state that Glang Kiu was situated in the upper reaches of the Johore? We may assume either that the story of Gelanggi reached the author in a garbled form, or that being a patriotic son of Johore he was determined that his country should be connected with the beginnings of the Malay kings, or that he made the simple mistake of writing Johore for Pahang, or that a subsequent Johore commentator, convinced that the author was wrong, took it upon himself to emend the original text and that this emendation became incorporated in the MS. of the "Annals" which have been handed down to us. We have d'Eredia's word for it that in ancient times the king of Pahang ruled over the countries of *Ujong Tanah* (which of course, included Johore). Mention of the "Siamese" subjects of Raja Chulan would point to Pahang rather than Johore as having been the scene of the conflict between him and Raja Suran. The name of Raja Chulan's daughter Puteri Onang Kiu is reminiscent of that of Puteri Onang (or Wanang) Seri, the daughter of the king of Pahang, who was captured by the Malacca Malays about 1454, married S. Mansur, and was the ancestress of the Sultans of Pahang.

The view put forward *supra* that Glang Kiu was Kota Gelanggi of Pahang is not new; Sir Frank Swettenham (J.R.A.S. (S.B.), 1885, No. 15, p. 24) says "it is worthy of record that this Kota Kelanggi is mentioned in the Sejara Malayu (the Malay Annals) as having been occupied by Siamese."

Mr. A. E. Coope, M.C.S.

Sabana. Ptolemy's names are so weird that conjectures are difficult but do you not think that it may be a mispronunciation and misconception of '*sahbandar*', when he might have given the name to any emporium? (But was not *Shahbandar* introduced under Persian influence many centuries later? R.B.).

Tanjong Penyabong. Despite the maps, it is the southern promontory which is called Tanjong Penyabong—the northern is Tanjong Pelandok.

Johore. Has it ever occurred to you to wonder what the Malays called Johore Lama[1] before they founded Johore Bahru?[2] Obviously they would not call it Johore Lama then. I think that the answer is that they called it what the local inhabitants still call it—Johore Kampong.[3] Now, this is curious and bafflingly

[1] Old. [2] New. [3] A grouping together; a village.

interesting. Why not Kampong Johore? No Malay peasant makes a mistake in speech so there must be a good reason for the apparent inversion. But though I questioned the local people when I was there, and have since asked educated Malays in Johore Bahru, I can get no explanation. Probably the explanation carries with it the explanation of the name Johore.

Mr. F. N. Chasen.

Barat. I believe Humphreys was the last to discuss the implications of *barat* in J.R.A.S. (M.B.), 1926, Vl. IV, p. 135.

Palandas. Have you considered the Pirate-wind—the N. E. Monsoon or *landas*—the wind that brought the Sulus to Brunei and then to the East coast of the Malay Peninsula? See L. A. Mills, J.R.A.S. (M.B.), 1926, vol. 111, p. 129.

Sabana. Opposite Pulau Tekong Besar there is a river Sebana marked on the maps.

Ungku Aziz tells me that the name of the Sabana (better Sebena) River is probably derived from *bena*, a murmuring, reverberative or echo which in Johore (I did not know this before) is used as the equivalent of *bahana*. *Bahana* means any reverberating noise and particularly (though Wilkinson, rather surprisingly, does not say so) "an echo."

Then "Sabena" would mean "continually murmuring" or, if the river gets its name from Bukit Sebena, as it well may, Bukit Sebena would mean either "the continually echoing hill" or "the hill with one echo."

Wilkinson says, I see, that *bena* means "tidal bore". We don't have them in our parts and any way, if it is so used in Borneo, I rather wonder whether the translation may not be confusing the noise of the bore with the bore itself.

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ONOMATOPOEIA IN MALAY.[1]

By R. J. WILKINSON, C.M.G.

Although Mr. Charleton Maxwell has written few books,—he tells us (p. 4) that it is quite foreign to his nature to enter the academic arena,—he is known to all who live in Malaya as a master of Malay speech. What he says carries weight in the country that he has made his own. His new book—" An Introduction to the Elements of the Malay Language "—is revolutionary and deserves careful study. Its drift is summed up in the following words (p. iv) :

> " I hold that the Malay of the Peninsula can be tackled without the employment of comparative methods. The elements in the language are onomatopoeic to a much greater degree than dictionaries disclose, and they are superficial and suggestive always. There is no need to dig deep to find a root. Every letter has a radical effect."

Incidentally he is inclined to be bitter against certain critics who have accused his father of careless scholarship in connection with the root *bu* ; and while he " takes off his hat " to his antagonists he tells them exactly what he thinks. He never forgets (p. 108) that he is " carrying on the work his father began." What was that work ?.

II.

In a " Malay Manual "—written fifty years ago and still the best book of its kind—the late Sir William Maxwell drew attention to the fact that the suggestion " rounded " or " globular" ran through a large number of words beginning with *bu*. We can illustrate this by the following list of such words : *buah, buak, bual, bubu, bubun, buchok, buchut, bueh, bujal, bujam, bujok, bukau, bukit, buku, bulan, bulat, buli, buloh, bulut, bumbong, bumbun, bumbunan, bunchit, bunchul, bundar, bundong, bunga, bungkal, bungkus, bungsil, buntak, buntal, buntar, buntat, buntek, bunting, buntut, buri, burit, burut, busa, busar, busong, busur, busut, butir* and *buyong*. We omit *buana, bumi* and *butala* (the earth) not so much because these are Sanskrit as because the old Malays had no idea that the world was round. We ought, also perhaps, to omit *buntut* (which may be a *krama* variant of *burit*) and *buri* and *burit* which seem to be associated with a root *uri* or *udi* (behind, after). Still, it is a very long list. It failed, of course, positively to prove the existence of the root *bu* though it made out a *prima facie* case for enquiry into the question whether there were methods of word-building yet unknown to writers of Malay grammars. This enquiry has not commended itself to critics, who seem to have taken the line that if there had been any old systems of word-making they would have been found out by scholars like van der Tuuk and Brandstetter.

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[1] Received for publication August 1934. ED.

III.

In my first dictionary (1902) I pointed out that the idea of "curvature" ran through a number of words like *lok, tĕlok, kĕlok,* and that of "angularity" through words like *biku, siku, bĕliku.* This also did not commend itself to critics. I have since collected hundreds of such lists; and consider that they do make out a *prima facie* case for enquiry into the nature of old Malay word-building. How far then can they be explained by Mr. Maxwell's theory of Onomatopoeia?

IV.

Mr. Maxwell's methods of research are unusual. He can quote no authorities (p. 15). He has read no book on Malay roots or etymology (p. 15). He has been thinking in Malay for years so as to get the "language-sense" and exercise it subconsciously (pp. 11,4). He believes that no letter in the language has little significance, that no letter is meaningless and that all letters are sign-posts showing the right direction in pure Malay speech (p. 12). Going to the very beginning of things he concludes that all Malay words originally were tone-imitative or action-descriptive (p. 76); and that they are largely so even now, though there are disruptive elements in the form of foreign words "borrowed and never returned." Owing to these discordant elements and to the fluidity of all language he is bound often to find inconsistency between one word and another (p. 63) and must trust to an inexplicable instinct to guide him aright (p. 11). Briefly he regards the causal element in Malay as onomatopoeic and as needing an ear attuned to its tones.

V.

In a sense Mr. Maxwell has worked on sound lines; he has tried to reconstruct the linguistic work of a primitive race in its own natural surroundings and not in the artificial conditions of a European university. Still, he will suffer for his originality. While the cloistered peace of a Fellows' Garden at Cambridge may be a poor *milieu* for studying savages, it is the best place possible for assimilating the mentality of the Academic Powers who are to judge a book on what savages are supposed to think. Mr. Maxwell is like a *kampong*-elder innocent of the law of evidence trying to plead his suit before a Court that knows no Malay; he can hardly hope to win his case. He should have remembered the native proverb, *Masok kawan kambing mèngĕmbek,* "when you go among goats you must bleat." A cynic in West Africa put it somewhat differently, "Why should we study the inhabitants of the dependencies in which we work?—it profiteth nothing. Study the inhabitants of the Colonial Office,—that is much more to the point."

VI.

So when after a lifetime of Malay study, Mr. Maxwell explains the origin of the language by Onomatopoeia, he comes into conflict

at once with the views of the academic Max Müller who is contemptuous about the sounds of what he calls the " poultry-yard " (p. 77) :

> " In the lowest stage of language an imitation of the neighing of the horse would have been sufficient to name the horse. Savage tribes are great mimics and imitate the cries of animals with wonderful success. But this is not yet language."

By this canon of criticism Malay, if saturated with sound-suggestion, would not be language. In another place (p. 87) Max Müller is quoted again : " language, that is to say nouns and verbs." For Max Müller there was no human speech outside the technicalities of the classroom. To Mr. Maxwell tone-imitation is a very different matter (pp. 82, 83).

> " The type of tone-imitative roots with which we are concerned had its genesis, not in the cacophony of the poultry-yard or in meaningless cries or ejaculations but in the true musical tones peculiar to the region.
>
> The ability to imitate and to recognize the notes and calls of birds and beasts is not an amusement to primitive man, it is the most important business of life and the means of keeping body and soul together.
>
> Nothing is unheeded by the eyes and ears of men who find their food in the jungle. Monkeys, deer and pig not only provide meat but also show where fruit and edible green food and tubers luxuriate. Birds, bees and insects tell forest men many things, not only where food may be found but also the time and the weather indications, and they give directional information as well."

Mr. Maxwell understands savage life ; Max Müller cannot have known it.

VII.

Personally I doubt whether the cries of birds and animals are " meaningless." I regard them as cries of menace, warning, affection, fear, surprise, pleasure, pain, summons or dismissal, and, as such, full of meaning. Primitive speech may have grown first out of such cries. Just as a dog growls threateningly and bares his teeth to show the nature of his threat so might an early man give a notice of warning coupled with an indication (say mimicry of the growl of a tiger) to show the nature of the danger. But this is pure speculation. Our first object is to check Sir William Maxwell's suggestion that there is much in Malay word-building that lies outside the rules laid down in Grammars.

VIII.

Let us begin with the very simplest sound-words such as " tick," " smack ", " flop," "baa," etc. Mr. Maxwell gives us

(p. 65) a " series of gradations :

First, the tone-descriptive root, say *tok* ;
Secondly, the derivative *kětok* ;
Thirdly, the intensive *kělětok.*"

Let us put it a little differently :

(*i*) the sound : *tok* ; *bak* ; *dam* ;
(*ii*) making the sound : *kětok* ; *děbak* ; *lěbak* ; *rědam* ;
(*iii*) repeating the sound : *kělětok* ; *kěrětok* ; *gělěbak* ; *kěrědam* ;
(*iv*) repeating it varyingly : *kělětok-kělětak, kěrětok-kěrětak* ; *gělěbak-gělěbok* ; *kěrědum-kěrědam.*

So also the bleat of a sheep is *bek, bah, děbek, ěmbek, bebek,* and *běděbek.* Now Max Müller has laughed at this (pp. 77, 78) :

> " The onomatopoeic theory goes smoothly as long as it deals with cackling hens and quacking ducks, but round that poultry-yard is a dead wall, and we soon find that it is behind that wall that language really begins."

Yet we can see for ourselves that this language of " fowls and ducks " has a system of " grammar " or word-building of its own ; and if we compare this speech with the rest of the language we see the same system reproduced there also. There is really no " dead wall " of this sort and the onomatopoeic influence goes further still.

IX

In his first book (p. 33) Mr. Maxwell told us that the changes in the vowel in the names of sounds (e.g. *tik, tak, tok*) " indicates the flat, dull, heavy, thick, coarse and great as compared with and opposed to the sharp, clear, light, thin, fine and small." The change is suggested by the sounds themselves, *e.g.* from the *ting* or tinkle of a little bell to the *tong*, the deep note of the bull-frog. This, of course, is onomatopoeia, the cackle of Max Müller's poultry-run. But now let us take the three words *angkit, angkat, angkut,* which have nothing seemingly to do with sound :

Angkit : raising with little effort ;

Angkat : lifting up ;

Angkut : removing (large amounts) piecemeal.

Here also we get the transition from the light to the heavy or from the small to the great. Take again the interesting series of words linked unmistakably with the word *lichin* or *linchin* (slippery) :

Gělingsir, gělinchir : to slip slightly, to side-slip ;

Gělangsar, gělanchar : to slip or slide forward ;

Gělungsur, gělunchur : to slide heavily down an incline.

X

Of course two examples are not enough to prove a rule; let us give more. *Jinjing* is to carry a light weight (in the hand or under the arm); *junjong* is to support a heavier burden (on the head). *Rĕbah* is to fall; *roboh*, "to come crashing down." *Garis* is a slight scratch; *garok*, *garu* and *garut* refer to more serious abrasions. *Jejer* is a thinner line than *jajar*. *Kĕpal* is a smaller mass than *kĕpul*. *Lueh* and *luek* are used of mere distaste; *luah* and *luak* of nausea or disgust. *Kĕnyit* is a slight twitch; *kĕnyut* is to throb. *Chobak* and *robak* represent a more tattered condition than *chobek*, *robek*, *chabek* and *rabek*. *Tĕpek* is a flick; *tĕpak*, a pat; *tĕpok* a slap. Other examples may be given: *anting*, *antong*; *bachar*, *bochor*; *gesek*, *gosok*; *jalar*, *julur*; *lĕkak*, *lĕkok*; *lĕmak*, *lomak*; *singkir*, *singkur*; *bengkok*, *bongkok*; *kait*, *kaut*; *sĕrkap*, *sĕrkup*; *sekel*, *sakal*; *kengkang*, *kangkang*; *tĕlangkup*, *tĕlungkup*; *gĕtis*, *gĕtas*; *rĕngkah*, *rĕngkoh*; *sandar*, *sender*; etc. They will show that gradations of tone in the names of sounds become modifications of meaning in words unconnected with sound (p. 34). In all this we see the truth of Mr. Maxwell's general statement that Onomatopoeia has influenced the Malay language to a far greater extent than dictionaries disclose (p. iv).

X. (a)

Further evidence of the change of vowel modifying (without altering entirely) the meaning of a word may be seen in the Malay collective plurals. We have noticed that a combination like *kĕrĕtok-kĕrĕtak* suggests "all kinds of rapping",—and Onomatopoeia tells us why. By analogy *gunong-ganang* means "all kinds of mountains", though mountains are not named after sounds. Other examples are: *ongkah-angkah*, *anjar-anjai*, *unjar-anjar*, *untang-anting*, *onyak-anyek*, *bulang-baling*, *bechang-bechok*, *chobak-chabek*, *choreng-moreng*, *chongkah-mangkeh*, *chĕkap-chĕkup*, *gopoh-gapah*, etc. These combinations—very numerous in Malay—are not onomatopoeic in the strictest sense of the word but they show the influence of sound on words that have nothing to do with sound. They are onomatopoeic by metaphor or by analogy, call it what we will.

XI.

Sir William Maxwell was perfectly right when he suggested that there was more in Malay word-building than the system of prefixes and suffixes which every Grammar gives. But Mr. Charleton Maxwell goes further. He tells us (p. iv) that "every letter has a radical effect," and, again (p. 24) that "every word carries with it the clue to its meaning." He says also (p. 34): "Consonants are radicals with directional qualities and tones increase or diminish the power of a word both literally and metaphorically." We have seen that he is right about his tones; what of his consonants?

XII

Mr. Maxwell has told us frankly that he can quote no authorities (p. 15). He invites us to acquire his "language-sense"

and so feel the soul of Malay speech even as he feels it. He asks us to test his theories by learning to think in Malay. Few can afford to do this merely to find out whether he is right or wrong. Those who know him well will have faith in him ; for those who do not know him I propose to put forward evidence that it is worth while going further into what he says.

XIII.

He tells us (p. 68) that Malays find sibilants harsh to the ear and complain that English speech has far too many of these sounds. He is right : the Malays describe English "jabber" as *kas-kus*. We shall now see that the addition of a sibilant to a well-known word gives that word a sense of unpleasantness.

Gĕrigi : toothed, serrated ;

"*Gĕrigis* : jagged, irregularly serrated=*gĕrigi* but connoting ugliness" ; Dict. (1932).

Take again

Jĕmu : sated,

"*Chĕmus* : (Pen.) fed up ; nauseated ;—a coarse variant of *jĕmu*" ; Dict. (1932).

Other words like *gĕrepes, kĕrepes, chus, ĕnggos, gĕgaras, chis, ranggas, ramus, gĕragas, rampus, jĕmuas, lĕmuas, jĕlejis, chĕlampus, jĕlabas, sĕmpuras, rakus, ragus* have the same nasty or ugly associations. The sibilant jars on the Malay ear and gives its unpleasantness to the meaning of the word.

XIV.

Mr. Maxwell has not referred to a strange and well-known feature of Indonesian word-building : the coining of a *krama* or courtly form of a word. In every language there are words for which good society likes to have polite equivalents. In Europe euphemisms are sought in the obscurity of learned languages. In Japanese the honorific *O* is prefixed politely even to the names of birds and beasts. In Malay the form of the word used to be modified. Thus *jalu* (male) became *jantan* ; *ina* (female) became *indok* ; *koněk, kotek* (penis) became *kontol* ; *ayut, ayok* (sexual congress) became *amput, anchok* ; *burit* (posterior) became *buntut* ; *kĕmeh* (to urinate) became *kĕnching*. With constant and general use these euphemisms became coarse in their turn ; and further equivalents are now in use : *laki-laki* ; *pĕrĕmpuan* ; *dzakar* ; *sa-tuboh* ; *dubur* or *jubur* ; *bĕrayer sĕni*. The same obsolete system of word-formation was applied to other words as well so that the language now abounds in duplicate forms : *abai, anchai* ; *alu, antan* ; *balai, bangsal* ; *cholek, chungkil* ; *choreng, chonteng* ; *asu, anjing* ; *hati, angan* ; *balah, bantah* ; *piama, piantan* ; *gĕmal, gĕnggam* ; *goyang, gonchang* ; *guroh, guntur* ; *pali, (pĕmali), pantang* ; *bulat, buntar* ; *roboh, runtoh* ; *asak, anjak* ; *sari, santan* ; *katup, kĕnchup* ; *majal, mampal* ; *mabok, mandam* ; *kitar, kinchar* ; *loseh, londeh* ; *erut, inchut* ; *manok, mandong* ; *sĕraya, sĕranti* or

měranti; *payang, panching*; *palok, pangku*; etc. From the principles laid down by Mr. Maxwell we may assume that the old forms were modified to sound more pleasing to Malay ears, and we notice that they are *n* and *ng* sounds in every single case. Just as the final *s* gives an unpleasant suggestion to a word so this nasal modification must have had the opposite effect. Here again—in a direction in which he did not seek it—we find support for Mr. Maxwell's contention that in Malay word-building every letter has meaning or suggestion. In some cases where a word sounded already like an honorific it may have been lengthened :

gĕndang (drum), *gĕndĕrang* (state drum) ;
bandang (yak-tailed spear), *bĕndĕrang* (state-spear) ;
churek (dagger), *chundĕrik*, (state-dagger).

XV.

Now let us contrast the long echoing notes of musical instruments of bell-metal (*gong, gambang, mongmong, bonang, chanang, chĕlĕmpong, chĕloreng, dĕmong, kĕmong, kĕromong*) with the short staccato sounds made by percussion instruments of wood or bamboo (*chĕrchak, chĕrachap, kĕtok-kĕtok, kĕrtok, kĕcherek, gĕrbak, gĕrgak*). Are not the names of the instruments well chosen ? and is it surprising that the word for " long " is *panjang* while " short " or stumpy " may be *mandak, katak, katek, katok, pandak, pendek, kĕchik, sampak, kodok, kotok, mondok, montok, ponggok* ?

There is more than coincidence in this. Malays have keener ears than we ; yet we all can distinguish between Malay letters like *k* and *t* which close a syllable abruptly and those like *r* and *ng* which prolong it, and we can find this " directional value " (as Mr. Maxwell calls it) in the meaning of many common words. Consider our common expression : " to look, to see." It may mean, " taking in at a glance,"—for which the Malay words are *kĕleh, nampak, lihat.* Or it may mean fixed gazing (*pandang*) or a long significant look such as " the glad eye " (*jĕling* ; *kĕrling*). In giving with precision the meaning of a word these directional values should be reckoned with. *Gantong*, for instance, should not be rendered as " to hang "—for that may be transitive ; it means " to be suspended." To hang up an object would be *gantongkan.*

XVI.

The following series of words (already referred to in connection with *gĕrigis*) is a good illustration of old word-formation.

Gigi : tooth ;
Gĕrigi : series of teeth : saw-edge ;
Gĕrigis : jagged ;
Bĕrigi, bĕringgit : toothed ; serrated ; milled ;
Ringgit : milled (dollar) ;
Gigit : to bite ;
Genggeng : to hold lightly between the teeth ;
Gonggong : to hold firmly in the mouth.

The series shows the suggestion of ugliness in a final *s*, that of quick action in a final *t*, and that of prolongation in a final *ng*. It also shows the modification of meaning by vowel-change, *i.e.* the light hold (*e*) changing to the hold of a heavy object (*o*) as when a dog carries off a large bone between his teeth (*anjing gonggong tulang*).

XVII.

The truth is that Malays have a wonderful ear for appropriate words. "Slippery" is not a thing that you can hear; yet *lichin, gĕlinchir, gĕlunchur, gĕlingsir*, etc., all suggest slipping and sliding. What could be better than *mut, nyut* or *dĕnyut* for the throb of the pulse or fontanel though this also we do not hear? Is there not a suggestion of plumping into water about *sĕlam*, (dive), *rĕndam* (immerse), *tĕnggĕlam* (sink), *karam* (founder), *junam* (dive down), *chĕlam* (splash through a stream) and *bĕnam* (sink into water or mud)? Mr. Maxwell is quite right in saying that with words so suggestive of their meanings the Malay peasant finds no difficulty in remembering a vast vocabulary (p. 1).

XVIII.

By this time it will have been made plain that there is a mine of truth in Mr. Maxwell's theories. Onomatopoeia has played in Malay a part that no one would have thought it capable of playing in any language, though many have seen Onomatopoeia in words like *angkit, angkat, angkut*. His view, again, that consonants have "directional qualities" has received by now a certain amount of support. In short, where others have only suggested that there was a *prima facie* case for a further study of Malay word-building Mr. Maxwell has held the enquiry and delivered his verdict,—and a startling verdict it is. He claims (p. 3) that "pure Malay speech"—*i.e.* the language spoken now in every *kampong* (p. 6)—has remained unchanged for several thousand years and that its words "have a scientific, suggestive and connective tissue" (p. 1), presumably the directional values of the consonants. He gives those values. He suggests that the Malay language grew out of onomatopoeic beginnings and goes so far as to hint that the same onomatopoeia underlies the Indo-European and indeed all languages (p. 122). Alas! these last theories are beyond all proof or test; but, so far as we know, no better explanation of the beginnings of speech has ever been put forward.

XIX.

Some things, at least, we do know. The Malays are a mixed "race". In historic times they and their language have borrowed a good deal from India, China, Indo-China, Java and the aboriginal races of the Peninsula. Are we to assume that they remained a pure race in Prehistoric times? All our evidence is against this view, for the most primitive Malay tribes show traces of much racial admixture, and it is unlikely that their speech came to them undiluted from the beginnings of time. It is too much to

expect that the same " directional forces " will show themselves in every word used by the peasants of Malaya. In this hope Mr. Maxwell may have shown himself too much of an optimist, but his ear has been attuned for forty years to Malay speech and all that he says has a right to our attention.

XX

He is detailed and definite. *B* is " associated with expanding, gaping, broadening, widening " (p. 32). *Ch* is " soft, pliable, flexible " (p. 2). *D* lends " solidity and firmness to a large number of words " (p. 33). *G* is interchangeable with *K* (p. 16). Final *H* gives " the idea of gradual progressive emergence or growth " (p. 12). *K* represents " projection, angle, angularity " (p. 2). *L* is interchangeable with *D* (p. 16). A final *M* " would seem to direct your attention to broad-based effects " (p. 10). *N* appears " potential, not positive " (p. 16). *Ng* denotes roundness, circularity (p. 2). *P* " covers a wide area " (p. 13). *R* " directs to a rim " (p. 16), but it suggests also a " reaching out, standing out, profile idea " (p. 17). *T* only " touches a spot " (p. 13). How is it that the sounds of the letters convey such ideas to the Malay ear ?

XXI.

Ch is easy to explain. In onomatopoeic words it does suggest the " squishy " or " squashy " : *chak, chup, chi', chur, chĕlam, chĕlum, chĕmpong, chĕmpĕlong, chĕlĕmpong, chĕpĕlok, chĕpĕrup, cheret, chirit, churat, chuchur, churah, lĕchak, lĕchap, lichun, linchun,* and the series of words associated with *lichin* (slippery) and *lunchur* (sliding down a chute). " Squelching " through mud or shallow water—a common experience in rural Malaya—has given us a long list of words with *ch* in them and has accustomed the *kampong* ear to the sound. But *Ch* is not limited to this " directional force ", even in onomatopoeia. For instance *chiak, chiap, chulek, chok, chabak, chachibar, chichit* and *kĕchichak* are names given to birds from their notes and not because they are " soft, pliable, flexible." We shall see also that an initial *Ch* has sometimes the " directional value " of a verbal prefix. Last of all there are many words beginning with *Ch* which are names of hard and even metallic objects : *chachi, chadas, cherek, chagak, chakok, chalong, chamang, chameng, chanang, chandak, chandat, chandi, changkir,* etc.

XXII.

P " covers a wide area " (p. 13) ; final *P* " exerts covering pressure " (p. 10). This is an interesting letter. It has " directional force " even in English where such words as " *rap, tap, clap, slap, stamp, thump, bump* " suggest collision with a wide surface. But in Malaya these sounds are recorded with a final *K* ; to rap on a door is *kĕtok pintu. Kĕrĕtup-kĕrĕtap* suggests to a Malay the slamming of doors and clatter of bolts when a Malay house is being shut up for the night ;

Kĕrĕtap-kĕrĕtup bunyi di-tutup,
Tutup pintu malam-malam ;
Ayer laut hijau siapa chĕlup ?
Duri di-hutan siapa pĕrtajam ?

The Malay onomatopoeic *P* has more in common with English words like " dab," " cup " and " coop." It suggests the dull sound of " dabbing " or " clapping " the palm of the hand or any cup-like (or even flat) object on a plane surface : *lap, sap, ngĕpap, tĕkap, pĕdap, kĕdap, sĕrap, jĕrap, ĕmpap, pĕmpap, tĕmpap, tĕlĕmpap, pĕlĕmpap, pĕlompap, tangkap, lĕkap, sĕrkap, tĕrkap, pĕrangkap, chĕkup, sĕrkup, tĕrkup, rungkup, tĕlangkup,* etc. Blotting-paper is *kĕrtas sap, k. pĕdap, k. lap, k. tĕkap, k. pĕnĕtap.* To " dab " a poultice on the body is *ngĕpap.* A palm's-breadth or hand's-breadth is *sa-tĕmpap, sa-pĕlĕmpap. Sĕrkap* is a conical coop ; *sĕrkup* is cooping up anything under a vaulted surface. In all these words (and many more) the " directional value " of a final *P* is what Mr. Maxwell tells us it is. But there is also a long list of words of a very different character. A flash, a twinkle or blink,—the very minimum of time,—is what is suggested by a series of similar sounds : *kĕlip, kĕdip, kĕjip, kĕjap, kĕrlip, lilip, rĕlap, kĕrlap, gĕrlap, gĕmĕrlap, gĕmĕrlapan.* Here we only get the idea of covering or occulting : the eye opening for a moment only ; the flashes coming and going. A longer glance is *jĕling, kĕrling* ; continuous lustre is *rĕlang, pĕrlang, chĕrlang, chĕmĕrling, chĕmĕrlang, chĕlong-chĕlang, gilang, gĕmilang,* etc. Nor would it be safe to read the meaning " wide area " into all words beginning with *P* ; in a number of these it has the " directional force " of a substantial prefix.

XXIII.

At this point we may with advantage supplement one of Mr. Maxwell's " directional definitions. While he tells us that letter *P* "covers a wide area" he says also that letter *M* directs attention to " broad-based effects." At first sight this would seem a distinction without a real difference ; and yet his statement is borne out by the close similarity in suggestion between *lukup, lungkup, rungkup, tĕlungkup* on the one side and *kungkum, mungkum, lungkum, nungkum, nyongkom* and *songkom* on the other. Mr. Maxwell quotes (p. 10) : " *lungkum* (dome-shaped), *mungkum* (over-arching, dome-shaped) ; *lungkup, tĕlungkup* (turned bottom-upwards,—of boats, cups, bowls) ". Had he noticed *kungkum* he might have seen a real difference between final *P* and final *M*. The former is mere " covering ", the latter is " over-arching and gripping inwards." This last idea comes out clearly in words like *chĕkam, tĕrkam, ragum* and *gĕnggam.* On the other hand there is none of this suggestion of either covering or gripping in the long list of purely onomatopoeic words given in another paragraph : *sĕlam, rĕndam, tĕnggĕlam, karam, junam, chĕlam, bĕnam.* So also an initial *M* will be found often to have the " directional force" of an adjectival or verbal prefix. It has this force, for instance, in hundreds of plant-names linked in no way with " broad-based effects."

XXIV.

"Roundness is suggested by the root *Ng*" (p. 2). *Ngg* "seems to suggest rounded contours" (p. 8). *Ngk* is "curve and projection is equal proportions" (p. 9). *Ng* "points objectively to a contour" (p. 125). *Ng* "has no parts or magnitude" (p. 58). So we are told. But Mr. Maxwell adds that many words ending in this letter are purely onomatopoeic (p. 20), *e.g. kengkeng* (yapping), *bengkeng* (snarling, snappy), *tengkeng* (nagging), *chengkeng* (growling and yapping). *Ng* is a most important letter, for "the Malay uses it freely even when it is not required for directional purposes. In harmony grace-notes play a part, and *ng* always blends beautifully in the harmonious speech of the Malay" (pp. 70, 71).

XXV.

Without questioning Mr. Maxwell's statements we may look at his methods and ask his reasons for linking concentricity or rounded contours with *Ng*. He has acquired the "language-sense" and finds that the letter conveys that impression to his ear (p. 11). Very well. Can he prove that *Ng* is an "encircling enclosing root" (p. 26)? Perhaps not to everybody; but he gives plenty of instances to show that he is correct (p. 26); and "as we continue on the right lines, always keenly observant, little traits, little traces and little tricks of speech tell us that we are right. The tracker who makes it his business to see little signs in the jungle is perfectly sure and satisfied. He requires no corroborative evidence and he proves that he is right by taking you to the game you are seeking" (p. 35).

XXVI.

Is it ungracious to say that we want more? We admit the competence of our trapper and the efficacy of his methods; we are not "doubting Thomases"; but at the risk of being taken for "nosey Parkers" we would like to know the why and the wherefore. The water-diviner with his rod may lead us to water without giving any scientific account of his ways; the geologist may make mistakes sometimes but he has science behind him and learns from his own errors. Why should *Ng* suggest roundness, even to a tracker who knows his job? What is behind all these "directional values"?

XXVII.

Onomatopoeia in Malay works in two ways, the literal and the metaphorical. *Dĕntam* is a lesser bang than *dĕntum*: this is literal. *Angkit* is a lesser "raising" than *angkat*: this is metaphorical. Let us go on. *Tok* is a short staccato knock; *tong* is the long booming cry of the bull-frog (*katak bĕtong*). So also (as we have seen) many musical instruments of wood with their dull staccato notes have names ending in the clipped *K* while others of metal with greater resonance have names ending in *Ng*. All this is literal enough and self-evident. Let us follow it up.

We have a number of words in Malay suggesting a twist, bend or change of direction. If that twist is sudden (*e.g.* an acute angle) such a word ought (under this rule) to end abruptly in *K*; if the turn is softened or lengthened into a curve it should end in *Ng*.

Kok: the forked yoke for a single ox;
Kong: the curving rib of a boat.
Bengkok: crooked;
Bengkong: a bend in the road;
Lengkok: a twist;
Lengkong: a curve;
Chengkok: awry;
Chengkol, chengkong: bent, dislocated (of a limb).

So also to say of a road that it is *bengkang-bengkok* or *chĕlang-kang-chĕlengkok* is to say it is full of angles and bends of all sorts. In all these cases the final *Ng* does answer to Mr. Maxwell's directional test and suggest a curve, but it does so only because a curve is the longer turn of the two.

XXVIII.

At times *Ng* seems to have other "directional values". We get a series of connected terms of relationship in which it means "my": *anak, anang*; *bapa', bapang*; *chuchu, chuchong*; *adek, ading*; *kakak, kakang*. These are Malayo-Javanese literary uses of *Ng*; they are not heard in the *kampong*. Initial *Ng* is sometimes a verbal prefix (*ngalir, ngarak, ngayan, ngayub, ngĕbel, ngĕchat, ngĕlana, ngĕmbek, ngĕpal, ngĕngek, ngĕpĕl, ngĕram, ngĕrang, ngĕtip, ngĕtok, ngiok, ngisap, ngumbara*); but these are not *kampong* words. Far more important is the use of a final *Ng* as a verbal suffix: *sigong* or *singgong* (from *siku*); *genggeng* (from *gigi*); *ulang* (from *olak*); *kĕlumpong* (from *kĕlompok*); *kudong* and *kotong* (from *kodok, kotok, katak*); *sagang, sanggang* (from *sangga*); *dĕpang* (from *dĕpa*). What again, is the relationship between *jolok* and *jolong, changak* and *changang, unjok* and *unjong*?

XXIX.

As a plan for memorizing Malay words Mr. Maxwell's "directional values" have merit. The word *gong* can be remembered because it is round (*ng*) and has a boss with a rounded contour (*g*); but Mr. Maxwell knows that a *gong* gets its name from its note and not from its orthography. The identification of *Ng* with "circularity" will give the tracker of words many real clues and lead him occasionally astray; in a vast number of cases it will fail to give any help because it is not the whole meaning of *Ng*. In Onomatopoeia *Ng* is resonance or the prolongation of sound. Figuratively therefore *unjong* would be a long stretch and *unjok* a short extension; *jolong* would be long penetration and *jolok* a

short stabbing dig; *changang* or *chĕngang* would be the long upward stare of a bewildered man, *changak* the sudden glance of a man who is startled. So also *sigong* should not be " a dig " with the elbow so much as a continuous thrust with the elbow. In many cases too a final *Ng* shows a continuous act or condition: *dĕpa* (the stretch of both arms) becomes *dĕpang* (having the arms outstretched); *sangga* (prop) becomes *sagang* (being a prop, supporting); *kĕlompok* (clump, cluster) become *kĕlumpong* (being clustered together); *kodok, kotok* (short, squat) becomes *kudong, kotong* (to be maimed or shortened); *gigi* (tooth, teeth) becomes *genggeng* (holding between teeth). Most verbs in *Ng* have this same " abiding " meaning; they have no suggestion of violent or spasmodic activity. *Junjong* is support on the head; *gantong* is suspension; *jinjing* is support under the arm; *tatang* is support on the open hand; *tudong* is veiling, concealment; *chondong, miring* or *sendeng* is to be at a slant; etc. With such words we may compare those that end in the abrupt ending *T*: *gigit* (to bite), *jilat* (to lick), *ikut* or *turut* (to follow), *ikat* or *bĕbat* or *kĕbat* or *tambat* (to bind), *balut* (to wrap round), *hambat* (to chase), *esut* or *kesut* (to shift to one side), *pichit* (to squeeze between the fingers), *urut* (to squeeze in the whole hand). The figurative use of Onomatopoeia gives Mr. Maxwell's " directional force " to the final letter.

XXX.

The true onomatopoeic final consonants are, in Malay, *K, M, Ng, P, R* and *S*. Of the first four we have spoken already. *R* occurs in words like: *sar, dĕsar, lĕsar* (harsh continuous sizzling or rustling like the noise of rain on a roof), *sir, dĕsir* (the hiss of water on red-hot iron), *sur, dĕsur, lĕsur* (the hissing rattle of a cable running out or of a rainstorm in the jungle). It figures also in words like *gar, dĕgar, tagar, dĕgur* (the rumble of thunder or of heavy gun-fire); and in terms connected with the rush of water or the emptying-out of grain (*chur, dĕchur, panchur*), etc. In all cases it suggests a prolonged noise. *S*, as a sibilant, figures in such words as *kus* or *pus* (the blowing of a porpoise), *bus* or *dĕbus* (the noisy flight of a big bird), *ĕmbus* (the rush of air from a bellows or the snort of an animal), *kĕrĕtas* (the rustle of stiff paper), *kĕrpas* or *kĕrpus*, (the sound of the wind in dry foliage), *tĕbas* (the felling of undergrowth) and *kĕrbas, kibas* or *kĕribas* (the noise made by clothes being shaken out). Of the remaining consonants *Ch* is never a final though it is onomatopoeic; *D* figures only as a rare dialectic variant of final *T*, e.g. *parud* for *parut*; *G* is absent from the finals of recorded *kampong* Malay; *H* may occur as a dialectic softening of final *S*; *L* is not an onomatopoeic final; *N* is replaced by *Ng*; and *T*, though not uncommon, is interchangeable usually with *K*,—thus the mole-cricket " with the rasping cry " may be either *bĕlalang kĕrit-kĕrit* or *chĕngkĕrit* or *chĕngkĕrek*. This *T* is, naturally, an abrupt terminal like *K*. *B*, the only remaining consonant to be considered, occurs sometimes as a dialectic or etymological variant of final *P*, e.g. *kutib* for *kutip, tĕntuban* or *tĕtuban* for *tutupan*.

XXXI.

Let us sum up Mr. Maxwell's work as it now stands. Onomatopoeia in Malay has been shown by him to pervade the language in many ways, figurative as well as real. It gives us (as in all tongues) a number of words describing actual sounds such as the English rap, thump, clang, thud, boom, etc. It uses those words as roots to form derivatives, *e.g.*: *tok* (tap); *toktok* (sounding-block); *kětok* (to rap out a sound); *chatok* (to peck, to strike—of a snake); *patok* (to peck up—as a fowl); *latok* (a kind of chopper with a "pecking" end); *bělatok, jělatok, pělatok* (local names for the woodpecker). It names many living things by the sounds they make: birds by their notes (*chiak, bĕrkek, kĕchichak*, etc.); the lizard by its cry (*chichak, chakchak*); the mole-cricket by its strident call (*bĕlalang kĕrit-kĕrit, chĕngkĕrek, chĕngkĕrit*), etc. It describes actions, conditions and inanimate things by the sounds they give rise to: *sĕlam* (to dive); *musim lĕchah* (the "squishy", *i.e.* the wet, season); *lichin* (slippery) from *gĕlinchir* (the sound of a man slipping slightly). It uses the difference between light and deep notes to suggest the change from slight to strong action: *angkit, angkat, angkut.* Last of all, by using appropriate final consonants, it shows us whether an act or condition is brief or enduring. Although Dr. Pijnappel drew attention—many years ago—to the wide use of onomatopoeic roots in Malay Mr. Maxwell is the first writer to show their extraordinary importance.

XXXII.

Mr. Maxwell has divided his work into two parts. In the first part he records his finds in the matter of Onomatopoeia and directional letters;—and we have dealt with those finds. Then, as he thinks that his views conflict with those of certain "recognized experts," he adds a second part to combat what the experts have said. Being the son of Sir William Maxwell he is particularly angry with the reviewer of a certain book by Brandstetter. After having stated elsewhere that Marsden's dictionary was a century behind the times this reviewer went on to say that Crawfurd's writings were the reverse of the truth, Logan's theories were as absurd as the Anglo-Israelite idea, Sir William Maxwell's book was "defaced by obsolete and untenable views", and all later work by Englishmen had no philological value whatever.

XXXIII.

Yet it is perfectly true that at all times academic powers have inclined to be hostile to theories based on the sense perceptions of the field-worker and that even a Malay student of forty years standing—like Mr. Maxwell or, for the matter of that, myself,—must reckon with this. When my first dictionary was published in 1903 an appendix on Etymology was attached to it. While a lexicographer may have little personal interest in the origin of words he must have gained a certain amount of "word-sense" after studying some 14000 vocables. That study left me

with the impression that the crucial or radical part of many Malay words lay at the centre and not at the extremities. So hostile were certain critics to this view that when my second edition was published—representing thirty years of further work and some ten thousand additional words—I was warned against adding any etymological note as the hostility of these critics would damage the sale of the dictionary. The note was therefore omitted.

XXXIV.

It is said by these authorities (p. 118) that the root of *tĕlok, jĕlok, lok,* etc., is *lok.* The root-meaning (curvature) runs through the following:

lo-k: curve;

kĕ-lo-k: short arc;

ka-lo-k: crook;

tĕ-lo-k: bay;

gĕ-lo-ng: coil;

kĕ-lo-ng, rĕ-lo-ng: deep concavity.

Elsewhere we have discussed the meanings of final *K* (short) and final *Ng* (long). The illustrations then chosen were the words: *bengkok, bengkong; chengkok, chengkong; lengkok, lengkong;* etc. But examples may easily be multiplied. In the sense "projection" we get *anju, anjur, anjong, lanjok, lanjut, tĕlanjur, tanjong, manjong, anjuran* (*joran*). So in a similar sense we get *unjok, tunjok, unjong.* So again (with the meaning "scraping past") we have *gesel, gesek, geser, kesek*; and (with the idea of "hooking" or "drawing in") *kail, kais, kait, kaih, raih, rais.* So again (in the sense "trailing behind") we see: *eret, deret, derek, seret, jeret, leret, teret, iring, lirit, ririt, riring.* With the meaning "fat, blown out" we have *dĕmpok, lĕmpong, gĕdĕmpok, kĕdĕmpong, gĕmok, gĕpok, gapok.* The root *igi* (tooth, sharp point) has been traced already in *gigi gĕrigi,* etc.—to which we may now add *ligi* and *sĕligi.* "Dustiness, mistiness" figures in *abu, abok, jabu, kĕlabu, tabun, rabun, kabut, kabur, kabus,* etc. The idea of "interval, intervening space, alternation" shows itself in *lat, ĕlat, hĕlat, sĕlang, bĕlang, bĕlat, sĕlat.* That of "skin, peel, peeling" in *kopak, kĕlopak, kupas, kopek, kĕlopek, gĕlopak, pĕlupok,* etc. It would be easy to draw up a hundred such lists. Each shows a medial root with its meaning modified by initial and final consonants. Tempting as it is to take *lok* as the root of *tĕlok* that view should now be modified.

XXXV.

"May we not say definitely"—asks Mr. Maxwell—"that we have struck an outcrop of the lode, the matrix of language, which is here in Malaya and extends Southwards to Polynesia and Northwards far into Central India and beyond?" Let us be cautious.

The Polynesian languages are vocalic ; they have no final consonants ; and it is by the final consonants that we have traced most " directional values ". Of the Central Indian languages we know very little. All that we can say safely—and it is a great deal—is that Mr. Maxwell has found in Malay an extensive outcrop of primitive onomatopoeic speech such as may explain one day the genesis of all language. That day, however, may never dawn. It is for students in Malaya to find out the extent of this outcrop and its relation to the rest of the language ; scholars in Europe may be able to see how far it can be traced into kindred languages like Javanese and Sundanese ; it can hardly be confined to Malay.

XXXVI.

This " outcrop " is far from being co-extensive with Mr. Maxwell's " *kampong* Malay." Let us take the following pairs of connected words : *asam, masam* ; *asin, masin* ; *aleh, maleh* ; *angkat, mangkat* ; *haru, maru* ; *anjong, manjong* ; *hilir, milir* ; *apus, mampus* ; *udi, mudek* ; *uda, muda* ; and *andak, mandak*. Some are in regular use in the villages, some are borrowed from Java, but all are good " Indonesian " word-formations and have no link with Onomatopoeia. There are, in fact, two distinct outcrops of old methods of word-building in Malay. One—the Indonesian—is best illustrated by a series like *alang, malang, kalang, galang, palang*. The other—the Onomatopoeic—comes out in a series like *lap, rĕlap, kĕrĕlap, gĕmĕrĕlap*. The two are quite distinct. In Perak the old Indonesian *ng* is still the verbal prefix in preference to the more modern *mĕng* ; and the literary *bĕr* is limited to the Riau-Johore colloquial, the form elsewhere being *bĕ* or *ba*. In this Indonesian outcrop *ch* and *j* are verbal prefixes (=*ny*) and lack all suggestion of the " soft, pliable, flexible." Examples are : *apai, chapai* ; *untai, juntai* ; *hulur, julur* ; *alit, chalit* ; *anggau, jangkau* ; *urai, jurai* ; *rat, jĕrat* ; *rut, chĕrut* ; *eret, jeret* ; *injak, jijak* ; *luak, jĕluak* ; etc. These old forms of word-building lie outside Mr. Maxwell's onomatopoeic methods, though the same series of words may sometimes show both processes at work.

XXXVII.

Incidentally Mr. Maxwell touches on many subjects : the methods of comparative philologists, the textbooks used by Civil Servants, the flaws in the present system of romanizing Malay, the importance of Natural History in the study of language, the difficulties in the preparation of Sakai word-lists,—and so on. On most of these subjects his remarks are very much to the point. I, for one, have sought to identify bird-names and fish-names, to collect vocabularies, to learn Sakai. I have met scientists who were never wrong in their Malay names of animals while others would go to endless trouble over an animal's identity and then accept its native name from any casual Malay they came across. I have known collectors of words who pointed to the mouth to get its Sakai name and recorded the name for lips ; while others

opened their mouths and were given the word for teeth or tongue. Endless care is needed. I have had a Sakai for months in my home to teach me his speech and found—though I have qualified in a seven-toned dialect of Chinese—that the phonology of Sakai was hopelessly beyond me. While I cannot believe that the Indo-European languages originated in Polynesia (p. 122) I admit that they may have developed under the influence of similar forces. Take even our Greek : has it not been " simplified " since classical times, have not its vowel-sounds shrunk to half their number and its tone-accents become stress-accents ? As Mr. Maxwell points out, the nearer we get to primitive culture the nearer we get to conditions where men lived by the keenness of their senses ; the further we " advance " the more we atrophy that keenness and become purblind and tone-deaf.

LIGHT IN THE MALAY LANGUAGE.

By CHARLETON NEVILLE MAXWELL.

With a foreword by R. J. WILKINSON, C.M.G.

(Plate IV.)

FOREWORD.

" Comparison of words "—so wrote Sir R. Winstedt in 1925—" shows in Malay a very old system of suffixation which has not yet been unravelled." As an example he gave : *kait* (hooking), *kail* (to fish with a hook), *kais* (to clutch, to grab). To refer such forms to the scheme of Malay grammar as we know it he pronounced futile, so that it was left for Mr. Charleton Maxwell to be the first to explain this obsolete system of word-building. In the present work as in two previous books (The Malay Language and how to learn it, 1932. An Introduction to the Elements of the Malay Language, 1933) he shows that the system rests on onomatopoeia or the meaning suggested for a word by its own sound. To future grammarians and lexicographers of Malay his theories will be of the first importance ; but he claims far more than that : he would have us believe that his discoveries apply to all tongues and explain the origin of human speech. In another quite recent work—Sir Richard Paget's " This English "—a like claim is put forward. How far can such views be sustained ?

Let us begin by saying that most philologists object to any speculation about the origin of language. They maintain that it is beyond any chance of proof. Words, they tell us, have been changing in form for countless generations ; the English of a thousand years ago is unintelligible to the man in the street today. The great language-groups lack all similarity either in grammar or vocabulary. Chinese is monosyllabic, toned, uninflected ; Latin, Greek and Sanskrit are none of these ; Turkish builds up elaborate polysyllables by attaching suffixes to a monosyllabic root ; Arabic and Hebrew ring the changes on a root of three consonants. Far as we can trace languages back we get no nearer any sign of a common origin for them all. So philologists protest. It does not follow, however, that the beginngings of human speech must remain always beyond our ken.

Take writing. At first sight our alphabet is as unlike Malayo-Arabic script as English is unlike Malay, while it differs even more widely from Chinese lettering, Japanese syllabaries, Egyptian hieroglyphics and the cuneiform characters of Chaldaea. Yet a comparison of the Greek letter-names *alpha, beta, gamma, delta* with the Hebrew *aleph, beth, gimel, daleth* suggests a common source at once. In Hebrew the names have a meaning ; that of the objects that the letters resemble. Thus the letter-name *ain* (in Arabic) means " eye ", looks like an eye and is represented in English by the round O which also suggests an eye. Our Western alphabets grew out of hieroglyphics just as the Japanese sylla-

baries grew out of the Chinese characters which are themselves convention forms of an older picture-writing. All forms of writing have a similar (if not a common) origin.

Or, again, take History. Our forefathers relied on written records and based their early history of the world upon the Scriptures. To them neolithic tools were thunderbolts, stonehenges were playgrounds for pixies; menhirs and cromlechs were stones set up by the devil. Today Prehistory is a science. Moreover Prehistory lives. A leading anthropologist once told me how thrilled he was in New Guinea when he found himself among Stone Age Folk who could show him how the old celts were used. May we also not hope to find some survival of primitive speech—some " Stone Age speech " still in use—to provide us with positive evidence about the origins of language? That, indeed, is what Mr. Maxwell claims to have done.

In many ways Malay is a remarkable tongue. In its present-day form (apart from its limited system of affixes) it is free of inflections and depends for grammar on balance, rhythm, the position of words relatively to each other, and the use of a few particles or auxiliary words. In these respects it is like Chinese. In its system of affixes it is agglutinative and suggests the Turanian tongues. Then beneath this modern surface we get the older stratum discovered by Mr. Maxwell where we find forms of inflected words recalling our classical tongues : with *vici, vicis, vicit* we may compare *gigi, gigir, gigit.* In it also we get our Indo-European " *ablaut* " : with our " sink, sank, sunk " we can contrast *gĕlinchir, gĕlanchar, gĕlunchur.* Last of all we get parallels to the Semitic paradigm : to the Arabic *katib, kitab, maktub* we may liken *angkut, ungkit, mangkat.* Does this prove that Malay is the mother of our great language-groups? Certainly not, but it makes it plain that the differences in grammatical structure between them cannot be irreconcilable with a common origin since all the peculiarities seem to appear in Malay. A common origin is, at least, possible.

" But ",—say other critics,—" even given a common origin for all languages, it can hardly have rested on Onomatopoeia. Though the organs of speech may have remained the same and the sounds of nature the same the power of mimicry would take a primitive man no further than it takes a parrot. He would imitate without either understanding or being understood. How are we to bridge the gulf between these early parrot-cries and our modern ideas of reasoned discussion " ? Briefly the objections to our theory are three : (1) sound-words are too few to meet the needs of speech; (2) no explanation has yet been given of the change from sound-names to words that have nothing to do with sounds; and (3) even if some plausible explanation can be put forward it is only a theory and can be supported by no testimony whatsoever. These are grave objections.

Let us begin therefore by explaining what we understand by " onomatopoeia " and " the beginnings of speech." Even a so-

called " dumb animal " is vocal; he has cries that are full of meaning, expressing anger, surprise, warning, alarm, menace, pleasure, dislike, complaint or affection. He has what we define grammatically as " interjections." Since language progresses from the vague to the definite a primitive man's first wish would be to give greater precision to his ejaculatons. I once asked a Sakai his tribal word for *mati* (death). " Death ! " said he, " what sort of death ? Do you mean killed by a tiger, a snake, a falling tree, a thunderbolt, a torrent, or what ? " A cry of warning against deadly danger would be of little use without some suggestion of the impending peril,—and this could be given easily by imitating the growl of a tiger, the hiss of a snake, the crash of a falling tree, the roar of thunder or the rush of a torrent. All are sound-words. Today they only mimic the sounds; in early speech they did more : they suggested the object associated with the sound. *Aum* today is the growl of a tiger and *bek* or *ĕmbek* the bleat of a goat, but these words were once the names of the beasts themselves,—or at least so we may well surmise !

Well, we cannot trust to surmise; we want evidence—evidence, if you will, of what was happening over ten thousand years ago. To this day the jungle-speech of the Proto-Malayans of the Peninsula describes animals by their cries : *chewe aum* (" growler", tiger), *chewe bok* (" booer ", ox), etc. *Rimau* does not suggest a " tiger " but the kindred form *rĕ-m-aung* does. *Kambing* does not suggest a " goat ", but *k-embe-ng* does ; and the Sundanese word for " goat " is *embe* still. *Kus* is the hiss of a cat and *yong* its mew ; *me-yong* is cat in Sundanese and *kusa* in Javanese (whence the honorific *kuching* in Malay and *kunjang* in Borneo). Or again we may recall the many birds named in Malay after their notes : *chiak, kuau, bĕrkek, pĕkakak, bĕlatok, goak, gagak, chichit, pipit, chabak, tĕptibau, gugut, bubut, butbut, chuchur, tĕtuhu*, etc. The primitive names still live.

Unfettered by alphabets Early Man must have drawn subtler distinctions in sound than we moderns. *Dĕram* figures, for instance, in modern Malay as a low rumbling murmur, the growl of a tiger or dog, etc. These sounds are not identical. Onomatopoeia meant more words to Early Man than it does to us. So we find that one great group of tongues—the Chinese—still draws tone-distinctions that make monosyllables enough for all its purposes. Among the primitive Central Sakai of Malaya I found *nuances* of sound more delicate than the Chinese tones and presenting difficulties of pronunciation that no adult European can hope to overcome. Primitive phonetics were subtler than ours, but, even so, they were broad enough for their main features to be traced to the present day.

Take bells. There is a difference in depth of sound between the tinkle of a hand-bell, the clang of a dinner-bell and the boom of a cathedral-bell,—sufficient difference to call in English (as in modern written Malay) for the use of different vowels. Such a change of vowels, besides reproducing a sound, suggests or implies the size

or importance of the bell that makes it. Thus in Malay *angkit, angkat, angkut* represent increasing effort in the act of "picking up". Malay is full of old survivals of this way of changing a word's meaning by a change of "vowel": *jinjing, junjong; rĕbah, roboh; lueh, luah; luek, luak; kĕpal, kĕpul; kĕnyit, kĕnyut; tĕpak, tĕpok; chobek, chobak; robek, robak; chobek, chabek; robek, rabek; bachar, bochor; gesek, gosok; lĕkak, lĕkok; singkir, singkur; kait, kaut; sĕrkap, sĕrkup; kengkang, kangkang; gĕtis, gĕtas; rĕngkah, rĕngkoh; balut, bolot; bintil, bintul; bengkok, bongkok; chorek, chorak; gelek, golek; giling, guling; dangak, dongak; hĕmbalang, hĕmbaling; jalar, julur; bingkis, bungkus; bongkeng, bongkang; gĕrigit, gĕrugut; kesel, kusal; gĕlanting, gĕlantong; ĕngeh, ĕngah; jĕlir, jĕlar; bechek, bechak; korek, korok*; etc.

Another broad distinction in sound is that between a single note such as the call of an Argus-pheasant and a multiple note such as the cackle of a hen. So in modern Malay we get *kak-kak* (to cough), *kah-kah* or *dĕkah-dĕkah* (to guffaw), *kek-kek* (to giggle), *bobok, gogok, robok* or *gĕrobok* (to bubble). This reduplication is a simple way of indicating a plural and is still so used occasionally, though it is less idiomatic than the collective "all kinds of". Sounds in nature may be repeated but are rarely exactly alike; they are confused or varied. *Kĕrĕtup-kĕrĕtap* and *gĕrĕdum-gĕrĕdam* are onomatopoeic words that describe stamping and thumping generally or all kinds of noisy disturbance. In this way are formed in Malay many "collective plurals" that are only onomatopoeic by analogy: *gunong-ganang, sayur-mayur, erang-erut, choreng-moreng, hutang-piutang, hangit-pĕngit, gopoh-gapah, bunting-bantang, bulang-baling, jĕmu-jĕlak, cheret-beret, gĕrak-gĕri, aram-tĕmaram, liang-liut, cholak-chaling, chuak-chaik, gĕlosok-gĕlusang, chongkah-mangkeh, chĕkap-chĕkup, kas-kus, kutong-katang, olak-alek, chiak-miak, huru-hara, gĕrbas-gĕrbus, dolak-dalek, dahaga-dahagi, champur-gaul, kochoh-ganyah, bĕras-pĕtas, komat-kamit, kutip-katap, ulang-aling, buat-buit, ampok-ampai*, etc.

Again we get a marked difference between short sharp sounds (such as raps or thuds) and long reverberating or resounding noises. These first are best indicated by a glottal check of which there is still one in Malay, not to mention several in Central Sakai, but within the fetters of our alphabet a final *t, p* or *k* may also end a "short" sound. Rumbling or reverberation is best shown by *r*, resonance by *ng*. By analogy or extension what is short or long in sound may indicate what is short or long in meaning, *e.g.* a hasty glance is *kĕleh, dĕlok, jĕlok, tampak, nampak, changak, dongak, chongak, lihat*, while long looks are *jĕling, kĕrling, chĕrling, mĕnong, chĕngang, chĕnong, rĕnong, mĕngong*, and *pandang*. So too *pandak, mandak, katak, katok, pendek, dangkak, sampak, kodok, kotok, kenek, ketek, mondok, ponggok, getek, kĕchik, chilik, inchat, kĕrĕnchat, kĕrĕntat, gĕntat, montok* all mean short or stunted. Still more convincing is the change of meaning effected by a final consonant in a connected pair of words: *unjok* (to thrust forward), *unjong* (to be projecting or standing out); *changak* (to

look up), *chĕngang* (to have a fixed look) ; *gigit* (to bite), *genggeng, gonggong* (to hold in the mouth) ; *siku* (elbow) ; *sigong* (rest on elbows) ; etc. We get also the words for an abrupt turn or angle (*kok, bengkok, lengkok, chengkok*) to compare with those for the gradual curve (*kong, bengkong, lengkong, chengkong*) ; or verbs for " acts " (such as *gigit, jilat, ikut, turut, ikat, bĕbat, kĕbat, tambat balut, hambat, esut, kesut, pichit, urut*) to compare with verbs for a state, position or condition such as *gantong, tatang, jinjing, junjong, tudong, chondong, mereng, sendeng.*

Some sounds please the ear ; others grate on it. This fact also has been used by Malays to give a harsh meaning to a word by closing it with a hateful sibilant (*his, chis, chus, ramus, rampus, jĕmuas, gĕragas, chĕbis, jĕrejis,* etc.) ; or to make it complimentary with a sonorous ending (*jalu, jantan* ; *alu, antan* ; *asu, anjing* ; *bĕlatok, bĕlandong* ; *piama, piantan* ; *sari, santan*). Mr. Maxwell indeed has gone so far as to work out the onomatopoeic value or " directional force " of all the consonants. Though in general agreement with him I find these forces easier to feel than to define and prefer to be undogmatic. Consonants vary locally : *ratu* in Java was *datu* in Palembang ; *jaru-jaru, jĕnjulong* and *todak* in some districts are *chĕncharu, nyĕnyulong* and *chĕnchodak* in others. Let us not expect the directional forces to work too rigidly.

To sum up. Mr. Maxwell has discovered that Malay is made up largely of some old language that was built up by onomatopoeia and retained its onomatopoeic word-building till quite recent times. Though dead among modern grammarians this old word-building permeates popular speech and affects men's appreciation of words ; indeed we find that it has been allowed to name things as modern as the Malayo-Javanese musical instruments of bell-metal (*gong, gĕndang chanang, bonang, mongmong,* etc.) Its onomatopoeic principles protected it greatly from phonetic decay so that we are nearer the beginnings of human speech in Malay than in any other tongue studied for etymological purposes. These beginnings are shown by survivals of old words to have been monosyllables describing animals or things by the sounds with which they were linked. Subsequently by modifying the depth or tone of the vowel-sound the speaker was able to suggest that an object was small or great, light or heavy, narrow or broad, fine or coarse, important or unimportant. By clipping a word or by lingering on it he showed that it meant something short or long, ephemeral or enduring, transitive or intransitive. By duplicating (or not) he gave out that it was multiple or single, plural or singular. By varying the vowel in these plurals he invented the collective plural. So much we can see. The collective plural in its turn takes us to wider collectives such as the modern *ibu bapa'* for " parents " or *ayam itek* for " poultry " ; and these again to compound words of all sorts. Here phonetic decay would set in as time went on so that while we can trace the onomatopoeic *tok* in the connected *kĕtok, latok, chatok, pĕlatok* we cannot now trace the exact meaning of the earlier syllables.

Has Mr. Maxwell shown that all languages are based on onomatopoeia? Not exactly that. He shows that Malay is so based and that other languages may have been created in the same way. He has, also, disposed effectively of the objections to the onomatopoeic theory as such. If his critics say—as they have a right to say—that he has proved his theory of no language except Malay he has, at least, the right to ask them in return whether there is any alternative theory about the beginnings of human speech that they are in a position to prove of another language or even support with serious evidence.

R. J. WILKINSON.

ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES.

Ar.	Arabic.
A.S.	Anglo-Saxon.
Batav.	Batavia Malay.
Brun.	Brunei Malay.
Dut.	Dutch.
Gk.	Greek.
Hind.	Hindustani (Urdu).
Ice.	Icelandic.
Jav.	Javanese.
Java.	Java Malay.
Joh.	Johore Malay.
Ked.	Kedah Malay.
Kel.	Kelantan Malay.
L.	Latin.
Mal.	Peninsula Malay.
Min.	Minangkabau Malay.
N. S.	Negri Sembilan Malay.
O. N.	Old Norse.
Pah.	Pahang Malay.
Pk.	Perak Malay.
Pers.	Persian.
Sar.	Sarawak Malay.
Sel.	Selangor Malay.
Skr.	Sanskrit.
Sum.	Sumatra (dialect uncertain).
Sund.	Sundanese.
Tam.	Tamil.

INTRODUCTION.

There are features in the Malay language for which the ordinary definitions employed by philologists and grammarians are inadequate.

The association of ideas plays a great part in the formation of words and if this fact can be clearly demonstrated it will be necessary to apply a fitting term to this peculiarity.

We trace the etymology of an English word to the mould in which it was cast as a complete unit, but, in tracing the etymology of a Malay word we find no mould.

The fusion of the elements is brought about by attraction, as when little drops of water on a leaf coalesce and form a large drop.

Like attracts like ; similar sounds suggest similar ideas, and the characteristic sounds in a word enable one to recognise the word, its meaning and why it has that meaning.

When those characteristic sounds are symbolised in writing by characters (letters of the alphabet) and there has been no error in, or interference with, the orthography of the spoken word we can still recognise the word, its meaning and why it has that meaning.

The system by which we derive a complete modern word from an earlier form of the same word (*i.e.* a mould) has been convenient and useful but it does not take us back far enough.

Language is not static and never was. Word-building is a superficial process, a conflux but not a casting. If we are to have a clear conception of the method of word-building we should first understand how the idea presents itself to the Malay mind and then follow the trend of sequential ideas to other words.

In doing so we find that what is superficial is also systematic.

Morphology is the science of the development of form.

It is limited in practice to the forms of living organisms, animal or vegetable, but, there is no philological reason for this limitation and there would appear to be no valid reason why the term should not be applied to the process of word formation if the need exists.

Many years ago, Professor Blagden wrote on the need for a science of the relations of the secondary meanings of words to their primary ones and I have quoted him on page 76 of my book on the Elements of the Malay Language.

If, therefore, the growth and the method of formation of words can be satisfactorily demonstrated, the need for a scientific term to explain the process is necessary.

We will therefore examine the Malay language morphologically and before we begin it will be well to discard a good many myths. Malay is a very mixed language with a history which will reveal itself by degrees, but the important thing to remember is

that the method by which it keeps on building new words remains unaltered. The language of the Malay in the Peninsula is in all essential characteristics the language of the entire Malay Archipelago.

We find changes in the form of words whereby *tara* (Malay) = *rata* (Malay) and apply the term metathesis to this phenomenon. But when we find

Rata (Malay) = *Datar* (Minangkabau and Sundanese).

Patin (Malay) = *Tapin* (Minangkabau).

Kĕchil (Malay) = *Chilik* (Java).

the term metathesis simply points to the phenomenon without explaining it.

If, however, we follow the method of associating like forms with like and note the dialectic, regional preferences we notice, for example, that the level, flat, uniform suggestion in *rata* extends not only to *datar* and *dasar* (Malay), level, basic level, but also to *latar* (Batavia) surface, background, to *lata*, (Malay) *mĕlata*, creeping along the ground, to *latam* (Malay) levelling down a broad surface and to *natar* (Malay and Madurese) background, basic colour.

The Minangkabau customary law of the Negri Sembilan gives both the association and the explanation in a sentence. *Hukum yang rata, adat yang datar.* Canon law is level, common law is flat, *i.e.* one is as good as the other.

Our English word earth, (vide Chambers' dictionary) is derived from the Anglo-Saxon eorthe ; *e.g.* Dutch aarde, German erde, that is to say, from an older form of the same word (a mould) but it is obvious that dialectic preference influenced the arrangement of the fluid molecules (characters) which formed a still earlier expression of the same idea, terra for example, without breaking the globule. (morphe).

The morphe persists though its outline alters and the directional characters persist though they change their position in the morphe.

So morphology traces a likeness between terra, earth, eorthe, aarde and erde in the languages of Europe and in the more ancient language of the Orient we have, *darat*, dry land, as opposed to sea, with its associated forms *datar*, *natar* and also *tanah*, earth. Also (Java) *dampar*, level, flat, even, and (Malay) *dampar tĕr-dampar*, stranded, high and dry.

A single plasma (directional vowel or consonant) contains the germ of an idea and when it is joined by another plasma the result is a morphe.

This morphe can attract other plasmae and grow as *lok* grows to *pĕlok* and *pĕmĕlok*, and each plasma plays its part in conveying a meaning. The important plasma pushes itself into a prominent place in the morphe in order that it may be recognised and understood.

Thus when *l* displays its yielding, pliant, idea in conjunction with *k* which contains the germ of angles and projections we find a

curve, a bow, a bay, with the horns at each end as in *tĕlok, lubok, kalok,* etc.

Now give *p* a prominent position to display the germ of pressure and we have *pĕlok* to embrace with the arms, and the wide area and extent which is so frequently exhibited by *m* is exemplified in the word *pĕmĕlok* which is used of measurements. *i.e* as much as can be embraced by the extended arms.

I do not propose to burden you with dry lists of words but you will need Wilkinson's dictionary (1932) if you desire to learn the language.

In this dictionary you will find a number of words marked Sanskrit.

The lexicographer has, quite rightly, recorded what has been held to be the Sanskrit element in the Malay language.

" The presence of Sanskrit words in the Malay language was first remarked by Sir William Jones "[1] and Leyden, Crawfurd, Marsden and Favre devoted considerable attention to the subject.

W. E. Maxwell, who wrote in 1881, a masterly summary of the views then held and which he seems to have accepted in some measure, struck an entirely new note when he drew attention to certain suggestive elements in Malay monosyllabic roots.

On page 8 of his Manual he wrote :

> " The history of the Malay language is to be found in the language itself, for no authentic records of pre-Muhammedan times exist" and on page 9, "It is hoped that the subject may attract the attention of those more competent to deal with it, and that the researches of Sanskrit scholars may facilitate a decision which there is no pretension to pronounce here."

No Sanskrit scholar has taken up the task ! I known no Sanskrit, not even the alphabet, but, I profess to know Malay. I have been speaking and studying the language for nearly forty-six years and I will try to tell you something of the history of the Malay people from the language itself and in doing so to give evidence not of Sanskrit elements in Malay, but of Malay elements in Sanskrit.

I shall take the words hitherto accepted as Sanskrit from Maxwell's Manual and Wilkinson's dictionary.

Now, what, exactly, is Sanskrit but a literary language ? And a literary language is young, very young indeed. Sanskrit cannot be more than four or five thousand years old, if as much, whereas language was spoken more than half a million years ago as Professor Elliott Smith and others have graphically explained and proved.[2]

The idea that a primitive language borrowed such indispensable words as *bawa,* bring, *kata,* speak, *biasa,* accustomed, *langkah,* stride, *hari,* day, *nyala,* to blaze, *arang,* charcoal, *rasa,* taste,

[1]W.E. Maxwell—Manual of the Malay Language 1881. p. 11.
[2]Human History—G. Elliott Smith.

feeling, sensation *suka*, pleasure, *malas*, lazy, *kĕris*, the Malay dagger and *bĕr-kĕlahai*, to quarrel from a highly polished literary language seems absurd on the face of it, especially when we know that Malay is a very rich language. There are, for example, some two thousand Malay names for trees and plants alone and more than a hundred words for different colours and shades.

It is impossible to prove that Malay was spoken 500,000 years ago, but, what can be proved is that no language is older than Malay and the proofs are in this book and its predecessors.[1]

Malay is a language in which every vowel sound has a distinguishing meaning and every separate consonant a distinct radical influence and it is impossible to split either a vowel or a consonant into anything finer, smaller or more primitive.

Every ethnographer and archaeologist, nowadays, finds the study of the Malay people tremendously interesting, and they are being classified and labelled Mongoloid, Melanesoid, Australoid, etc., on evidence which is little more than guess work as far as language is concerned. Professor Elliott Smith suggests that "South Western Asia or North-East Africa may be the cradle of the species to which all living men belong" [2] and he tells us [3] that "the fossil remains of man establish the fact that even at the commencement of the period which the geologists distinguish as the Pleistocene, three widely different genera of the Human Family were already in existence, and dwelling as far apart as Java, England and Northern China—a million years at least must be allowed for the career of mankind on the earth.

It would probably be nearer the truth to say several millions.

But even if the minimum figure of one million years is adopted, that is more than adequate to bring out the contrast to the mere six thousand years of civilisation.

By comparison, the history of civilisation is merely a thing of yesterday and today. Yet, in studying Human History, it is important never to forget that man was wandering up and down the earth for countless thousands of years, pushing his way into every accessible part of it...."

I have written enough to show the object of my investigations.

Further on there will be more introductions and even repetitions because they are unavoidable in the explanation of a language where a radical, say, *r* has an association and an affinity with every word in the language in which *r* has a dominant position, and for the same reason there must be restraint because it is not easy to get people with comfortable, settled convictions to alter them even when they are wrong. So, I will take up the task which seems urgent and no more.

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[1]The Elements of the Malay Language.
The Malay Language and how to learn it.
[2]Human History—Page 69.
[3]Human History—Page 72.

CHAPTER I.

If I were to load this work at the beginning with an alphabet and explain in detail the characteristic of each letter it would be equivalent to picking every flower in a garden and piling them all in a heap. That is not the way to look at flowers. We will take things as they come and explain as we go.

To get a grasp of the general idea, however, it is absolutely essential to associate from the beginning each letter with its vocal effect and thus *k*, when it is dominant, sticks out. It explains a kick as well as a choke. It is also necessary to remember always that words are synthetic *i.e.* built up from single letters and not from syllables.

Having grasped this elementary principle it will be realised that a synonym, as generally understood, is a misnomer. A synonym is not an equivalent; it is an alternative with distinct synthetic characters. A word cannot have the same meaning as another word if its morphology differs.

Sea is not synonymous with main.

Batang, in Malay, can mean a river and a tree, but, it is not synonymous with *pokok* which can mean a tree or a growing mass of clouds presaging wind or storm. Why a river with its branches is like a tree is of course obvious. You will say " too easy ". But, did you think of it yourself or did you have to be told? You must see every Malay word as well as hear it. The river forks and the tree forks but there is a difference. The *k* shows the angular ones in the tree and the *ng* the curving ones in the river.

The *b* in *batang* is expansive and the converse *i.e.* dwindling, diminishing, and explains the characteristics of both river and tree (big at one end, little at the other).

The tributaries of a river are *anak*, children, so now one sees a family river instead of the family tree. The upstream (headwaters) of a river is *ulu*, head, but the top of a tree is *punchak*, apex, its shoots are *puchok* and the sticking out little fruit-buds are *putik*. (notice the *k*).

The source of a river is *mata ayer*, spring, and the seed of a tree has its *mata*, eye, also; the germinating point at which the radicle and shoot emerge from concealment, and *mata* means emerging at a definite point (the radical *t*) from concealment (the radical *m* denoting covering).

The river begins to be a river in the *ulu* whereas the tree begins to shape as a tree in the *umbi*, bole, which is partly concealed underground (as the *m* tells you) and *ubi* is the familiar potato with eyes in it, as you know. *Ulu* is not only the head of a river; it is the head of a man, the highest part and the seat of intellect. Intellect is the light of reason and in this article we will look at light and look at reason and further on we shall have more to say about the word *ulu* and exactly what it means.

This brief chapter is written just to show the method of association which makes language intelligible and unforgetable because as one learns one simply adds links. It is the oldest system in the world and the best. Your ancestors used it and you use it but, to a lesser degree, because modern speech has grown haphazard and far beyond the range of etymologists.

CHAPTER II.

Perhaps the simplest way to explain light is to find contrasts so we will begin with

Colours and Shades.

Below is a list of some of the principal colours and shades and also a few combinations of shades and colours, such as pied, striped, speckled, etc.

Aram
Arang
Arau
Bagat
Balar
Balau
Bang
Bangbang
Bangkas (*mangkas*)
Barek
Batek
Bĕlak
Bĕlang
Bĕlau
Bĕlorong
Bĕra
Berang
Bilis
Bilur
Biram
Birat
Biring
Biru
Bogot
Chĕchak
Choreng
Dadu
Doreng
Erang
Gading
Hijau (*ijau*)
Hitam (*itam*)
Ireng
Jahang
Jĕrau
Jingga
Kĕbam
Kĕdam
Kĕlabu
Koreng
Kuning
Lorek
Ledang
Lorek
Loreng
Merah
Mĕrang
Pĕlang
Perang
Puteh
Ranum
Rĕdum
Rĕdup
Rintek
Samar
Tĕlang
Tĕlau

Wilis (Jav.) = *Hijau.*

This list of fifty odd words which might easily be enlarged shows that there is no poverty of expression in respect of various shades and tints and yet we are expected to subscribe to the theory that the words for colour *warna* and the word for blue *nila* have a pure Sanskrit origin. I propose therefore to put forward evidence of a Malay origin. *Nila* (Skr.) Blue; blue dye; indigo dye, is associated with *nilam* (Tam.) blue, and *batu nilam*, sapphire. Blue, and the idea of blue, came first from the clear, cloudless azure sky and is connected with shimmering light. The Malay word for shimmering (as sunlight on rippling water) is *ilau*, but that is not yet a colour.

Let us take from our list *bĕlau*.

Bĕlau. Blue (as a colour and as a pigment) (Eng. blue: Dut. blaauw) = *nila*, indigo. *Bĕlau-bĕlau* shimmering (of ribbed or wavy patterns). *Ikan bĕlau*: a herring (from its iridescent colouring).

Bĕlau as a colour has been given a Dutch ancestry, *i.e.* from blaauw, blue. To combat this idea let us take from our list *bilis* and *wilis*.

The *bilis* is an anchovy (Herring family). Anchovies appear on the surface of the sea in vast shimmering shoals. If you are near you can hear the sound of them like the pattering of a shower on the sea and if you are further off they appear, move along and disappear like catspaws of wind.

All herrings have queer eyes; blear eyes, wide-staring eyes, and one of them is called *mata bĕliak*, the big-eyed herring. So *bilis* is a fish because of its sheen and its steel-blue and steel-green colours. It is also a catspaw of wind and it means blear-eyed as well. In the Tropics the tiny anchovies decay very quickly. If not pickled or salted at once they begin to show red streaks in a couple of hours and so *chorak bilis* as a pattern means red and white stripes.

Wilis. green or blue, *i.e.* the blue or green of the sea or of a sapphire.

Cf. *kilau, kilat, biru, bilar, bĕlayam, bĕlayur, bilur*, etc., etc.

So, in the Malay language the idea of shimmering and sparkling is associated with flawlessness, clearness, and freshness, with the brightness of the sky and with the tints of living fish.

Bĕliya (Skr. *balya*) fresh, in the bloom of youth, is obviously derived from Malay. We can trace its association with *bĕlau, bĕlayam* and *bĕlayur* and describe in detail its connection with a hundred similar descriptive Malay words. *Layam*, waving, *bĕlayam*, another name for little silvery fish such as sardines and anchovies which are also known as *bunga ayer* " flowers of the sea ", *bĕlayur*, the Ribbonfish, (Trichiurus spp.) also known as *sĕlayur* and *ikan timah* from its characteristic waving undulations and its bright silvery colour.

The English word bloom applies to the first freshness of beauty of anything whether flower, fruit, face or fish and etymologists trace the word no further than the Icelandic *blòm*.

If we try to go further into the thoughts of primitive men it seems safe to conjecture that the primary colours, as colours, meant nothing to them. The rainbow, *pĕlangi*, is striped.

Shades preceded colours, *i.e.* light and dark and colours were distinguished and words built to suit them from elements with the original meaning of light and dark.

Following the method adopted in my two previous books let us look for a range of light effects, *e.g.*

Siang. Daylight. *Malam*. Night.

Kilat. Lightning. *Muram*. Gloom.

Ilau. Shimmering. *Bĕra*. Darkened, reddened.

Ilau has been followed up and explained so we will follow *bĕra*, which is obviously a simple and primitive word.

Bĕra. Darkened; reddened (as an autumn leaf); reddened and darkened (of the face). *Tasek bĕra*, a lake in Pahang (the water of which is reddened by the tannin from submerged tree-roots).

Berang. Flushing up (of rising anger).

Mĕrang. Fiery red.

Bĕrahi. The flush of passion; passionately in love or excited.

Berah and *birah*. An aroid (from its colour).

Bĕrani. Bravery. (his blood's up).

And, now the colours begin to show, in *merah*, red, = *biram*, red (Sund. *beureum*); *biring*, bright-red or yellow, *biru*, azure; blue; light in colour, varieties being *b. langit* (sky-blue), *b. laut* (sea-blue), *b. lĕbam* (deep-purple) and *b. muda* (light-blue), *ireng* (Jav.), black = *hitam*, *jĕrau*, deep-red; dark-red.

We have noted that colour and bravery are associated in *bĕrani* and this suggests another clue. Let us follow it.

Jĕraus. Agile; alert; quick and ready; "slippy". "all lit up".

Birah. The aroid which contains an excitant component (hydrocyanic acid?) and is associated therefore with itchiness, lascivious, "hot stuff" and (Brun. Sar.) harlot.

Wira. (Skr.) *Pĕrwira* or *pĕrawira*: virile; gallant; manly.

To resume. *Bĕra*, reddened, is also connected with *bara*, ember, the red glow of fire, and the meaning is clearly brought out in *lipan bara*, a fiery red centipede and *gajah bara* an elephant of unruly temper and this takes us back to *biram* (Skr.) = *beram* = 1. red, 2. elephant, and to *bĕram*, a fermented rice-spirit (from its marked effects, a flushed face) and to *bĕramani*, red beads, coral beads, *bĕrangsang*, also *gĕrangsang*, to give courage, to hearten, *bĕrangta* (Jav. *brangta*) passionate love, *gerang* (Jav.) zest, keen-

ness, eagerness, *berang*, fury, *gĕrangga*, also *kĕrengga*, a red ant (from its courage and colour) and *mĕrjan* (Ar.) coral (red).

We then find *bang* (Jav.) red, and *bangbang*, crimson, rose-red, words which have almost been lost and seem to be connected with a background in such expressions as *batek bang* (*batek* cloth with red ground-colour), *balerang bang*, red arsenic, realgar, (Ar. *rehj-al-ghar*, powder of the cave. Cf. Skr. *gua*, cave, Mal. *goa, gua*, cave.) *worawari bang* (red hibiscus), and *kĕtara bangbang wetan*, in old Malayo-Javanese literature, of the Eastern glow at dawn.

Colours grew in number as the emotions and sensations which they aroused found expression.

Any modern and even myopic young lady can give you proofs that this is still the truth. "The primrose on the river's brim, a yellow primrose was to him, and it was nothing more" does not apply to our ancestors who had vision and imagination.

The metaphors of Malaya are found in Europe and in England. The characteristic and temperamental imagery persists despite the changes which orthography has wrought. We rage, we smoulder and are fiery and blood-thirsty, and here are some links that unite us with the past.

Marah, anger, *bara*, embers, *gĕram*, smouldering rage (Cf. Skr. *gharma*, heat, Pers. *garm*, heat), *darah*, blood, *murka* (Skr.) wrath, *marak*, burning up brightly.

When we speak of a leaden sky there is a reference not only to a shade but also to an oppressive spreading, overshadowing, heaviness, just as gloom implies a weight on the mind. We will examine and dissect a few cognate Malay words.

Lĕbam. Livid. *Badan-nya biru lĕbam*. His body was "black and blue."

Kĕbam. Dark ; leaden-coloured (of the sky).

Kĕdam. Leaden (of the sky).

Hitam. Very dark in colour : = (Sund.) hideung, =(*Java.*) *ireng*, cf. *erang*.

Muram. Sombre ; overcast.

Kĕlam. Murk ; obscurity.

Rĕdam. Faint visibility.

Rĕdum. Gloom ; overcast (of the sky).

Mandam (also *madam*). Mental depression.

Padam. Extinguished ; put out ; stamped out ; "blotted" out.

Udam. Dulled (of lustre) ; faded (of colour).

Eram. To brood *i.e.* to sit on eggs (of a fowl).

The radical *m* suggests wide-covering and also wide-spread which may be over, under, or through, and therefore permeation and diffusion.

This characteristic is displayed clearly in the short list above but perhaps some explanation is required for the word *ĕram*. It means, of course, covering heat ; the generating heat that brings complete fruition. The same idea is manifest in *pĕram*, to store fruit to ripen, to put liquid in a jar to ferment, and in *bĕram*, fermented rice spirit.

You notice that only one characteristic of the radical *m* was given in the first chapter and that now its influence has been more fully explained. Notice, also, that *nira* (Skr.) means the palm-sap *before fermentation*.

The radical *b* showed expansion and diminution in chapter 1 and here we have seen it blooming in *bĕliya* and all ablaze in *bĕrani*, *bĕrahi*, etc.

Let us, now, proceed to examine *wira* and begin to demolish the Sanskrit theory. There will be other examinations of Sanskrit claims later on.

Wira. (Skr.) Virile, gallant, = *wani* (Jav.) gallant, manly, = Malay *bĕrani i.e. bĕrwani*.

Uwang (Old Jav.) Man, = (Jav.) *wong*, = (Java.) *wang* = (Mal.) *orang* = (Min.) *rang*.

Rang or *reng*. Nerve ; fibre ; backbone. *Tiada reng* : invertebrate ; spineless ; lacking strength of character.

Rangka. Skeleton framework.

Bangsa. (Skr.) Race : *bangsawan*, highborn, noble = (Mal.) *bĕrbangsa*.

Wangsa (Skr.) Race.

Bang, abang (Mal.) Brother, brother-man.

Awang. (Mal.) is the vocative. Oh man ! Oh brother !

Lanang. (Jav.) Man, male, manly.

Ang or *hang.* Body, trunk, self.

Angkau. The body indicated by the *k* = you.

Awak. Body, trunk, and the body indicated *i.e.* I or you.

Badan. Body, self.

Adan, dan or *den* (Min. and N. S.). This body *i.e.* I, the person speaking.

Angka. (Skr.) Cypher, numerical symbol, articulated unit.

Angka. Also *sangka.* Reasoning, observing ; thinking.

Amang. Alien, foreign.

Amang-amang, mang-mang. Defiance (one body against another).

Mangsa. Flesh

Adu. Pitting, matching, contesting. (one body against another.)

Adun. Adornment (of the body).

You will notice that *ng* showed the curves of the human form and that when *r* and *k* came in the articulation was indicated in *rangka*.

D displayed the hardness, the solidity of the body, in *badan*.

U in *biru* showed extreme brightness and so, by degrees, we associate *u* which is nearly at one end of the vowel tone-scale with extreme, and with excess. It begins to show a comparative quality which you can see both in *adu* to match and in *adun*, adornment, finery.

Whence came the elements that made these words and explain their meanings ? I find them in the Malay language. Is there not evidence here that Malay preceded Sanskrit ?

Etymologists ask for a norm, that is to say for a single standard language to which it will be possible to trace the etymology of a word.

When, about the year 1786, the discovery was made that many of the words of Europe could be traced back to Sanskrit it looked as though the norm had been found but the fact that comparatively few words could be traced to Sanskrit blocked this avenue of research.

The norm as envisaged by etymologists does not exist. A norm is a moulded form, a pattern, a fabrication, something that has been built up of the radical elements in language and so progress has been delayed by a misunderstanding of the principles of language growth.

We find corms and germs but we can only get within measureable distance of a norm by following words over a wide area. That is why in this work the words are not taken from the Malay Peninsula only, but from the Malays wherever they may be. To follow language you must follow man and vice-versa. You must not think in terms of territories and confine him within geographical limits as our chess-board pedants and statesmen do !

CHAPTER III.

Light and Fire.

Light and fire are inseparable.

We have shown how colours grew from light and shade and it is now necessary to find the primary linguistic elements which will explain to us the growth of words from ideas connected with light, fire, flame, heat, etc.

Primitive legends narrate that man (*orang*) was created from the four elements earth, air, fire and water.

You may call it a coincidence that each of these English words contains the same vocal elements *i.e.* a+r, i+r, and e+r but do you know the etymology of them ?

The etymologists take them back no further than earth to A. S. *eorthe* though the Latin is *terra*, air to Greek *aer* though the

Sanskrit is *udara*, fire to Greek *pyr* though the Malay is *api*, and water to Greek *hydor* and Sanskrit *udan* though there is the Malay word *hujan*.

Gĕni. fire (Java.) is said to be derived from Sanskrit *agni* (Cf. Latin *ignis*).

There is evidence however that it is associated with clarity and luminosity in such words as *bĕni* (Jav.) fire, *hĕning*, clear, limpid, *dĕni*, dew, *linang*, limpid (of tears, of perspiration, and of a calm sea), *rĕning*, clear, limpid, *sani*, bedewed (of light perspiration), cf. *tani* (Tam.), water, *sĕni*, clear, fine, transparent.

Putĕri yang sĕni, a princess ethereally beautiful.

Aning, and *naning*, a bright-yellow hornet.

The life-giving element in man appears in *nyawa*, life (*ny* = life, Gr. *pneuma* = Ar. *ruh*) in its association with breath (*mĕnyawa* to breathe).

I find *nya* a difficult radical to describe and analyse. It is found in Malay, Sanskrit and Chinese but not in Arabic.

" Pronounced like the Ital. *gn* or Port. *nh*, *i.e.* as the *n* sound in '*new*,' '*neuritis*'." Wilkinson.

The ancient Greeks could pronounce *nya* but the Arabs could not and the words *roh*, *ruh*, plural *arwah*, manes of the dead, soul, spirit, we may take to be the regional dialectal equivalent of the unpronounceable *nyawa*.

This inhibition did not extend to *in*, *ni* and *ani* and it is interesting to find the Arabic words *insan*, human being, *insani*, human, *roh insani*, the spirit of intelligent self-consciousness in man, and *insaf*, true justice.

We have found flame, clarity and transparency associated in the morphe *an*, *en*, *in* and *ni*.

We have noted a shibboleth, a regional disability which changed *nya* to *ar*, *roh* and *ruh* as language travelled. We will now return to *nya* and find flame, clarity and transparency again.

Nyaring. Clear (of utterance) : high pitched (of the voice.)

Nyala : Flaming : to flare up.

Nyamur. (Min.) Dewdrop.

Nyana. (Orang Laut) Soul.

Nyanyi. Singing (Malay and Chinese singing is always high-pitched).

Nyaman. Fit and well, clear-headed and clear-bodied.

Nyarak. (Min.) Burning up brightly. Cf. *marak*.

Nyata. (Skr.) Clear ; obvious, manifest.

Nyaruan. (Batav.) also *nĕruan* (Mal.), also *naning* (Mal), hornet.

Now, let us go back to *nyawa* to follow *awa*.

The obvious connection seems to be with *hawa* (Ar.) air.

But, the word *awa* (=*hawa*) is associated with *awah* (Mal.) clear-sighted.

awak (self, human-being),

awas (keen-eyed, clear-visioned, and even second-sight),

lawah (clear, unobstructed of the view)

lawas (clear, open, unobstructed),

berak lawas (a proper clearance), and *mĕlawas* (of the comfortable feeling after the stomach has been relieved of a load).

In *nur.* (Ar.) light, we find *u* + *r*, and in *nurani.* (Pers.) lustrous, we find the meaning of illumined, whether by solar light or by the light of religion or (in mysticism) by the light that knows no illusion.

The derivation of the word *api*, fire (*apui* in some dialects), appears to be unknown. It may be that the first syllable is really *ar* in which case the word was built up into *arpi i.e. ar-ap-i*, the light that flashes or is obtained from flashes ; possibly a reference to primitive methods of making fire or to the fact that man-made fires go out. Cf. *rĕlap*, glint, flash, *mĕrĕlap*, to flicker.

Whence came the Tamil word *nĕrapu* fire ? from Sanskrit ? No ; from Malay.

In *kuning* which we translate as *yellow*, the light element *ni* is apparent. It meant originally, shall we say, flame-coloured ? We see the idea in *kunang-kunang* (Java.) fire-flies, (*api-api* (Mal.), *kĕlip-kĕlip* (Mal.) and if you will look at these words separately you will find *kĕlip*, flash, twinkle, *tĕrkĕlip-kĕlip*, twinkling, shimmering, and *rĕlap*, *kĕrlap*, *kĕrlip*, *kĕdip*, *kĕjap*, and *kĕjip*, and they mean flashing, flickering, twinkling, winking and even the " glad eye " glance.

Wilkinson records *kunang-kunang sa'kĕbun* : " garden of fire-flies ", as a name for jewellery in which very many small diamonds are set together and *Si-Kunani*, the name of an unconquerable fighting-cock owned by the old Minangkabau Kings *i.e.* with hornet-markings.

We have seen a good many vowels now and it will be as well to begin to notice how they influence the words connected with light.

It is too early to say exactly how many different vowels and vowel sounds there are and a new system of marking them will have to be invented before we can do so.

The Chinese have a range of 8 vowel tones we are told.

In fact, some people say 16 tones.

Abdullah of Hikaiat fame has recorded his opinion. He said that the Malay language has 3 vowels *a*, *i* and *u!*

But, he was not a Malay.

Let us begin with the lightest which will be the finest and most fleeting ; the shortest *i* and *e* as in *ĭp* and *ĕp*.

Kĕlip, the smallest light, the smallest twinkle you can imagine.

In *linang*, I ask you to see lambent light, in *sĕni* translucent light and in *dĕni*, with the hard *d* a crystal drop of dew.

Sinar with the radiant *r* explains a bright ray of light.

Biru shows the blue of the sky at its brightest and *dadu* the deep rose-red of a rainbow or of a brilliant sunset.

CHAPTER IV.

We went a long way with *bĕra* in chapter II. Let us begin here with *gĕra*.

Gĕra. Alarming, to terrify.

Gĕrun. Panic, nervous fear.

Gĕroh. Calamity.

Gĕroh-gĕrah. Misfortunes of all sorts.

Here we have *g* and *r* explaining the kindling of an emotion which affects the whole human frame.

Let us keep the *g* and take the yielding letter *l*.

Gĕli. Tickling; amusing.

Gĕlak. Chuckling; laughter.

Gĕliang-gĕliut. Swaying and twisting, *gĕliang*, sinuous, *gĕliut*, writhing.

Gĕletek. To tickle.

Gĕlut. To wrestle, *mĕnggĕlut*, to urge, to stimulate, used even of the compelling force of love.

From the evidence so far *g* is shown to act as an agent, both in laughter and terror. It shows movement and with *r* it intensifies and quickens.

Now look at

Gĕri. Slight instinctive movement.

Gĕrak. Stir, slight movement, awake after sleep, enliven.

Gĕrak surut: the first perceptible movement of the ebb-tide.

Tiada bĕrgĕrak-bĕrgĕri. motionless, lifeless.

And note *sĕgĕra* (Skr.), speedily, quickly.

Sĕra. tĕrsĕra: Lit up; brightened. cf. *tĕrsĕri*.

Sĕri. (Skr.). Charm, quintessence, splendour, excellence, glory.

Sĕrah. Glowing red.

Serang pĕmandangan (W. Sum.) Dazzled by the glare or by glory.

Sĕrang-mĕnyĕrang. Wavy (of colour); changing hue in different lights.

Sĕria. Cleared up *i.e.* light after darkness. cf. *chĕria, sĕra*.

Chĕria reminds us of

Chĕrah. Clear, diaphanous, transparent, nacreous, and of the soft, soul-satisfying radiance of dawn.

We could cite *jĕra,* forewarned, deterred (perhaps by an omen), uneasy, and go on to *chĕrang, tĕrang, jĕrang* and dozens of words to prove that light, heat, colour, and the emotions aroused in man were all thoroughly understood and described with amazing accuracy by a process of reasoning which must have taken aeons to develop; and yet we are asked to believe that the Malays had no word for sun or for day.

If you have followed the arguments and seen the proofs already adduced you will not need to be told that *hari,* though claimed to be Sanskrit, is pure Malay.

But, this is not enough. We can also show how a word not claimed to be Malay and which is Sanskrit owes its existence to the Malay language which preceded it.

Suriya is the Sanskrit word for Sun. It has not replaced *mata hari* and is not likely to do so.

We can take it that the word was recognised, when it was re-introduced to Malays by Indians, though its features were different.

The Malays accepted it and altered it again to *suraya* and by so doing gave it the vitality it lacked.

Suriya or *suria,* if it meant anything at all, would to a Malay suggest disturbance and laughter, a very incongruous appellation for the sun.

Suraya is better if one attaches to *raya* the generally accepted meaning of great, mighty and to *su* the meaning of concealment *i.e.* the Great Disappearer. Cf. *surok,* to hide.

Surut, the ebb-tide which goes out and disappears into the bowels of the earth.

Sungai, the river which disappears into the sea.

Surup, to sink or fall of a heavenly body.

I hazard the opinion that *suraya* makes only a mild academic appeal to the Malay because *raya* morphologically should not mean great or mighty.

Words meaning great are *gajah, banang, bĕsar, gĕdang, gĕde,* etc.

Raya should mean wandering.

We have all the evidence that the primitive Malay drew the inspiration which helped him to make language from close observation of the sun as the source of light and heat. It is not necessary to prove that he knew that the course of the sun was not always the same or of equal duration ; the strong vowel *i* in *hari* shows the divergence.

If *raya* meant mighty we should expect man to apply it to himself but we do not find *Raja raya* or *Tuan raya* though we find *bulan pĕrnama raya,* full moon, *rimba raya,* primeval forest,

jalan raya, main road and *gunong raya*, highest peak in a group of hills.

Let us examine *mata hari* and *raya* carefully.

Mata, as we said, is the effluent of underground water, a spring.

Mata lĕmbing and *mata pisau* explain the whole purpose of a spear or a knife, the sharp point and the sharp edge. Everything concentrates on the point and the edge.

Mata jarum is not the eye of a needle, it is the point.

Mata focusses and concentrates.

There are concealed forces, say, in a piece of wood or iron which can be brought to a serviceable point, concealed forces in the human frame converging to give vision to the eye of man, and in the firmament concealed light and heat drawn from the invisible and emerging with its greatest glory in the effulgence of the sun.

Note. The blunt knife is *tumpul*, the unnoticing stare *mata mamang*, and night, *malam*.

Turn to *raya*. *Hari raya* is not great day ; it is day of excitement, of jubilation. *Ria hati*, delight.

Riang. Excitement, exaltation.

Rimba raya is primeval forest.

The primeval jungle was the home of the primitive wandering man and *rimba* explains spreading, burgeoning, umbrageousness, shade, with light filtering in.

A comparative adjective is superfluous. The grandeur is complete.

Walk in primeval forest and you realise at once what *raya* means.

It means that you walk 10 miles in order to arrive at your objective 5 miles away.

Jalan raya is the road that enables one to wander afar.

See, therefore, *ayun*, swaying, swinging.

Mati hari bĕrayun. about 4 p.m. when the sun " hovers " for its descent, at the end of its swing.

Hantu raya. The Spectre Huntsmen who wanders ceaselessly through the forests

Rayah (Jav.) *mĕnjarah-rayah* to go raiding.

Rayang. Reeling; swaying.

Rayau, mĕrayau. To wander.

Rayat. The aborigines (the wandering people) cf. *Dayak*.

If we now take *gunong raya* with the accepted translation, " highest peak in a range of hills " it begins to look as though *raya* and *raja* have been confused.

We may get some light on this subject in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V.

When one man gains power over his fellow men he begins to liken himself to a god. History is full of instances.

When a god fails or falls man takes his title. The titles borne by rulers of the present day in Malaya are those of the Hindu gods their ancestors worshipped.

The primitive Malays had no kings but they provided the ideas which built up royal titles.

Like the colours, titles were fashioned from light.

Měrah. An old Sumatran title borne by Chiefs or Headmen. Wilkinson records " *tiada raja mělainkan měrah-měrah jua pěrluha pada těmpat-nya* : there were no kings but only *měrah,* each a headman in his own domain."

Let us examine the titles with which we invest our fellow men and so confer kingship and lordship.

The words Emperor, King, Earl, Knight and the qualifying words Royal, Serene, Excellent, Glorious, etc. tell us something, and, as we all know, Sultans, Shahs and Rajas are likened by the courtiers and scribes of the East to the Light of the Universe, to the Sun and to every gem under the sun, and their consorts to the Moon. All the titles are, of course, comparatively modern but the ideas are very much older.

Emperor, my etymological dictionary tells me, is derived from *imperator,* L. *imperare,* to command but command connotes supremacy so we ought to go further back.

Go to the highest place and we have the empyrean, the highest heaven where the pure element of fire was supposed by the ancients to subsist. (Gr. *pyr*). King is traced to A. S. *cyning—cyn,* a tribe, with suffix *kin* ; cog. with *kin* : knight to A. S. *cnight.* Purity and high purpose distinguished the true king and true knight and beyond the Anglo-Saxon and the Greek and beyond the Sanskrit you have seen the limpid elements in Malay.

Earl from A. S. *eorl,* a warrior, hero. Cf. Ice. *jarl.* So we look up warrior and find warm elements in A. S. *werre* and Old High Ger. *werra,* quarrel, and then hero from Gr. *héros,* akin to L. *vir,* A. S. *wer,* a man, Skr, *vira* = *wira.*

Royal. L. *regalis.* Regal, L. *regalis—rex,* a king—*regere,* to rule but, here again ruling connotes supremacy, so we might as well go straight to *Ra,* the Sun-god of Egypt, and to the primitive Malays who travelled to Egypt and to Iceland taking their language and beliefs with them. Sultan is a Mohamedan title and therefore modern. The combined elements in *sul,* suggest a fount. The derivation of *Rasul,* (Arabic) Apostle, *Rasul Allah,* God's Apostle, *i. e.* Mohamed, is given as " one sent " *i. e.* by God.

The pre-Mohamedan elements in the word would give it a slightly different meaning. The fount of God, the fount of Light and so, God's spokesman.

Shah. Persian, (from Skr. *chhaya,* Min. *chaya,* Mal. *chĕrah,* etc, etc.) we may, I think, accept as meaning illustrious.

Raja I take to mean no more than a raider, a plunderer, a conqueror and therfore a ruler. But, I am quite ready to be corrected on this point. The secret of Malay speech lies in its individual appeal. I tell you that a word explains itself and you, if you politely acquiesce, learn nothing. Again, if you disagree but do not trouble to criticise and to apply your own individual construction have not yet done justice to a language you may profess to understand.

For example, you may say that I have gone out my way to give a derivation of *rasul,* an Arabic word, which is contrary to the accepted derivation and therefore, on the face of it, fantastic.

But, I do not say that *rasul* does not mean " one sent ". It can and does mean that.

I ask you to go further and see a primary meaning. Behind every messenger there is the origin of his message.

And, now for the construction.

The sonant *s* like other radical sonants progresses and recedes. It contains the germ of secretion and emission. Build up to *sa, si, su, sar, sir, sur, sal, sil, sul,* etc., etc., and apply metathesis in every case, and see for yourself, though here, to save space, we will go straight to *su.*

Susu. Milk, breast, mammae.

Sum. Essence, marrow.

Suli. Issue, descendant.

Sulit, also *sulip,* Secret, secluded.

Sulub (Ar. *sulb, sulub, salab.*) Backbone; the " loins " as the depository of man's seed.

Dalam raham ibu-nya (in the wombs of their mothers.)
didalam sulub bapa-nya (still unconceived, in the loins of their fathers.)

Suling. (Brun.) To distil.

Sumur. (Batav. from Jav.) Well, spring.

Sumbur. bĕrsumbur: To emerge, to come to light.

Suroh. To send with a message, *pĕsuroh*: messenger, apostle.

Utusan. An emissary.

Susong. pĕnyusong: Messenger.

Asal, usul (Ar. *asl*). Origins, beginnings, early causes.

Sureh (N. S.) Trail, linear trace.
Bĕrsureh bagai sipasin: leaving a trail behind it as a snail.

Sulong. First issue, eldest child.

Busu. also *bongsu.* Last issue, youngest child.

Sira. Sugar. (the secretion of the sugar palms).

Sura (Hind.) Palm-sap.

Sir. (Ar.) Secrecy, silent communion, prayer, (Mal.) innate fondness, liking.

Siri (Ar.) Spiritual : associated with the secret places of the heart.

Sĕri (Skr.) Chap. IV, Quintessence.

Sura (Skr.) Hero ; outstanding personality. (essential qualities).

Sura (Ar.) Chapter of the Koran. *i.e.* one issue, one revelation. See also Chambers' Dict. *Sura,* a chapter of the Koran. (Ar. *sura,* a step.)

Now, is 'step' the original meaning or an extended meaning and have I interpreted *rasul* aright ? If you are not satisfied you will find every word in this book and thousands more in the garden which Wilkinson has spent thirty years in planting for those who have eyes to see.

CHAPTER VI.

Every word in the Malay language can be reduced to writing in Jawi character with the aid of 23 letters. The literary alphabet consists of 35 letters of which 12 require vocal efforts that are unnecessary, foreign and even unpronounceable to the Malay.

Malay is a language of simple clear tones, English is a language in which sibilants abound, and Arabic has a guttural quality.

What we have to bear in mind is that a vocabulary of not less than a hundred thousand words could be collected in the Malay Archipelago and that these words could be examined morphologically with good results if we used 23 letters instead of 35.

The only additional letters required by a transliterator will be vowels because the three vowels alif (alip) ya and wau do not suffice to take us through the gamut of Malay sounds.

There are thirteen simple vowel sounds in English and probably more in Malay.

You will understand therefore why at the present stage of our knowledge of the secrets of Malay speech it would be more than unwise to attempt to standardise, to formulate, and to make rules.

More workers are required before that can be done. Lists of consonants showing their radical characteristics could be made but even if they contained few errors they would not be understood except by a specialist in the language.

Even people who specialise in language misunderstand onomatopoiea ; a smack you can hear but you cannot hear "slimy." There is a difference between a sound and a suggestion.

As language grows many onomatopoeic elements fade into the background and are not easily recognised. It was by signs and the imitation of expressive sounds that men first exchanged ideas.

As that part of the brain (the neopallium)[1] which controls speech grew larger so words with wider and extended meanings took shape and developed.

After the imitation of a sound came the power to suggest something without imitating a sound and thus words expressive of aversion, horror, pleasure, etc. took shape.

Eventually words were built in which though the onomatopoeic element is still expressive it exists in conjunction with suggestive elements.

Take, for example, the sentence *jatoh-lah tĕrchĕlapak pada bĕlakang ikan alu-alu* (Malay Annals p. 69.) which translated is "he fell astride on a barracuda's back" and the onomatopoeic element is hardly recognisable. Let us try to hear and see the full force of this sentence as the Malay does.

In *chĕlapak* you have a picture, a sound and a suggestion. *Chĕlah* is the cleft or cavity between two connected objects: *chĕlah kĕlangkang*, the fork, the perineum. (Batav.) *sĕlangkangan.*

The sound is in the final *pak* and there is a soft, wet suggestion in the *ch* which might, as you see, be *s*. The picture conjured up by *chĕlapak* has its counterpart in the word *bĕlakang*, (*bĕlah*, division, *kang*, fork-frame), so, this is what you see in *chĕlapak* and this is what you see, again, in *bĕlakang*, and when the one fork falls on the other they become one and fit exactly.

So, to get better values, we translate the sentence "he fell with his legs sticking out and wide apart and landed with a wet smack, exactly astraddle, on the dorsal frame of the barracuda".

I hope you now see the articulated units! *Ang*, unit + *K*, projecting.

Therefore, apart from onomatopoiea, it is necessary to sense the suggestion that each radical gives and to let it speak for itself.

You associate an eel, with wriggling. See the same *l* in *bĕlut* an eel and *ular* a snake. You connect the porcupine with prickles and realise what a deceptive letter the hard *c* is.

The Malay porcupine is *landak.*

The Malay name for tiger is *harimau* which morphologically explains light, covering of light, and, perhaps, dazzle, the earliest reference, may we say, to protective colouration?

The chapters in this book should be regarded as so many excursions into the field of the language. We start anywhere but though we ramble we do not do so aimlessly because we notice each feature as it appears.

Kuala is a well known word and so is *kĕpala* but the conjunction of *k* and *u* makes a much stronger combination than the *k* and *ĕ* and therefore we will look for a power in *kuala* which will not exist in *kĕpala.*

[1]Human History. p. 43.

Kuala, River mouth ; place where a river opens out a way for itself *i.e.* debouches, either into another river or into the sea.

Kuak. Opening out a way, *e.g.* of soldiers forcing a way through the dead bodies of the massacred : opening out a split bamboo by holding the sides apart. *Sa-kuak* : the interspace so made.

Picture arms and elbows at work in the action of a man pulling apart the ends of a split bamboo ; also sense the implied strength.

Kuar. Opening out a way.

Kukoh. Strong, strongly built.

Kuap. To yawn.

Kuasa (Kawi from Skr.) Power, might.

Kuat. (Ar.) Physical strength.

And look up, if you will, *kuai, koyak, ruyak, royak, kepak, kial, kiat, kui, kuil, kulai,* etc.

Muara also means the mouth of a river, but, the morphological elements show a different aspect here. The actual embouchure is pictured, not the force that made it.

Cf. *mulur,* extensible, *mulut,* mouth, *muat,* as implying capacious. *Muara* = mouth-direction. The *ala* in *kuala* = the *ara* in *muara* meaning course, direction.

Kĕpala (Skr.). Head (literally and figuratively).

Kĕpala kampong. Village headman, *kĕpala tanjong,* headland.

To prove the true origin of the word we will begin with the combined elements, viz.

Ala, hala, arah. Toward, in the direction of. (*ala.* Ar. high, exalted, also *ali*).

Ulu, the upward, upstream direction, *ilir,* the downward, downstream direction, *alir,* to flow along, to follow its course.

Kĕ, denotes culmination, the projecting part of anything, as in *kĕmunchak,* a peak.

Drop the *kĕ* and we have *pala,* the Malayan nutmeg, (Skr. *phala* from its shape).

Paling means looking aside *by a movement of the head* and *palis* looking down or averting the head.

Drop the suffix *a* and we have *kĕpal,* a handful of rice squeezed into a ball, *kĕpoh,* to bulge, and *kĕpul,* a globular measure of capacity. Cf. *chupak, tĕmpurong.*

Chupak, chupah : a fruit and the head or bowl of a pipe.

Tĕmpurong : a concave and convex object, such as part of a coconut shell or the brain pan of a skull.

Drop both prefix and suffix and we have *pal,* to keep the head (foremost part) of a sailing craft near the wind ; *bĕrpal,* to beat to windward.

Cf. *kalat* (W. Sum.) sense, meaning, and *alap*, self-possessed, unassuming assurance, confidence, which contains the same elements as *pala*.

Kĕpala means the ' direction-finder ', the head and front of intelligence.

When the self-possession, assurance and intelligence are lacking we find *kulat* ; *bĕrkulat-kulat*, the talk of dotage, (literally going round and round) repeating the same old stories.

Palui, (Brun. Sar.) absurd, senseless.

Alai, off the mark, off the course, confusing, loss of direction.

Alang-alang, mediocre ; " not up to much ".

Alan-alan, a buffoon.

Kĕpialu, raving, delirium.

Kĕliru, bewilderment (*i.e.* dazed or dazzled).

Gila, mental aberration or inexplicable behaviour. And *lupa*, to forget, *pĕlupa*, forgetful.

The derivation of the English word head is given as being from A. S. *heafod*, Dut. *hoofd*. Ger. *haupt*, meaning that which is elevated, but the point that concerns us here is that head and *kĕpala* have the same meanings *i.e.* the uppermost or foremost part of an animal's body ; the place of honour or command ; a cape ; the highest point of anything ; culmination.

Follow Eng. cape, Dut. *kopje*, Ger. *kopf*, O. F. *cap* as in *cap-à-piè*, L. *caput*, Gr. *kephalos*, Skr. *kĕpala*, back to Malay in which the radical elements representing light, height and directional sense are found and both the creation of speech and the spirit that moves it are evident.

You have found the genesis and the genius of language (both akin) working together to make all men understand each other.

In language, as designed, there was no waste of effort and no redundant element.

CHAPTER VII.

In our excursions so far although we have looked at little things we have not found it necessary to use our finer faculties, but, to understand the morphology of a tone language it is necessary to cultivate an ear for tones as well as an insight into the structural growth which produces an harmonious word.

If we take a word of eight letters, *pĕnghulu* or *sĕlichin* for example, each word contains vowel tones and consonants (sonants) and they all mean something. *p* is the only letter which has the requisite affinity to make the word complete in *pĕnghulu* and *s* the only suitable letter in *sĕlichin*.

The former means, a headman, a chief, and the latter the most slippery fish imaginable, even more so than an eel !

If we remember that we only recognise 23 letters in the Malay alphabet, the language would be stunted if words could

only be built up of characters with a single meaning and a mode of progression limited to a single direction.

What raises the value of the characters to the *nth* degree is that every consonant has several individual meanings which make their appeal in different ways and there is also, undoubtedly, a miracle of metathesis which still further increases the range and flexibility of language.

But, metathesis in a language has never, as far as I know, been explained.

Grimm showed the transposition of letters which took place as language travelled to different regions of the earth. This was a climatic metathesis.

Before we go further let us for a moment consider the analogy between a musical chord and a word which conveys a definite meaning morphologically. Every note in the chord has an affinity for every other note.

How far does this apply to the word ?

Has the *p* in *pĕnghulu* an influence which carries it through to the final *u* ? We cannot be sure, but, if we examine *pu* carefully we might learn something !

Perry,[1] writing on beliefs concerning the sun tells us " In Savu, another island where no sun-cult is reported, the two chief deities are *Pu-lodo-liru* and *Pu-lodo-rae.* " Wilken[2] says : The surmise that the worship of *Pu-lodo-liru* and *Pu-lodo-rae* has originated in a former sun-cult is certainly not hazardous. There can be only one opinion as to the names of these two deities.

" *Pu* means lord, *liru* means ' heaven ' or firmament, and *rae* means the earth.

The expression *Pu-lodo* can be translated ' the sun-lord ', and must originally have been used without the addition of the words *liru* and *rae* in the time when men worshipped the visible heavenly bodies."

Perry also records that Dr. W. H. R. Rivers in Oceania and Dr. Elliott Smith in Egypt working independently on the problems connected with megalithic monuments and the worship of the sun obtained evidence which on comparison proved to be complementary and therefore of additional scientific value.

For this reason I mention a similar case. In May 1935 I asked Mr. H. D. Noone, Ethnographer and Curator of the Taiping Museum, if he had any articles by Dr. Paul Rivet in the Museum Library. He brought me, a fortnight later, Dr. Rivet's article which will be referred to later, Dr. Elliott Smith's *Human History,* and Dr. Perry's *Megalithic Culture in Indonesia* from which I have just quoted.

But, the work which I had been doing during the past two years led me to send a long article to R. J. Wilkinson, in Greece,

[1]W. J. Perry, The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia. p. 89.
[2]G. A. Wilken.

early in 1934, which included a dissertation on *pu* and *tu* and I will now take relevant extracts from that article.

Pu symbolises vertical and vortical centricity, not the plane centricity which *ng* exhibits but the focus of another dimension, and also adherence to that focus. Perhaps the word polarity approaches the true meaning.

The *pulai* tree (Alstonia scholaris) displays the features.

It branches in a series of separate whorls, each series decreasing in size, so that the tree is conical in outline.

Having pictured this preliminary feature in the mind let us find more examples. I will translate only a few of the words but anyone who subjects them to a critical examination will be able to see the conical, vertical, apical or vortical features which exist in every one of them.

Puak. Clan, gathering, group, herd, troupe. (a common purpose or a common bond).

Puchek, puchok, podak, pugar, pohon, pukang, pukat, puki, pulang, to return to the original starting place; *pulas, pulau, puleh, pumpun, punat, puncha,* (Skr.), not in its original sense a fag-end but the end, say, of a rope which remains at the source, the last hold; *punchak,* apex, *pundi,* conical bag, cod-end of a seine net or trawl (Tam. *pundi* = *puki*); *punggur, puntong, punya, pupu,* relationship to a common ancestor; *poros,* vertex of a cone; *pusar,* concentric whorl; *pusat, pusing, putar, putat, puting, putus, puyu.*

When I wrote this some fifteen months ago there was no thought in my mind either of sun worship or of tree worship.

My hobby had been confined to language observation apart from ethnography.

But, the sciences refused to be separated and I realise now that this book began and is going to end with a marked ethnographic flavour.

To get back to business; in the list above I did not stick to *pu* because *pu* might equal *po.* The same inadequate vowel *wau* appears in both.

The first thing to notice is the tone.

We think of *u* and *o* as broad sounds, low down in the tone scale, and quite rightly, but, pronounce *pohun* as the Malay pronounces it and notice how delicate these sounds of *o* and *u* can be.

They are *ŏ* and *ŭ.*

Pūtŭs and *pōtŏng* give the relative sound values.

Wilken translates *pu* as lord and tells us of a sun-god; I work out another translation, which does not detract from the value of Wilken's work.

The primitive people had many gods, sun-gods and tree-gods to whom they were bound by certain ties.

I have tried to show the bonds which held them to a central shaft or cone. What is the explanation of the ancient conical towers of the Mayas ?

Allowing (not morphologically, of course) that god = spirit, my independant effort is complementary to the result obtained by Wilken and the language corroborates this view.

Puaka is a god, a spirit or a devil, a *geniusloci*.

Just hold on to this localising idea for a moment. I want you to see it in two dimensions in this marvellous Malay language.

Pu morphologically is a focus.

You will reply that it has just been described as conical, vertical, vortical and apical. But, think the way the language tells you to think.

The apex of a tree is at the top, the apex of a whirlpool is at the bottom and the waterspout has two apices, so you are shown a hub which is the centre, the focus and the locus, and the words in the list above show the adherents to that central power. *Mata* is the focus of a different dimension as has already been explained.

There is an opportunity here to say a word or two more about metathesis.

Pu has been tested, what about *up* ?

When discussing *api* and kindred words I said that the *p* in *ap* supplied the pressure that put the light out. Conversely the *p* in *pa* should put the light on. *Pasang* does so.

Pronounce *pu* and *up*. You exhale and inhale.

Pu is extensible, *up* is complete, it closes and stops.

Tutup, to close, lid, *sa'tahun tutup*, a complete year. See also *sĕrkap*, *sĕrkup*, *chĕkup*, etc.

Metathesis hitherto has been looked at in the lump, and the favourite examples have been *rata* = *tara*, *tĕbing* = *bĕting* !

Rata does not equal *tara* except in one phase. *Sa'rata* does not equal *sa'tara*. Wilkinson explains this and more, and *bĕting* and *tĕbing* are far apart.

Kĕchil, small, = *chilik* (Java) and *halia*, ginger =*lahia* (Min.) are examples of dialectal metathesis.

The question arises as to whether two words are needed to explain the change of form in a morphological study of language: viz. metathesis and metamorphosis. For example take *sapu*, wipe, and *apus*, wiped out, and call it metathesis. Go on to *mampus*, dead, wiped out, " snuffed out " and where is your metathesis ?

There are elements in *akal* which appear in *laku* and elements in *lĕkok* which appear in *sĕkul*, a bowl.

If my evidence is accepted we begin to see that a word considered as a morphe is a complex structure. We can follow and

explain the growth of that morphe and in it we see the radical plasmae rise and fall, emerge and submerge, change places and drop off.

The etymologist who first coined the word metathesis was on the verge of a great truth but he missed it because he considered a word as a complete unit and not as a plastic growth.

Both *tara* and *rata* have the same elements but the arrangement of the elements differs and so does the consequent meaning.

Consider them as dimensional and remember that four letters N.S.E.W. give in various combinations 32 points of the compass and that in no point will you find E and W together or N and S together.

The dimension explained by *rata* and *tara* is radial and level *i.e.* a datum or a mean by which departures away from, as well as above or below, are marked, as in

Sarat, fully loaded, up to the limit.

Aras, awash, on a level with.

Surut, movement below the level.

Larat, ta'larat, not up to the mark.

Tarah, planing with an adze, (to the required level).

Kĕtara, to emerge into view (above the horizon).

Bintang juara pĕtang di-mashrik ia kĕtara : Venus rising each evening in the East.

Pĕtĕrana (Skr.) dais, seat of honour (on a higher level).

Pĕtala (Skr.) layer, stratum.

Butala (Skr. *bhutala*). the earth.

Antara (Skr.) interval, interspace, between, while.

Ingat antara bĕlum kĕna ; think before you go too far, look before you leap.

Tĕrat. (Ked.) boundary. *Batu tĕrat,* boundary stone.

Sĕmĕntara, while, also (Kel.) boundary.

Bĕrat, weight, heaviness, weariness, (Min. *barat*) also shows a departure from the mean.

Ringan sama mĕnjinjing, bĕrat sama mĕmikul ; together we handle the light, together we shoulder the heavy ; comrades for good or ill.

Mĕlakukan bĕrat ringan ; dealing with matters great and small *i.e.* having plenary powers.

And, so, we come again to the compass points N.S.E.W.

North. *Utara,* the upper level, *diatas angin,* above the wind. Cf. Mal. and Skr. *udara,* atmosphere, air-stratum above the earth.

South. *Sĕlatan* (*sa'rata'an*), lower level, *di-bawah angin,* below the wind.

East. *Timor*, light emerging.

West. *Barat*, burning glow (of sunset). But don't forget that a word is composed of separate elements and that each element exerts an influence. *Barat* may equally well suggest the heavy, weary, sinking of the Sun to rest.

CHAPTER VIII.

It is a fairly simple matter to recognise an onomatopoeic word. More practise is required to enable a suggestive word to be recognised and a good deal of application is necessary before one is able to follow the ideas which give to one word what appear to be several distinct and separate meanings.

For example, the word *jinjang* appears in Wilkinson's dictionary to mean

1. Attachment. Esp. (Mal.) of the attachment of a familiar spirit to a wizard :

   (Min. N. S.) of the connection between contiguous banked rice-fields.
2. Narrow and tapering and not too long, of the neck ; well-shaped.
3. *Main jinjang* : a form of dancing, dancing on the toes as ballet dancers.....
4. *Janjang* (house-ladder).

Come with me to any Malay house where a view across a valley of irrigated rice-fields lies before us.

Look at the house ladder first and we shall find that *jinjang* is one word conveying one idea first pictorially and afterwards metaphorically.

There is the ladder ! Now look across the valley and see it again in perspective in the rows of banked rice-fields. Note.—The terraced rice-fields in the mountainous districts of Java and the Phillipines produce the effect of gigantic staircases.

Now, notice the larger divisions nearest to you and how the divisions seem to gradually taper away.

Here is the homely metaphor for a well-shaped neck, which we find applied to the beautiful necks of heroines of romance (*leher-nya jinjang*).

Hold the tapering and stretching suggestion in your mind and turn to the ladder. See it standing on tip-toes and stretching up to the house-door and here is your tip-toe dancer and, finally, the attachment and mutual dependence between the bunded divisions of the rice-field and between the rungs and posts of the ladder symbolise the attachment between the man of the house and the spirits of the earth. Plausible but not convincing ? Yes ; but, there are many witnesses if you will look for them. Here is the application in detail.

When you see a house-ladder with jutting-out rungs *tangga* explains this feature. Cf. *rangga*, jutting-out points, *sangga*, jutting-out guards, holders, catches, (*pĕnyangga payong*, catch on umbrella, *pĕnyangga sĕnapang*, gun-rack), *angga*, horn, *changga*, congenital deformity or malformation, etc.

But, if you look at the ladder from another point of view and consider it as made up of rows of parallel rungs and interspaces, *janjang* is the word because it means sectional spacing and the intervening spaces, cf. *jajar*, *janjar* and *banjar*, row, line, file, rank.

Jajar padi, line of rice-plants in a field.

Bĕrjajar sĕpĕrti tiang pagar, in a row like fence-posts.

Gunong yang bĕrbanjar, range after range of mountains.

We have associated this ladder with the sectional rice-fields and the tip-toe suggestion is equally patent.

Jinjang is associated with *tinjing*, tip-toeing, *jingking* or *jengkeng*, on tip-toe, and if you follow up the idea you will find *jingkĕrak*, to skip along, *jangka*, a pair of compasses, *jangkar*, forking and the dancing of dancing Dervishes, *jangkang*, *tĕrjangkang*, widely stretched (of the legs) and a host of related words. Related, mark you, but not synonymous! There in no poverty of expression in Malay which can describe the movements of the feet from the flat foot to the tip-toe with *tinjang* and *tinjing*. I have overlooked the long and graceful neck, but, *tinjau*, craning the neck, peering, and *jingau* to peer are relations, and an ethnographer might find material here and trace the curves of beauty and fashion from the metal-collared swan-like necks of the Padouk women of Burma, the multi-girdled waists of the Dayak women of Borneo to the diamond and pearl-collared necks of the wealthy women of Europe today. It remains only to explain the attachment between the wizard and his familiar.

Janjang suggests *anjang*, a pet name, *anjong*, an annexe to a house and a familiar spirit, *manja*, special fondness, (*mĕmanjakan*, to make a pet of) and *manjang*, a familiar spirit sent out by a wizard to suck the blood of his enemies.

Here I should stop but to illustrate the richness and mnemonic value of the language and to show how easily one word leads to another, let us proceed. Wilkinson gives the following note under *manjang*. " with the word *manjang* cf. *bajang*, *anjong* ; with the shape cf. *pĕnanggalan* or *tĕnggĕlong* ; for the bloodsucking, see *pĕlĕsit*."

In this illuminating note Wilkinson gives convincing evidence of the importance of associating similiar sounds, similar features and similar habits.

This evidence can be amplified by pointing out how the *pĕnanggalan* " the severed head with pendent viscera " is associated with *anggal*, " lightening the laden ship " because its heavy body is left behind by this evil spirit ; with *tanggal*, falling off, of things that seem to fall spontaneously, *e.g.* of leaves, of teeth, of skin cast

by a snake ; *pĕnggal* and *panggal*, to cut off short, esp. of decapitation and also of a man being cut in two at the waist.

Learn that *pĕlĕsit* is 'blood-sucker' and you have a word that you will forget tomorrow. Make the word explain itself and you learn a hundred words that you cannot forget.

Pĕlĕsit "the sucker," *lĕsit*, sucking, *rasit* (Min.) oozing through, and so, to *tis*, a drop is one route, and now listen to *lĕsit* which can mean either rustling or sucking, *i.e.* through a small aperture or through the teeth.

Begin again with *tis* and go on to *titis* (Jav.) a gentle drop, *tiris*, oozing through, *rĕsip*, *mĕrĕsip*, to ooze out slowly, *rĕsap*, to disappear slowly, *sĕrot* (Jav.) to suck, *sĕroh*, reduced (of inflammation), *lĕsap*, to disappear, *lĕsoh*, to subside by absorption, *lĕsut*, shrunken, (*susu lĕsut*, shrunken breasts), *lasit* (Min.), *mĕlasit*, to suck, *sap*, an absorbent pad, *isap*, to suck, *sĕsap*, to lap up, *sĕsapan*, a soak, a salt-lick, *sĕrap*, soaking up, absorption, *lap* ; *mĕlapkan*, to sop up, (*kain lap*, a dish-cloth).

You should notice how the English translations viz sop, absorb, ooze, subside, suck, soak, drop, assist one to retain the spirit of the original, but do not think that this is merely a coincidence. They are related words.

Let us take another route suggested by *sĕsapan*, salt-lick, and find out where the salt comes in. There are, as a matter of fact, other words for a salt-lick.

Jĕnut (Pahang), salt-lick, associated with *nyonyut*, the toothless sucking of an infant, and *nyonyeh*, the mumbling of a toothless old person.

Sira which means both sugar and a salt-lick, cf. *sirah* (Brun.), salt, and *taram* (Pah.), a salt-lick, cf. *garam*, salt.

Toothless give the clue, and with *gusi*, gums, we can start on another trail.

The same radicals are found in *sugi*.

There is a mouth-watering suggestion here just as there is in sugar and salt.

Sira explains both sugar and salt (both are obtained from the sap of the nipah palm) just as *sireh* explains the "chewing" leaf, *daun sireh*, and *sugi*, *sogeh* and *sugeh*, mean a quid (chewing).

Sugi also means to massage the gums either with the tip of the finger or with the tobacco or betel quid so as to distribute the flavour, (cf. *sĕrasa*) ; the "*gi*" suggests tips, points, *sugi landak*, porcupine quill, *pĕsugi*, a stick used for cleaning teeth the Malay way, cf. *gigi*, tooth, *sĕligi*, dart, javelin, etc.

A salt-lick is a place where the earth is impregnated with salt to which wild animals resort. To get the salt and leave the earth they lick or they suck, muzzle, mumble and champ.

Jĕnut, *sira* and *sĕsap* or *sĕsapan* are now explained. To find out what *taram* means don't forget the permeating *m*.

Taram-tĕmaram, overcast, gloomy (over a wide area), *sĕrambah* ; *sĕrambahin*, (Batav.) to be diffused over a wide area, *sĕram* ; *sĕring-sĕram*, paralysed with fright, " gooseflesh " all over the body, and then we find *mĕsra* (*mĕsĕra*), labelled Sanskrit, permeation ; absorption, *e. g.* of salt in water, and *sĕrap mĕsra*, heart felt of feelings, *i.e.* pervading the entire being.

Wilkinson records *sĕrasa* (*supra*) as a polite synonym for *sireh* (betel-leaf).

Translated literally it means ' one taste ' and explains the natural affinity for each other of the separate ingredients of the chewing quid, *viz.* the leaf, lime, gambier, tobacco, etc. The ideas suggested are affinity, union, oneness.

The Malay, in every love-song, uses the word *rasa* to explain his feelings.

Rasa, (Mal. Skr.) taste, sensation, feeling, affinity for : *sa'rasi* (Mal.) affinities, harmonising elements, natural feeling, feeling at home, acclimatised : *ta'sa'rasi*, (Mal.) feeling of discomfort, out of one's element : *rasa*, *ra'sa*, *raksa* (Mal. Skr.) quicksilver, from its affinity for other metals.

Here are other relations.

Rĕsam, *rĕsĕmi* (Mal.), *rasam* (Min.), *rasm rasmi* (Ar.), nature, ways, inherent habits.

Asmara, (Mal. Skr.) passionate love, burning desire. Cf. *marak*, *merah*, *bara*, *bĕrahi*, etc., in Chap. 1.

No reasonable etymologist can deny the relationship between *asmara* and *mĕsĕra* and I defy the syllabic etymologists to apply the root theory to these or any other Malay words.

CHAPTER IX.

We have seen the rice-fields from the *kampong*. Just to show how Malay has spread over the world the first part of this chapter will be devoted to an examination of two words usually considered as the antithesis of each other viz. Court and Kampong. It will be a useful lesson in language.

Kampong means grouping, gathering together, ' compound,' garden, enclosure ; *bĕrkampong*, to foregather ; *kampongkan*, to bring together.

Let us consider the grouping of people together and the grouping of their houses together inside an enclosure as an elementary measure of safety and find additional associated words to prove that we are thinking aright.

Kumpul, group, gathering, *kumpulkan*, to collect together, *kobok*, clump, cluster, *kubu*, hut, shelter, enclosure, stockade, *kompok*, group, *kĕlompok*, group, *kĕlumpong*, group, *rumah kampong*, homestead, *rumah kota* (Min.) a village with defence works, *kota raja*, the stockaded palace of the king.

In every word we find the projecting *k* showing the stakes, stockades and fortifications and we have reached *kota* (Skr.) fortified place, stronghold, and, in old literature, a funeral pyre.

Is it merely a coincidence that the Malay word *kubu* for a protected enclosure appears to have an association with the Arabic *kubur*, a tomb, a grave? We might gather in another Arabic word while we are about it.

Kaum (Ar.) multitude, body or party, clan, tribe. As evidence that *kampong* and *kaum* are related we will take the Malay word *kaup*.

If the hand is curved so as to form a scoop and then used, say, to skim and collect together the crumbs on a table the Malay word *kaup* explains this action. The hand has formed part of an enclosure.

To prove that this is not an isolated example, let us complete the enclosure. The Malay word is *kĕpong*, hemmed-in, surrounded, beleaguered.

We have the same idea of 'collecting together' in *kaup*, *kaum* and *kampong*.

The etymologists may tell you that *kaum* is derived from the Arabic *am*, general, universal, common, but the Malay language tells another story.

I will return to *am* in another chapter because here we are following *kampong*, which gave us our words camp and campaign, to court.

Court (Eng.) a place enclosed, a space surrounded by houses, the palace of a sovereign, any body of persons assembled to try causes. Gr. *chortos*, an enclosed place, Lat. *hortus*, a garden and *cors*, *cohors*, an enclosure, (also cohort), akin to Ger. *garten*, Eng. *garden*, Sans. *kota*, Malay, *kotak*, compartment, section. Now, what have we discovered?

We have found out that you cannot trace a word as a complete unit, back to the original word also as a complete unit. The complete word is a modern literary concretion, perfected, if you like, but no longer fluid.

The Malay words which are at the beginning of all language are morphe and therefore the literary word *kota* is not derived from *kotak* only, it can claim a descent from the radical *k* whether the *k* be in *otak*, *kotak*, *lopak*, *petak*, *kaup*, *kumpul*, *kubu* or *kampong*. A Malay word has not one etymology; it may have a great many.

You want more proofs?

Here they are!

You will agree, I hope, that no two words could be more unlike each other than *sĕlamba* and *gĕdubil* and yet they are what is known as synonymous.

Sĕlamba, *muka sĕlamba*: brazen-faced, shameless = *gĕdubil*.

Gĕdubil (Ked.) coarse-looking, *e.g.* thick-liped (*bibir g.*) or heavy-jowled (*muka g.*); cf. (Batav. from Jav.) *kubil* (swollen, enlarged). Also (Pk.) *gĕdubal, gĕdubai*; cf. *sĕlamba.* (vide Wilkinson).

The general idea conveyed by both words is of overbearing, supercilious arrogance, the " swelled-head " of grossness.

The *s* in *sĕlamba* is the unsympathetic, repulsive *s*, the same *s* that works two ways in sweet and sour, and in *suka* (Skr. *sukha*) pleasure and in *puas* ' fed-up '. *Sĕlamba* has associates in *sombong*, puffed-up with pride, *sĕmbap, sembop*, (Min.) *sambop*, bloated, puffy, *sambau* (Min.) sodden, soggy, Cf. *lĕmbong, gĕlĕmbong, kĕmbong, gĕlĕmpok*, and if we want the typical brute, the personification of ruthlessness on a large scale we find it in *laksamba*, an ogre, built up of the characteristic radicals which exist in *laksana* and *sambar*. Cf. Raksasa, (Skr.) an ogre.

Gĕdubil is built differently.

If you can realise that it means something bigger, grosser and more unpleasant than *dĕgil* which means stubborn, ' pig-headed ' you have acquired a language sense which has told you something new about metathesis and something new about Malay degrees of comparison. Now take *gĕdang* (Sum.) great, large, (Min.) *gadang*, (Jav.) *gĕde* = *bĕsar*.

Follow the *g* in *gĕmok*, fat, *gĕmok-gĕdĕmpong*, podgy, bloated, obese, and you have crossed the trail of *gĕlĕmpok*, (*supra*) *gĕlĕmpok-gĕmok*, very fat, obese.

But there is going to be no mistake about the meaning of *gĕdubil*. It explains every part of itself.

Kubil (Batav.) swollen, *kubal*, a fish, (Polynemus spp.) when of exceptionally large size ; also *gubal*. It is a big, heavy-jowled fish.

Follow this idea and we find dew-laps and double-chins, in *gĕdabir, gĕlambir, gĕlĕmber, gĕlĕmbir, gĕdĕbir, gĕlabir, kĕlambir, gĕlĕmbur, gubir* and *dambir, gĕdobor*, baggy (of trousers, etc.), and more fish with big heads and cheek-pouches viz. *lĕpu, dĕpu, gĕdĕpu, gĕdĕmi*, angler-fish, goblin-fish and sucking-fish, and complete our examples with *kĕlĕmbai*, also *gĕdambai*, a giant or race of giants who overran the country and petrified all people who looked at them.

Every radical has played a part, but, perhaps you are still doubtful about *dĕgil* with the hard denying *d* and the, in this place, strong, intensive *g*. There is intense negation in *dĕgil*, there is negation again in *gĕgal*, obstinate, and disinclination in *tidak*, and in *gĕdubil* it is necessary to see the hard-heartedness which *d* explains. Cf. *dĕgan* (Jav.) unripe hard-fleshed coconut, *dĕgar*, huge, ponderous, gigantic.

D and *g* in combination are very strong, but *g* is great, also. You can see this in *gagah*, compulsive force, dominant, masterful, strong, *gadok*, (Min.) swagger, *gah*, notability, being " in the lime-

light", and as I want to trace these Malay words down to Sanskrit and Arabic we will follow *gah.*

Gah-mashur, fame, renown, *gah dan tĕkĕbur,* brag and pride.

Mashur (Ar.), widespread (of rumours or reports); widely known; famous.

If you have followed the explanation of the *m* and *r* in Malay words and remember *mĕsĕra,* the Malay origin of *mashur* is indisputable.

Tĕkĕbur (Ar. *takabbur*), arrogance, on the evidence already given in this chapter, has also a Malay origin and so has *gabar,* (Hind. *gabbar*) arrogant, boastful. See also *mĕgah,* to be famous or important and compare *mĕgat,* (Sans. *magadha*) a title, and with *gabar* compare *bĕgar,* (metathesis again) hard, *orang bĕgar,* 'a tough customer.'

Bĕgar means hard when it should be soft (as a fruit picked too soon or a potato insufficiently boiled). Here are a few associates.

Engkar, denial, repudiation, *angkara* (Skr.) hardness, brute-force, savagery, *ĕngkah,* hard, unripe, half-cooked (of potatoes), *angkoh,* proud, haughty, *ĕnggan,* unwillingness, *lĕnggana* (Skr.), unwilling, in opposition, *mangkar, mĕngkal, mangkal* and *bangkar,* hard because insufficiently ripe, *dakar,* stubborn in doing ill, perverse, intractible, cross-grained, *dangkal, tanah dangkal,* hard land, lacking moisture, *anggak,* to refuse, to decline, *nakal,* perverse.

Note the suggestions of unyielding, of meeting resistance, of getting 'no' when 'yes' was hoped for.

Dakar leads us to *daki, mĕndaki,* and *daga, mĕndaga,* to walk uphill, to pole against a current, to work against adverse conditions, and to *dahagi,* uphill work and then we find *dahaga,* (Min. N. S.) insubordination, also *dagu,* and *dahaga-dahagi,* insubordination and contempt of lawful authority = *dĕrhaka* (Joh. Ked.).

Denial and contrariness are all revealed in *tidak* (Mal.) no, not, *endak* (Brun. Sar.) *dak* (Min.) *kaga* and *ĕngga* (Batav.).

Gaga (Java) means dry rice-fields as opposed to irrigated fields, *sawah.*

Here is the dry suggestion as well as the suggestion of hard work and meeting with resistance.

The word *dahaga* means thirst, athirst but is it not obvious that the underlying suggestion is of extreme dryness?

And are we to agree that the Malays lacked words to express denial and found it necessary to adopt *mungkir* (Ar. *munkir*) to retract one's word, to disavow, and *dĕrhaka* (Skr. *droha, droha-ka*), disobedience to lawful authority, treason?

CHAPTER X.

It may be asked why I do not put forward my opinions in a form which would be more acceptable to learned people.

To comparative philologists who are accustomed to tables and hard and fast definitions my method of treatment perhaps seems too childish, too elementary, to be taken seriously.

The answer is that one must begin at the beginning. To understand language and to be able to use it there must be sympathy and the human touch. That is the first step in the vocal communication of thought.

I present you with lists of words and I present you with a museum of great interest to the few but in which the ordinary person walks for an hour and goes out with no lasting impression.

There are too many comparative lists of words in the libraries of learned societies today whose value is negligible because they have been tabulated on stereotyped lines.

Lists of misunderstood frigid words !

Begin the study of any language with a sympathetic interest and it will reveal germs which, arising from the lowliest elements, will gradually give birth to every expression of which the human mind is capable. The man who learns language from books never finds its soul.

There is no fixation, and no complete identification of words is possible.

Even dictionaries are ephemeral and no science has ever been completed.

We speak of consonants but it would be more correct and more helpful to regard them as sonants. They have sound values apart from a vowel. People who stammer tell you so and I imagine that the experts who can teach deaf mutes to speak must have a very exact knowledge of these sounds and the method of their production.

If we begin with the assumption that language began with clear distinct sounds we can gradually note the interferences which have confused tongues and separated the people who all, at one time, spoke one language.

The best because they are the strongest are the short words.

China has held its language and seen Latin, Greek and Sanskrit die of complications.

Sanskrit was smothered by 33 consonants, 14 vowels, 4 semivowels, 3 sibilants, a soft aspirate and 3 unoriginal sounds and the difficulty in producing 3 unoriginal sounds probably hastened matters !

I have been warned repeatedly that it is dangerous to criticise languages which I do not know thoroughly, but does any one know even their own language thoroughly or their own pedigree ?

I suggest that the science of etymology has failed because it takes no account of little things. I suggest a morphological technique and a careful examination of the simplest monosyllables in Malay and in Chinese.

Is it really necessary that I should smother all original thought by learning Chinese or Sanskrit or the language of the Mayas?

Encyclopaedic knowledge is a terrible handicap. I don't mind admitting that I have rarely in my life consulted an encyclopaedia and once was last week. I wanted to follow *pu* as meaning god and looked up pillars and pylons. As happens when one is looking for something else, my eye was arrested by pigmy and I found out that the pigmy Andaman islanders have a god, *Pulaga*, who lives in a stone house in the sky! I went on to pyramids and pyres and, because I had seen a reference to the conical towers of the Mayas, I found myself reading about Mexico. On p. 330 of the 13th edition Encyclopaedia Brittanica Vol. 17-18 I read of similarities between natives of Mexico, mainly Aztecs, and the Mongoloid people of north and east Asia—" anthropologists in general admit a common origin however remote between the tribes of Tartary and America " belonging " to a long past period to judge from the failure of all attempts to discover an affinity between the languages of America and Asia. The original peopling of America might, then, well date from the time when there was continuous land between it and Asia."

On p. 331 I read of four famous Aztec chiefs who bear the name of *Tutul-Xiu* which means " Bird-tree " and it is stated that there are four trees, each with a bird on it, placed facing the four quarters which makes it probable that the four *Tutul-Xiu* of tradition may be only mythic personifications of the four cardinal points.

The people, who have warned me, say that if I make one slip I shall be laughed at and any good in the rest of my work will be disregarded in consequence.

No man will ever reach the top of Everest if every slip is fatal.

Are philologists such unreasoning beings?

Let me slip! What we want to know, I hope, is not simply that *Tutul-Xiu* means bird-tree but why it means bird-tree.

Is *Xiu* the Malay *kayu*, tree?

Knowing that the Mongoloid *l* and *r* are dialectal equivalents as in *ala* and *ara*, it may be that *tutul* = *tutur*, utterance.

The bird may be an omen bird, *i.e.* a speaking oracle and, or, as *ala* and *ara* mean direction, it may be a bird, an oracle and an indicator at one and the same time.

" The language was called *Nahuatl*, and one who spoke it as his native tongue was called *Nahuatlacatl*." Has this any connection with *kata* which means speech and which contains the primitive glottal elements, and does *nahu* mean word-building as it does in Malay? cf. *tahu*, knowledge, *bĕrkĕtahuan*, well informed. And I read of the highest god of these people *Tezcatlipoca*, and of the *Popol-vuh* of the *Quiché* myths and wondered whether the alien recorders had a sympathetic knowledge of the essence of these descriptive names or whether they were making more myths.

Why does *Tezcatlipoca* mean the highest god, and does *po* mean god ?

In 1926 Dr. Paul Rivet published an article in the Journal des Americanistes de Paris entitled "*Les Malayo-Polynésiens en Amerique*" in which he gives evidence, supported by 281 comparative lists of words, that the North-American Indians of the Hoka tribes in Oregon, California, Arizona, Texas, Nevada, Mexico and as far south as the isthmus of Tehuantepec speak Malay.

There has been no review of the article in this Journal and my belated mention of it is due to the fact that it has only recently come into my hands. Dr. Rivet quotes from so many dialects that I have not attempted to follow him closely.

The range of his enquiries covers 38 Hoka dialects and words have been collected from 263 places in Melanesia, 37 in Polynesia, 10 in Micronesia and 187 in Indonesia and he gives a bibliographical index comprising 181 books and articles.

The labour entailed in compiling this article, which covers 138 pages, must have been stupendous and the immensity of the field in which Dr. Rivet has culled his specimens prevents any detailed criticism.

I see no mention, however, of the Malay dictionaries of Badings, Clifford, Crawfurd, von Dewall, Klinkert, and Wilkinson or of the Malay-Javanese dictionary of Baus or the Minangkabau-Malay dictionary of van der Toorn, and the impression one gets is that it is the work of an ethnographer who has gathered with great labour a quantity of evidence of varying value.

Nine works of Brandstetter are quoted, but Brandstetter wrote in his Swiss home, Lucerne, on the etymology of the Malay language with no personal knowledge of the Malays, their country or their language.

The article is a valuable museum piece, at present, but I see no reason why the many linguists who have a first hand knowledge of the Hoka dialects should not combine and co-operate with linguists who understand the kindred languages of the East and make a further advance. If 1,000 words can be traced why not 10,000 ?

The reply is that the route of the syllabic etymologist leads to a dead end.

I ask the linguists of America to apply the morphological method and to consider whether the Hoka words really require all the characters with which they have been reduced to writing.

If the written language could be shorn of the x, alpha, theta, gamma, the double l, the ń and other accented consonants the similarity with Malay would be more marked and more easily demonstrated.

At the risk of making a mistake, a risk I take cheerfully because no one else will suffer, I will take a few words from Dr. Rivet's lists and say what they suggest to me as a token of my admiration for his work.

1. à, vers, *ka*. (*k*, indicating.)
2. Acide, *mo-ts*. (*m*, diffusion + *s*, sensation, wetness.) cf. Mal. *masam*.
5. Arbre, *xale, kale, kali*. (*k*, branching.)
24. Bois, *pon*. (*po*, apical + *n*, growth.) Cf. Mal. *pohon*, tree.
26. Bon, *sa-x*. (*s*. sensation, as in Mal. Skr. *suka*.)
28. Bouche, *ap-bo*. (*ap*, shut + *bo*, open, expansive.)
42. Chemin, *hi'da*. (*d*, hard, beaten track. cf. Mal. *dĕnai*, jungle-path.)
53. Couper, *kati*. (cf. Min. Brun. *kalakati*, areca-nut cutter and Tam. *kati*, knife.
78. Eau, *kalo-so*. fleuve. (*so*, as in Mal. *sungei*, river.)
83. Ecraser, *-tap*. presser. (*p*, pressure, *ap*, put out, obliterate.)
98. Fermer, *su-pani*. (*up*, shut.)
101. Feu, *apu*. (cf. Mal. *apui, api*, fire.)
102. Soleil, *ora*. (radiating heat.)
151. Maison, *amma*. (*m*. covering as in Mal. *rumah*, house, = Min. *umah*.)
173. Nuage, *kabo*. (cf. Mal. *kabus*, mistiness, fog.)
174. Nuit, *tako-m*. (*m*, covering as in Mal. *malam*, night.) obscur, *saq'a-mtsu*. (*s*, sensation unpleasant + *m* = cloud covering.)
177. Oreille, *i-sak*. (*i*, side, *s*, sense, *k*, projecting.)
184. Parler, *tcha-koar-k*. (cf. Mal. *chakap*, to speak.)
189. Petit, *kuts, kutsi-n*. (cf. Mal. *kĕchil*, small.)
191. Petit, *il-tik*. (cf. *katek*, Mal. pigmy. *ayam katek*, bantam fowl.)
192. Pied, *im-padi*. cheville. (cf. Mal. Skr. *pada*, foot, Mal. *padat*, pressed down.)
198. Pluie, *aptum*. brouillard. (might be explained as eye—shut covering, *i.e.* dense fog.)
204. Pot, calebasse. *a-kuamata* (cf. Mal. *kuali*, wide-mouthed cooking pot.)
224. Sel, eau salée, mer. *Si*, sel, *athi*, sel.
sir, sel, *ishi*, (cf. Mal. *sira* salt, *asin*, salty.)
Xasi-l, ocean. (cf. Mal. *tasek*, sea.)
229. Serpent, *illu-i*, (cf. Mal. *ular*, snake.)
238. Tête, *kapa-i*. (cf. Mal. Skr. *kĕpala*.)

You may be inclined to agree that there is evidence of affinity in the examples above. If we were syllabic etymologists we might content but I want you to see much more than this.

Let us go over the trail again more carefully. Begin with the words numbered 5 and 24 in the list, viz, *xale, kale, kali* meaning tree and *pon* meaning wood.

They afford evidence that the process of word-building is the same both in America and Malaya and that is much more important than the discovery of a mere outward resemblance.

Kali (Java. Sum.) means river.

Batang kali also means river and so does *batang ayer*, and *batang hari* means the main stream of a river. I have explained in a previous chapter the figurative connection between a tree and a river and here we find it again.

The mouth of a river, *kuala*, has also been explained and the same explanation serves in the case of the cooking-pot No. 204 in the list above.

It remains only to explain the *k*, *l* and *i* in *kali*. *K* cuts, as in *kati* (No. 53) and a river is the mightiest cutter in the world, the *l* is serpentine, undulatory, as in No. 229 and the *i* explains movement side ways, *i.e.* on one side as in *i-sak*, ear (No. 177) or the sideway movement of a snake *illu-i* (No. 229). Now look at No. 78, *kalo-só*, river and taking the *kalo* and *só* separately you can see why it means river. If I am wrong in my interpretation of a language I have never heard no great harm is done, but, if I am right the linguists in California and Mexico should look for associated words.

In No. 53 the radical *k* appears in 11 Hoka dialects in words meaning to cut, and the strong vowel *i* which in Malay indicates inclination, leaning, side, side-ways, occurs frequently in the lists.

Lose touch with the radicals and you become bewildered. Keep them in mind and remember their constant directional value and you will find them unfailing guides.

When Dr. Rivet records the fact that in three Hoka dialects, spoken in California and Nevada, the word for butterfly (papillon) is *wal-wali*, *palolo* and *palala* and goes on to show that the butterfly is *alo-alo* in Ysabel Island in the Solomons, *ule-ulebe* in Ngela, *bebe-ula* in Savu, *ebe-belo* in Pokau and *pero-pero* in Roro, in different parts of New Guinea, *wale-laba* in Iai in Northern Melanesia and *wale-laba* again in Uvea, Loyalty Islands, Polynesia, we feel that he is on the brink of a discovery of great importance and yet that something is lacking. There is evidence, but not the evidence that has been sifted backwards and forwards until the proofs stand out unmistakeably and cannot be overlooked.

The conclusive proof that each word means 'butterfly' can only be elicited by subjecting each dialect to a linguistic test. Not only must each word mean 'butterfly' but there must be directional radicals in each dialect to explain exactly why it means 'butterfly.'

To understand a butterfly we must follow it from the egg to full development and to understand its name or names in different dialects we must be able to recognise the characteristic habits which attributed to each name.

The first thing we notice is the idea of repeated movement in all the words in Dr. Rivet's list.

We check this attribute by comparison with *lalu*, passing by, *lalu-lalang*, moving backwards and forwards, *olak-alek*, *pulang-balek*, *ula-ula*, *ali-ali*, *alu-alu*, etc., and at the same time we gather in our linguistic net the wheeling swallows and bats, *layang-layang* and *kĕlalawer*.

In Malay the butterfly is *kupu-kupu* and *rama-rama*, but these words are not in Dr. Rivet's lists, perhaps because they bear no obvious resemblance to Hoka words. Nevertheless they show repeated movement and it is now necessary to find the attributes which underlie these names.

Kupu-kupu has many attributes. *Up* and *pu* mean ' shut ' and ' open ' and *kup* shows a wing, a pinion, so *kupu-kupu* shows the characteristic sticking-up wings of the butterfly and the way they open and shut like folding doors on their hinges.

Cf. *angkup-angkup*, *chĕkup*, *lengkap*, *langkap*, *tingkap*, etc.

But, the combination *kupu-kupu* means more than that. It explains the attraction the flower has for the butterfly and the round of visits to each scented flower-cup because *kup* means an enclosure and *ukup*, scented.

By extension, *kupu-kupu* means a woman of pleasure.

Rama-rama has relations in *roma* and *ramang*, fine hair, down, the down on a butterfly's wing, and *ramah*, *mĕramah*, means paying assiduous attentions to, to court, and *pĕramah*, free and easy, so *rama-rama* suggests a fragile ethereal life of pleasure.

We noticed in the list *wale-laba* and *ule-ulebe* and infer that *laba* and *ulebe* are the Malay *laba-laba*, spider.

The grounds for the inference are that the butterfly in one stage of its existence spins threads and builds a cocoon and has therefore an attribute in common with the spider which spins a web and also an egg-sac.

Now for the proofs ! *Rama-rama* is also the ' thread-maker.'

Cf. *rama*, fine hair, *rami*, fibre, *ramin*, net-work, *ramu*, *mĕramu*, to make thread, and both the spider and the butterfly produce the material for the thread from their own bodies, *mĕramu dalam badan*.

The spider is called *laba-laba* from its pendent egg-sac and *lawa-lawa* (Java), and *kawa-kawa* or *kĕlawa* from the web it weaves. Cf. *lawe*, thread, *lawi*, filament and *lawai* is a numerical coefficient for threads *viz* : *sa'lawai bĕnang*, a piece of thread.

Cf. also, *kait*, *kaitan bĕnang*, a hook-shaped tool for gathering up threads, and if you know the ways of a spider, *kĕlarai*, *mĕngĕlarai*, to make diamond-shaped patterns in thread work, *kĕrawang*, open-work, and *kĕrawat*, cross-fastenings, will lead you on to other words and even to *kĕrawit*, the thread-worm !

Here are few words just to show the radicals required to make enclosures, pouches, egg-sacs and cocoons.

Kĕpong, enclosure.

Kĕlopak, covering ; eye-lid, calyx of a flower.

Kĕlempong, swim-bladder of a fish ; isinglass.

Kĕlompang, the shell from which the chick has hatched.

Kĕlomping, pouch ; flower spathe of a palm.

Kĕlongsong, pupa-case, cocoon ; slough of snake.

If I have succeeded in my explanation you will agree with me that it is not enough to find a word in Malaya which resembles a word in California.

The linguists in California must first find that the word-building system of the Hoka tribes is the word-building system of the Malays and then, and not until then, shall we be able to chart the migration of language from island to island across the Pacific ocean.

CHAPTER XI.

Philologists more than a century and a half ago assumed that Sanskrit was a superior language and Malay an inferior language. They found a connection between them, jumped at a conclusion, and created a literary myth. The myths of primitive men are attempts to reconcile certain effects with certain causes and philologists have imitated them.

Principles make language and when the principles are understood it may, conceivably, be possible to make laws and rules, though like all man-made laws they will have to be repealed from time to time and re-enacted.

The philologists' laws are a century and more behind the times and that is why linguists lag behind and retard the work of anthropologists and enthnographers. The human mind grows and changes and language changes at the same rate but not the principles which lie within it.

I suggest that, 150 years ago, the descendants of the people who built up the Sanskrit literary and sacred language of India from primitive words either misled the European philologists or misled themselves in the generally accepted derivation of the word.

Sams, together, with, *kr*, creation, looks like an attempt to suggest that it was, say, in the year 2000 B.C., at one and the same time, the original speech of men and the most polished and perfected literary language.

Another derivation is *Samskrita*, perfected, polished, from *kri*, cog. with L. *creo*, to create. Gr. *krain-ein*, to fulfil.

This explanation implies that at the back of Sanskrit were the words which literary men perfected and polished, or, to put it differently, that the original words from which Sanskrit was built were primitive and unpolished.

Sama, of course, is Malay but, I suggest, that the original meaning of *kri* was not created and that the Sanskrit scholars had gone so far that they over-looked or had forgotten the radical elements which their predecessors had polished.

The first primitive Malay, who picked up a sharp bit of flint, obsidian or granite and with it scored a mark on the softer stone of a cave produced the sound *kr* or *kri* and imitated it. He was the first inscriber and the originator of indelible tribal signs. We can only guess at the gap which intervened between his crude work and that of his remote descendants who carved life-like figures of animals in caves in Spain, but this later work which has recently been photographed is said to be 30,000 years old.

'Created' is an extended meaning. *Kri* means cut, grooved, carved, inscribed. You cannot get away from this interpretation. As soon as the two strong radicals *k* and *r* get together they cut grooves, carve, scratch and inscribe as in *korek, kĕlar, kĕrat, koris*, and *kĕris*.

Accept this and *Samskrita* explains itself as meaning " universal record " *i.e.* the one literature for all India.

Language was already very old when the wise men of the East began to make record of it, yesterday.

The primitive Malay speech had apread from its Indian cradle thousands of years earlier but we may conjecture that when stylographic writing on palm leaves was a new art language was still undeveloped.

May we imagine that the purpose of the wise men was to keep the language pure and to unite all the people of India by keeping before them the record of the pure language from which they were straying ?

We can see that his mode of life has altered man and the region in which he lives alters his speech and what we can see now must have been more obvious four thousand years ago.

But, what was a great ideal was marred, as has always been the case by zealots and fanatics.

The successors of the wise men were not content with the record.

They continued, as they thought, to polish, perfect and embellish and we know what happened !

The Malay elements which have done so much still exist. No one denies that *sa* in Malay means unity and if we apply to the word *sama* the Malay value of *m* we find one cover, one canopy and therefore one kin. Accept this and we accept the brotherhood of all men, and why not ?

See then *Am.* (Ar.) General, universal, common.

Sama. (Ar.) Sky, heaven, firmament, canopy.

Sama. (Skr.) Sameness, parity.

Sĕmata. (Skr.) Altogether, completely.

Samasta. (Skr.) All, entire.

Alam. (Ar.) World, universe.

And don't forget that behind these words are the Malay elements and Malay words which would fill several of these pages.

My purpose in this brief sketch has been to show that the radicals in the language which we know as Malay are the active principles in all language.

These radicals have not given me all their secrets but they have revealed clues and given hints which cannot be lightly set aside or disregarded.

I feel that what I write today would be better done if I had time but one never knows how much time one will have.

The fact that the etymologists and philologists of the 18th century made a chronological and illogical error in respect of the relative priority of Malay and Sanskrit seems to me to be a matter of far less importance than the fact that we have now a technique which enables us to follow language to its source. If this technique, after thorough investigation and improvement by linguists, proves to be reliable the outlines of a pre-history of language can be marked out and the outlines of a map to illustrate it.

Much of the knowledge required already exists and is available now, but the body or council to co-ordinate this knowledge has yet to be set up.

The phenomena of regional disability and dialectal preferences and dislikes can be studied from a new point of view.

The Malay, Chinese and Sanskrit radicals can be followed and mapped with the aid of colloquial experts.

The Malay, Sanskrit and Chinese radical *ch*, for example, has no place in the country we now know as Arabia, but, dammed there the radical found an outlet and we find it in English but only its form and not its sound in French. Cf. Chinese and Chinois (pronounced Shinois).

And, so, on may begin to imagine a map of language marked with isobars of dialectal tenacity.

The main tide of language moved from the Orient westward and back again and another tide, governed by the monsoons, moved southward and back again, but, in addition, we may find the currents which conveyed language more rapidly through the North-West passage or the Behring Straits to North America and to Iceland centuries, perhaps, before the main westward tide reached Rome.

CHAPTER XII.

All human speech comes from one source and through the same channel: the mouth and the throat. The first principles of language exhibited in the warning hiss, the silencing hush, the terrifying roar and the contemptuous spit apply to all human beings today just as they did a million years ago. Onomatopoeia is the basis of all language and the self-explanatory onomatopoeic

radicals are the natural radical sounds and the only natural sounds which the mouth and throat can produce.

All men spoke the same language at one time. Confusion in language is explained by the influence of climate on the vocal cords. A radical affected in one region loses its original sound but regains it again when the climate is favourable.

But the greatest confusion in language has been brought about since the introduction of writing by a false system of etymology and by a misunderstanding of the simple principles of speech.

L. A. Waddell wrote " Ancient racial, place and river names are found to be amongst the most imperishable of human things. This persistence of ancient place names has been fully recognized by the leading archaeologists as a " safe " means of recovering ancient history. Thus Sir F. Petrie remarks with reference to the ancient place-names in Palestine and Phoenicia[1] as found in the Amarna cuneiform letters of about 1400 B.C. :—

> " When we see the names Akka, Askaluna, Biruta, Gazri, Lakish, Qidesu, Tsiduna, Tsur, Urashalim (that is the modern " Akka " or Acre, Ascalon, Beirut, Gezer, Lachish, Kadesh, Sidon, Sour, (the " Tyre " of Europeans) and " Jerusalem "), all lasting with no change—or only a small variation in the vowels—down to the present day. . . . it needs no further proof that ancient names may be safely sought for in the modern map."

And what is a true of ancient racial, place and river names is true of all descriptive words and every word when we understand it is a descriptive word.

I cannot give you all the proofs.

If one man knew or could explain all law why do we build law libraries ?

But one man can understand the principles of law and justice and they have been explained in a single sentence.

I cannot give you the complete key to all language but I can show how to make that key.

The approach to an understanding of primitive language is made simple by the use of ideographs.

Anyone without knowing a word of Malay can follow and list the characteristic features of a radical by using a pencil and gain a more accurate result by doing so then by relying entirely on the accepted interpretation. Take, for example, the English word " span " as applying to various measurements.

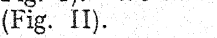
It means, now, a straight measure of length but the method of its making seems to point to an arch or arc. Cf. spancel, spandrel, spank, spanking.

Now turn to the Malay words for span viz *chak, chĕkak, jĕngkal, dĕpa, dĕpang* and in the method of their making the arc is obvious.

[1]Phoenician Origin Of Britons, Scots and Anglo-Saxons—L. A. Waddell P. 189.

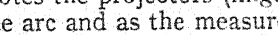
You will find *chĕkak* on p. 2 and *jĕngkal* might have been included on p. 59 of the " Elements of the Malay Language."

To prove that syllabic etymology cannot stand and must be abandoned let us take the *kal* from *jĕngkal* and draw it thus which shows the arc between the point of the thumb and the point of the fore-finger when stretched over a flat surface, (see plate Fig. I). We now put in the distance measured and get (Fig. II).

K denotes the projectors (finger and thumb) and *l* the pliant curve of the arc and as the measurement may be in any direction  (Fig. III and Fig. IV).

Kal. a measure of capacity, one-eighth of a *gantang* (Tam. a quarter).

We will now call another witness, *lok*.

Lok has been looked at by etymologists for generations and is still misunderstood. It conveys the idea of curves and angles and we draw it 

Lok. The curves and angular bends of a kris (Fig. V).

Kĕlok. Arc.

Jĕlok. The angles and curves of a jar or vase (Fig. VI).

Sĕlok. Inserting the hand into a hollow made up of curves and angles whether in picking a pocket or groping for fish or prawns in a hole in a river bank.

Tĕlok. A bay. p. 118, *op. cit.*

We are now ready to deal with the hypothesis that $k + o + l = l + o + k$ with the difference that *kol* ends with a yielding pliant note and *lok* ends on an obstructive note.

Apply this reasoning, metaphorically, to the Kelantan word *lok* (Trengg. *ok*), to withstand, to bear up against adversity, and you will realise how the peasant bows to a Royal command and yet stands firm.

Proceeding morphologically we notice the *k* in *tandok*, horn, and the *l* twice in the *lalang* grass that bends to every breeze.

Now, with confidence, we reverse the *lok* and make it *kol*. The only difference is that we no longer dwell on the final *k* and what it implies.

Here are the arcs again *i.e.* the abutments and the curves.

Sĕkul, bowl, *bakul*, basket, *kolah*, tank, *kolam*, pond, *kolong*, shallow mine, *koloran* (Batav.), belt, girdle, *kolok*, (Jav. *kuluk*), head-dress (hollowed out and shaped to fit the head), also *tĕngkolok*, cf. *kulah* (Pers.) helmet, stiff head-dress, *kulak*, also *kolak*, a measure somewhat less than the *gantang* (but bigger than *kal*), *kolek*, boat, *bongkol*, a bump, *kulat*, mushroom, *kulup*, prepuce, *kulit*, outer cover, shell, rind, *dongkol*, smooth-polled, bare-headed, hornless.

(Note.—You will realise, of course, that measures of capacity were spherical and not the shape of the gallon measure of the present day).

Again, thinking metaphorically we see how the final *l* in *dongkol* neutralises, rounds off and smooths away the horned *k* as opposed to the previous instance where the rayat bowed to the Raja but got his own way in the end.

Kĕrja raja di-junjong, kĕrja kita di-kelek.

The Raja's work we carry on our heads (where all may see it on occasion), our private affairs in the hollow of the arm pit (concealed, but always near at hand).

Look up the words in the dictionary and get the sense of *chak, chĕkak,* etc. and you will find that all the curves and angles, horns and projections we have mentioned so far may be graphically illustrated thus

and in the last figure we see the head (skull) with horns. (See Fig. IX).

Note.—Skull. Ice. *skal,* a shell; conn. with shell and scale, a thin plate.

We know enough about the language now to expect little things from the light vowels and bigger things from the broad vowels so without further explanation and with a pencil the influence of the vowels and the meanings of the radicals *k* and *l* can be obtained from such words as *ĕngkil,* small excrescence, *ĕngkĕlĕk, mĕngĕngkĕlĕk* (Java), to hop, *bĕngkil,* a bump, *dengkel* and *dangkal,* shallow, *lĕkak, lĕkok,* notches, dents, depressions, hollows, *lekok* (Min.), angular bend, *lĕkar,* circular basket stand for cooking pots, *jĕngkĕlit, mĕnjĕngkĕlit,* to turn somersaults, *jĕngkolet,* tilted right over, pitch-poled, (of a boat, etc.), *sĕngkĕla* (Skr. *shrengkhala*), shackles, hobbles, *sĕngkĕlang,* crossed (of the arms and legs), saltire, slanting cross, *sĕngkĕlaṗ,* pilfering, *sĕngkĕling,* to intertwine, to cross to interlace, *sengkĕlit,* loop used by climbers for their feet. (Fig. XI. Fig. XII). It is perfectly simple. The central radical *ng* is the central hinge as in a two-foot rule or a pair of dividers. (See p. 59, *op. cit.*) (Fig. XIII).

Picture your pace or step, *langkah.*

You lift up one foot *angkat kaki* by bending the leg and put your foot down further on and so graphically your progress is marked by a series of arcs, and as one foot passes the other the arcs across each other like this (See Fig. X).

Sĕngkĕlang with the central pivot *ng,* the final contour *ng,* and the intermediate *k* and *l* suggests crossing curves and may be illustrated

Sĕngkĕlit = *s* soft, *ng* central pivot, *k* projecting, *l* pliant, *t* attachment and we draw it thus (Fig. XI).

Tĕrajang shows the curve of a kick and *sa'lĕjang kuda bĕrlari* gives you a picture of a galloping horse (Fig. XXV).

And, in this most remarkably concise language the *r* shows the reach (radius) of the kick and the *l* the curves of the gallop, and the

jang as remarkably and concisely shows the intervening space. (See *jinjang* and *janjang* in previous chapter.)

Sa'lĕjang kuda bĕrlari, as far as a horse can gallop (at one stretch).

So now when we draw *jangka*, calipers, pair of dividers, we draw it thus and notice the arc it describes as well as the intervening space and anyone without knowing a word of Malay, can recognise the fact that the word *kajang*, a mat awning, ridged like a tent over a boat, has the same radicals as *jangka*. So here is your boat, *kolek*, and here is the *kajang* which covers it, like this (See Figs. XIII and XIV).

The cartographers of the present day mark positions on their maps by a circle with a central dot, thus . *Pang* (see p.p. 4 and 36, *op. cit.*) is a disk . It is built up of the radicals *p*, pressure + *ng*, contour. So *pangkal*, beginning, starting place, will be correctly delineated in the same way and *pangkah* or *pangka*, mark, cross will be .

Lapang (without the *k*) means vacuity, empty space. We may draw it . *Laut lapang*, the sea bounded only by the horizon, and with no land marks, and though we cannot draw *lapar*, hungry, (knowing the far-reaching influence of *r*) we follow the method of its making. *Dĕpang* which should be looked up in dictionary may be shown thus .

Kepeng, kĕping, chaping, kĕpong, kĕpiting are all disks in plan though not necessarily so in elevation. We can draw *bĕrpangkat-pangkat* as a series of tiers like the papal tiara (Fig. XV). if we think of it that way and it is the way one thinks that gives different meanings to the same Malay word.

For example *bĕrkĕpong*, surrounded, beleagured is *lopong*, gaping, *mĕlopong mulut*, the open mouth and vacant look, is and *kumpul*, to collect together, group together is again, but if we wish to display the *k* in pangkat, *kĕpong* and *kumpul* we might draw them in elevation to show the tiers or in perspective to illustrate the surrounding fences and stockades. (Fig. XVI).

I have strayed from *kal* but the ramifications of the language lead one on.

To resume—the curves of *kĕl, kil, kal, kol, kul* appear again in *gĕl, gil, gal, gol, gul* but the angles seem to be flattened out. There is a sense of heaviness and oppression in *g*.

G is a Malay radical but the too frequent use of *g* instead of *k* is a sign of Indian and Arabic influence.

Where the Malay uses *k* the southern Indian sometimes prefers *g* and in Kedah where Indian Mohammedan influence is marked this word is a throaty *Gĕdah*.

The little bumps *ĕngkil* and *bĕngkil* become bigger bumps with *bĕnggal* and *bĕnggul*.

And, we may note that the spherical contours exhibited by *k* and *l* when working in conjunction become more flattened when *g* exerts it influence, as in *gĕndul*, rather flattened, oblate, *gelek*, rolling over and flattening out, and *gondol* means stripped of covering, as, for instance a hill denuded of forest, bare, with a shaven head.

Note also *dogel* and *dogol*, bare, smooth, rounded, lacking feathers or horns, *bogel* or *bugil*, bare, *tĕlanjang bogel*, stark naked.

It now begins to look as though there is some evidence that the influence of an initial radical extends right through the word. Vide chapter II where I asked whether the *p* in *pĕnghulu* has an influence over the final *u*.

In *gĕndul* and *gondol* we find the curves though the *g* is initial and the *l* final.

Let us experiment with *pĕnghulu* and *kĕpala*. The *pĕnghulu* is the overlord, the chief of the *kampong* or parish.

So we may draw the *kampong* ◯ and put the lord, *pu*, in the middle thus ⊙

In *kĕpala* we have *k* and *l* ◠ and the same arc in *kapal*, a ship, which we found in *kolek*, a boat (in reverse *kĕlok*, an arc and transposed *lĕkok*, hollow).

So *kapal* analysed means a ship, and the *pal* shows method of propulsion, sailing.

Let us proceed with the examination of *gol* and *gul*. Drop the *l* and we get *go* or *gu*.

Gu, yoke for harnessing cattle. cf. Eng. yoke, A.S. *geoc* (Fig. XVII).

Igu, side-yoke *i.e.* double-yoke (see Fig XVIII.)

Goa, also *gua*. (Skr.) cave, cavern

Gok, cage, cage-prison, hump.

Gobah, bight of a rope.

Gobang, boat, "dug-out."

Gobek, (also *gochok*) areca-nut pounder (Fig. XX.)

Bĕgok, mumps, glandular swellings

Gunong, mountain.

Gun (Ked.), *gong* (Kel.), rising ground

Gumpal, lump.

Gundok, bull-necked.

Gondong (also *gundong*), goitre.

Gugup, a hollow sound, as of a drum.

Kĕrja gugup, work in caves and confined hollows, where sounds are intensified, a form of tin mining under boulders and in limestone caves. Cf. *gugoh*, (Min.) drum-beating.

On pp. 38-41. " The Elements " I explained the influence of the strong vowel *ya*, *i.e.* *i* or *e*.

We can now see its influence on a curve.

Kal, ◡ , *ikal*, curly (Fig. XXII).

Kĕliling, all round, situation around, on every side.

Kĕlikir, rotan circlet. (Fig. XXI).

Kĕlicheh, to swerve to one side.

Gĕlinchir, to slip, slide.

There are curves in these last two words but I can't draw them !

You can find twenty more examples of the side-way action of *ya* if you devote two or three hours to the task. It is the remote ancestor, may I say, of the Latin *e*, *ex*, out, away from ?

Before going further let me explain what I have at the back of my mind concerning this language we know today as Malay.

My view is that its place of origin was India (Logan called it Himalaic). I regard it as very ancient, hundreds of thousands of years older than any other language, whether Sumerian, Phoenician or Sanskrit, and the parent of them all.

I think that the general tendency today is to regard the peopling of the world and the spread of language as incidents of comparatively recent occurrence but in my mind I see hordes of men and women many eons ago swarming over the earth and breeding like rabbits. And I see them sailing to every part of the world and whether walking or sailing they left as they went their language and their directional monuments as a record. When we know their language, which still exists, better, the history of mankind can be re-written.

To understand the language literally is simply a matter of application (with a pencil): to understand the imagery is more difficult but the proverbs help. Occasionally, as I have done and will do again, one may build up a theory which conforms with the process of Malay thought and gradually collect corroborative evidence.

If there is no direct or corroborative evidence the case fails.

I will state a purely conjectural case. *Kal* as we have shown is an arc, a span, a linear measurement. *Ikal* is curly (see Fig. XXI).

What is *kali*? It should equal *ikal* in one aspect and it should with the side-way or outward *i* mean a definite departure in some direction.

Kali, mine-hole we know, but we are looking for a metaphorical meaning. Will you agree that it means a jump in time, an interval ?

If so, we begin with *kal*, go on to *kala*, scorpion (Fig. XXIII) and draw the curve ◠ ◡ again to describe *kala*, time, period (Skr. *kala*, *kala chakra*, the wheel of time).

So we can draw *sa'kali*, *dua kali*, *tiga kali*
And what about time in the past and in the future, *kĕlmarin*, yesterday, *langkat*, three days hence, and *kĕlak*, perhaps at some later time, where the final *k* provides the obstructive element, the element of doubt ? Note also how the spacing idea in *kal* has persisted until today.

It is the *kal* in our circle (pronounced serkal), you will find it figued in pictures of Kali the Hindu god and it was adopted by the Arabs to explain the scope of a syllable. *Kalimah* (Ar.) vocable, single utterance, syllable. The key as constructed so far can now be tested on the following words *gun*, *gong*, *gaung*, *gopong*, *gosong*, *guntong*, *gantang* and *gunong* and when you come to *gunting*, a modern word for scissors, remember that Malays coin the appropriate word. What could be more appropriate than *gunting*, the shearers ?

And now I ask you, without prejudice, to look up in an English dictionary the derivations given for the words calculate, calculus, calendar, cylinder, calibre, calipers, callous, calotte, calpac, calvary, calvities, calyptra, calyx, leg, archipelago, gale, galeate, galleon, galley, gallery, galliot, gallop, gallon.

I have put forward in this chapter the thesis that the directional power of a radical is not limited to the syllable in which it appears but extends backwards and (or) forwards and exerts an influence throughout the entire word.

To keep on giving examples would be wearisome. I have shown how the key is made. Will someone criticise and confirm, giving examples, or deny and attack, giving examples ?

I will state the case again, briefly.

There are cross-references between separated radicals in a word and that is why language has held together.

These radicals are dimensional constants as any one who will test them can prove.

If you know no Malay, start, say, with *lengkar* or *lengkong* or *rĕngkong* or *langsong* and you will fill up the lacunae by degrees and end, as I do, by finding an affinity between the *lengkongan*, the lagoon, the lacuna and the lake.

Or, examine words beginning with a *K* in the dictionary and compare them with the words with an initial *G*. See, for example, the sarong worn as a veil by a Malay woman *kĕlombong* and compare it with *gĕlombang*, waves of the sea. If you see eye to eye with me there are the light billowing curves of the veil contrasted with the surging rollers of a heavy sea !

And, with an open mind, will you refer again to *bĕliya* in chapter II and note how an erotic element was introduced when it reached Arabia, (*baligh* Ar., sexual maturity) but how the original primitive purity was restored in the Greek *thaleia* and Latin *thallo*, bloom ?

Note also that the change of form was dialectal.

There is no *gh* and no *th* in Malay.

The constants do not change.

Climates change but there has been no change in the method of producing human speech.

Climatic dialectal differences having been discussed : I will suggest the reason for the other variations. The radical constants are onomatopoeic. Children learn to speak by imitating their elders.

Mimicry is natural. But there are two kinds of mimicry, the one simple and the other comparative, and every child uses both. Children get a lot of fun out of imitating the accents of other children and even of their elders.

Grown up children imitate the accent of people they admire and then fashions begin. All fashions die and give place to others but the movement of fashions, centric or eccentric, is simply an effort to depart from the constant which is never far away. It is the flight of the moths round a candle.

It would be possible to show that every radical has been replaced in some part of the world by every other radical but not that all the radicals are confused and mixed up in any one country.

The regional change is limited to very few radicals and the rest remain constant.

The route to a thorough knowledge of Malay is the simple colloquial route. If you read the so-called Malay classics remember that no Malay has written an original work. The value of these works lies in the fact that they were written for Malays and contain a number of pure Malay words which modern colloquial fashions would have tended to destroy. The late Raja Chulan addressing the Federal Council on the policy of the Government quoted an ancient proverb which has an application to the study of Malays and their language.

Sĕsat di-hujong jalan, balek ka-pangkal jalan. If the course you have followed is wrong, start afresh.

Here are the simple strong words which it will pay to look up and analyse.

Sĕsat, astray, " tied up in knots ", " red-tape " administration ! cf. *sĕsar, sasar, sasul*, etc. Note the deviating *l* in *jalan*; the suggestion of extreme, extremity (*u*) and of space and distance in (*h*)*ujong* and the new departure and distance explained by *balek*.

Language flows naturally in curves and the angles help to make the curves, just as an obstruction in a stream makes an eddy or a whirlpool.

Language is not limited and nothing is indescribable in speech that can be seen or sensed or imagined. It is important to overlook nothing in speech. Nothing is unimportant. Nothing !

The tiny stone removed from the earth leaves a corresponding vacant cavity behind and we have followed the trend of thought that applies the same word *gugup* to the boulder and the cave.

Following the language as it leads us we enter a cavern *gua* and the hollowness impresses us as soon as we speak.

Every sound is magnified and even in the whisper which takes so long to die away there is something awe-inspiring and sepulchral.

This is the onomatopoeic cave-echo *gĕma* with the generating *g* and the permeating *m*.

Compare it with the *gĕri* and *gĕra* in a previous chapter and then follow *gĕma* to *gaung* and *gĕmaung*, the confused echoes and murmurs of voices in confined spaces.

Note, if you have not noted it already, that *gaùng* means a glen, a deep ravine, and also the echo which belongs to the ravine just as *gugup* meant the boulder and the corresponding cavity, and you will understand the meaning and the origin of *gagap*, confused speech, stammering.

To *gĕma* introduce the impulsive radical *p* and we have *gĕmpa*, the reverberating thunder that shakes heaven and earth and thus we learn how language is made and to think in ever-widening circles !

But, the tests by which we may prove that we are thinking accurately are always at hand.

Translate this chapter into Latin or Greek and the proofs will lie before you.

The hollows and the mounds, the *lok* and the *kol* appear again in the English hillock and the Latin *collis*. The celestial canopy (Lat. *coelum*) is one hollow and Hell which is a variant of hole is another hollow. The directional radicals are safe guides, whether in Malay, Latin, English or other languages, whereas the classification of grammarians in the matter of prefixes, infixes, suffixes and even diminutives has done much to conceal the true structure of words. If we look at the Latin words as we look at Malay words *rivus* will not be synonymous with *fluvius* any more than *kali* is synonymous with *sungai*.

We see the riving and cutting force which makes the channel (*canalis*) or hollowed-out bed for the stream in one word whereas we see the flow of water in the other.

And the stones, some of which we have been looking at this chapter, are all different.

There is the marble associated with limestone caves, *marmar* ; the " thunder stone ", *batu pĕtir*, Cf. Lat. *pĕtra*, Gk. *pĕtra* which recalls Max Muller's striking parallel Skr. *Dyaush-pitar*, Gk. *Zeus-patĭr*, Lat. *Ju-piter* ; the carbuncle which may be an inflamed swelling *bongkol*, *bonggol* or a stone, *bongkal*, *batu*, cf. *kĕmatu* ; the concretion or calculus, *gĕmala*, cf. Lat. *gĕmma*, Eng. gem ; the coral, *karang*, Gk. *korallion*, Lat. *coralium*, shingle, gravel, coarse sand, gravel. cf. *gĕrit*, *gersek* or *kersek*.

There may even be a connection between *kĕpal*, a clod, *kĕpul*, a measure of capacity cf. *chupak*, and the Eng. scruple, Lat. *scrupus* and *scrupulus*, a small stone, and, greatly daring, I draw attention to the resemblance between Lat. *scopulus*, Gk. *skopelos*, used esp. of a rock in the sea and the Mal. *pulo* or *pulau*, an isolated clump, island.

I may have more to say about stones in a later article.

Though I have shown it imperfectly there is a light in the Malay language which should revolutionise our knowledge of all language and the way is plain.

Ad carceres a calce revocari.—Cicero. To turn back from the end to the beginning.

For example, we have been taught that the ' ge ' in geometry, geography, etc. is the Gk. and Lat. *ge*, the earth but we have not been told why it means the earth or how to pronounce it. I suggest that this *ge*, with a hard *g*, is directly related to *gĕma* and *gĕmpa* which are the proto-types of the Skr. *gĕma*, the earth, so-called because it was regarded as hollow and Skr. *kampa*, earthquake.

In these few chapters there has been no set design. Words were taken as they came and the formative radicals explained them. I had no idea when I began a chapter how it was going to end. Every chapter has grown naturally and could be extended far beyond the limits I have allowed it.

I feel confident that anyone, whatever may be his language, can apply the same method by using a dictionary.

Open a dictionary and begin with any word and get the value of the formative radicals in it.

If you find a single word, the English " list ", for example, in the dictionary with numerous meanings apparently obtained from different sources do not accept the differences but look for the likenesses which must be there.

There is the leaning *l* and the side-way turning *i*. Follow them first and then the *s* and *t*.

The co-incidence of formative radicals is not fortuitous.

You have seen *kali* with several meanings but it is always the same *kali*. My writing must stop but you can go on and find the soul of language if you wish. Turn back once more to *gu* and to get and to hold its true meaning picture the hollow as well as the co-existing component that fits that hollow, the gem and its setting, the pestle and mortar, body and soul, the honeysuckle and the bee.

These are the primitive ideas from which all beliefs arose, the beliefs that gave the primitive world its oracles and its gods. Cf. Min. *jo*, with, together, Sund. Jav. and Hind. *jodo*, twin-soul, affinity, match, second-self.

It does not do to belittle the brain power of primitive man.

CHAPTER XIII.

When W. E. Maxwell wrote " The history of the Malay people is to be discovered in the language itself " he drew attention to a field for investigation which proves to contain the matrix of the language of the world. Such vast, almost illimitable, regions for further exploration seem to be indicated that it would appear to be beyond human endeavour to continue the search to the end of each ramification of the original lode.

But, Euclid in a few chapters showed how the world could be mapped and the task, of charting language is even more simple.

Euclid began with lines, angles and curves and so does language, and what makes primitive language so easy to understand is the fact that every word explains itself. The words themselves, in this very condensed article, have been the incorruptible witnesses to the truth. We have followed the method of their building, seen the unfailing constancy of the radicals and can understand the precession of ideas of the primitive men whose mode of thought modelled the speech we use today.

And what do we learn from all this ?

We learn like Euclid to chart what appears to be illimitable with the aid of a few simple signs and we must do so because no book can contain the complete history of every word.

Work it out for yourself ! *K* is constant, *r* is constant, *ng* is constant and therefore every word which contains a *k*, an *r* or an *ng* is connected with every other word in the language which contains the same radicals.

And yet the problem is simple. Learn the meanings of sixteen natural radical constants and the value of the vowel tones. The 16 colloquial sign posts of primitive speech are B. T. J. Ch. D. R. S. Ng. P. K. G. L. M. N. H. Nya.

All the other consonants had no place in basic speech and may be regarded as regional variants or as unnatural literary accretions, for instance the Latin hard c which has the sound of k.

When you understand the 16 constants and the vowels you have nothing more to learn. The words explain themselves; follow them and you find natural self-expression.

I will give one final example just to show how much I have left out in order to encourage individual and independent interpretation.

In the *Introduction to the Elements of the Malay Language* I criticised Brandstetter's etymology of *karang* and showed that it meant coral because the radicals *k* + *r* + *ng* defined projecting radial annular growth and for the same reason it could and did mean a literary composition or a wreath of flowers.

Now, test for yourself. Mere blind acceptance of another person's teaching will not suffice if you wish to learn Malay or any other language.

If *karang* means projecting, radial, circular growth what about *koreng, kurong, kĕrang, kĕring*, etc., etc. ? Will they exhibit similar features ?

Of course they will if you know the radicals and remember that they work in every direction. The *k* sticks up or down, the *r* reaches out or recedes, and the *ng* is a contour from every point of view.

Here are the witnesses ! Examine them, cross-examine them, take them backwards or forwards and turn them inside out. They will always speak the truth.

Koreng. (Batav.) Itch, ring-worm, scabies. (circular growth.)
Korang. Reduction, less. (gradually receding, drawing in and diminishing). (Batav. from Sund.) fish-basket. (circular, built up.)

Kĕring. Reduction, dry, drained dry. (gradually receding).

Kĕrang. Cockle-shell. (increasing annular growth).

Korong. Ring or ruff on a dove's neck.

Kurong. Cage, enclosure, (circular, built-up).

Mata lĕpas badan tĕrkurong, caged body but released eyes ; fig. and prov. for a Malay marriageable girl.

The simple radicals are the bones, ligaments, nerves and tissue which build up the skeleton frame-work (carcase[1]) of language.

But language until it is written is not rigid : it is fluid.

So language cannot be confined by classical shackles. The approach to all language is romantic. Words build themselves

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[1]Cf. Lat. *carcer*, Eng. *gaol, cell.* Lat. *arceo*, Gk. *erkos*, Lat. *calx*, Gk. *skeletos*, Mal *kar, kal, kel*, etc. and evidence in preceding chapter.

Note.—In the accompanying plate, kindly drawn for me by Mr. R. W. E. Harper of the Malayan Police, there are a number of sketches and a few words of explanation are necessary.

The curves and arcs are obvious but not the punt pole and the deer's horns.

The *Kijang*, Cervulus muntjac, the Barking deer, is distinguished by its short simple two-tined antlers, the brow tine being the shorter and projecting inwards. Cf. *kajang*.

Galah, punt-hole, quant ; also (Sum.) a spear.

Though punt-poles and spears are, and must be, straight both the arc and the span are exhibited, *i.e.* the distance covered, both in the working of the pole and in the flight and trajectory of the spear.

Chak, the primitive span, is also an important symbol. Cf. Skr. *chakra*, wheel, circle, discus, war-quoit with sharp toothed edges, mentioned in old romances and depicted in old Javanese monuments.

The horse has been drawn to illustrate its stride *lĕjang*, cf. *rĕjang, kĕjang*, and the scorpion *jengkeng* to draw attention to its crab-like walk as well as the action of its curved tail armed with a poisonous spine. Cf. *jengket, jĕrangkak, jĕrangkang*.

Kalajengkeng is a hybrid word or rather two words ; the Indian *kala* originally Malay and the *jengkeng* typically Malay.

The Viking head with horns has a significance in connection with warfare and primitive head coverings in warfare which it is hoped will attract the attention of ethnologists and anthropologists to the Malay key language of the world.

as castles in the air are built and like castles in the air they make the picture we want and then fade away.

Language is a series of impressions.

Examine *karang* morphologically. K, sticking out, *kar*, sticking up in a row, *i.e.* fence, *akar*, radial stretching growth, *i.e.* fibre, *ang*, man, unit, *rang*, unit, united by nerves, fibres). *Rangka*, articulated unit, frame-work, etc., etc.

Now separate the units, *rai*, *raikan*, *chĕrai*, *bĕrai*, *lĕrai*, *dĕrai*, *urai*, etc.

And what is the word for a chain, *i.e.* a series of separate and yet united links ? *rantai* (*rangtai* ?). And a charm for loosening chains ? *pĕungkai rantai*. So we are told, again and again, as we examine the language that every word is a sensitive fleeting growth which comes to fit the impression we have in our minds, and therefore the only way to learn what dictionaries cannot always tell us is to take the words to pieces.

And thus we find the Malay word *rangkai* which means to articulate, to join together, as beads on a string, whether it be to build a word or any frame-work, and the word *rungkai* which means to dissect, disjoin, dismantle !

CHAPTER XIV.

The very important Mongoloid radical *ng* has been described in this article and in my previous works. It has been shown to illustrate contours, curves and arcs. These definitions are correct provided we are careful to attach to them their exact meanings. A contour may be a circumference ; a curve is part of a circle ; and an arc describes a complete distance or stage. Considered dimensionally, *ng* marks a rounding-off completion at the circumference : in other words it marks a limit, a stop, a stage, a division, a section or a segment.

Ng in any word bisects that word segmentally.

In the word *renggang*, for example, which means standing apart, we have two morphe, two built-up units, divided but yet united.

It takes two to stand apart, but unless we connect the two and see them both clearly there can be no cleavage, no intervening space, no interstice.

In *karang* and *rangka* we see the complete, separable, built-up unit *rang* combined with the morphe *ka* which though complete can still extend.

Ka may grow, or drop off or change its position. Add *ng* and we have *kang*.

Combine *rang* and *kang* and we have *rangkang* in which the radial *r* and the angular *k* combine to describe a radial angle-

measurement, a fork, a crosspiece. Cf. *rangkap*, *rangkup*, *rangking*, *rangkong*, *ranggong*, etc., etc., My purpose in writing this article is, principally, to show the priority of Malay speech vis-à-vis Sanskrit and in the explanation of the primitive Mongoloid radical *ng* it is necessary to point out that Indian influence, preference or dislike has brought about a change which has destroyed its terminal significance. Thus, *Kaling* becomes Kalinga, Sabang, Sabana and *rengka*, *reka*. This literary and therefore comparatively modern polish looks like a deliberate attempt to disguise the lowly ancestry of speech.

We find *yojana*, a very pretty word, and it is labelled Sanskrit. It means an indefinite distance, but in basic Malay every *jang*, *jeng*, *jing* and *jong* is a distance. *Yojana* is *ujong* disguised! *u*, extreme, and *jong*, distance: so, for *sa'yojana mata mĕmandang*, as far as the eye can see, we should read *sa'ujong mata mĕmandang*. Take even the famous archer, *Sang-Ranjuna*, of the Sanskrit *Mahabharata* and I suggest that some such specific term, descriptive of arrow-like flights and distances, as *ranjong*, *rĕjang* or *ranjang* was his original appellation.

Sang is a modern literary honorific. Primitive speech was concerned with first causes.

When you have to blow your nose, the Malay onomatopoeic, descriptive word is *sang*; to sneeze is *bĕrsin(g)*; a cleft palate which obstructs speech and leads to talking through the nose is *sĕngar*; to talk through the nose is *sĕngau*.

There is a suggestion of bindrance. When we follow the suggestion we find *sangsang*, to lie across the path, to hinder, *sangkak*, obstructing, hindering, *sangkut*, hooking and so hindering and even of being choked by something stuck in the throat, *songsang*, Brun. to fall by tripping up, and *songsong*, to make slow progress against adverse conditions.

In spite of this, *sangsara*, misery, misfortune, is granted a Sanskrit origin though the proofs that both *sang* and *sara* are Malay lie before us in the language and in the dictionary.

Let us take a few more examples!

We are looking for words to show the hindrance which is exhibited by the unsympathetic radical *s* and the unit-forming and unit-separating radical *ng*.

Sĕngka, obstructing bar, crosspiece.

Sĕngkang, holding apart (separating and obstructing).

Sengkat, up to the limit (k, projecting, t, touching).

Sĕngeh, also *senggeh*, slightly agape, smirk, grin. (just revealing the teeth.)

Sengget, to brush past one another, as men in a crowd or as a ship in a narrow channel brushing against the tree branches (separate units).

Sĕnggama. Skr. Confederation (junction of separate units)

Singgir, to open and reveal,—as the bud displays the flower or the parted lips reveal the teeth.

Singgah, stop, stage in a journey, port of call.

Singgoh, to nudge, to elbow away (in order to get elbow room).

Singok, narrow air-space between the top of the wall of a Malay house and the line of the roof.

Sigong, prodding with the elbow. (strong *i*, outwards, away from, and note that the influence of the initial *s* extends to the final *ng*).

Singkap, drawing apart, opening by unveiling.

Singketa, Skr. (Min. *sangketa*), feud (friction between separate units).

Singkil, "on edge" of teeth.

Singsing, rolling up (of the sleeves, of a blind or of the curtain of darkness at day break).

Langsang. (Brun.) impediment in speech.

Langsong, moving further on, going straight on, *i.e.* not stopping at the recognised halt.

Kěreseng, crack or fissure just revealing what is inside. Also *kěrengseng*, (Riau) *gěrengseng*, (Pah.) *kěrising*, (Ked.) *gěrising*. Of a grin just showing the teeth; a fissure in the rind of a fruit; a crack in the skin.

In the mosaic of the Malay language the radical *ng* marks the divisions between the separate units and though the other radicals suggest, and in combination build up, lines, angles and curves which though complete may still extend, it is the *ng* that definitely signifies divisional completion, as you will find by testing it with every radical in turn.

Ulang-aling, kolang-kaling, ubong, sambong, pangsa, etc., etc.

But, to be able to test accurately, without the aid of a dictionary, calls for more than book-work. The measure of natural freedom of expression depends on the extent to which a stranger is able to share the life of the people and their pursuits. There must be, as I have said more than once, sympathy and the human touch.

The linguist must begin with an interest in the country and its people. When he has gained a basic technical vocabulary as a fisherman with Malay fishermen or as a planter, botanist or ornithologist, anthropologist, ethnographer, or as a Government officer with the Kampong elders and local experts, secrets which he has overlooked will leap into view.

In every industry the words are the fitting words and they will be found to explain themselves, first serially, then severally, but always systematically.

If you tell me that the transition from one radical to another as when a *g* takes over from *k* is confusing and irrational a study of your own language will help you, provided you do not tie yourself down to the methods of the grammarians and philologists of the 18th century. You will find that the English radicals behave in identically the same way as the Malay radicals for the very good reason that they were originally identical. We owe a great debt to these philologists who have preserved whole ancient words and syllabic sections for further examination and dissection.

Our English "knoll" is really *kĕnol* disguised and you should know, now, exactly what it means.

It is we who have dropped the 'k' sound and we who have doubled the 'l' unnecessarily and irrationally in words expressive of a single idea.

The recurrence of a Malay radical in any word denotes a comparative excess or intensity.

Knoll, a round hillock. A. S. *cnol* where the hard c replaced k; Ger. *knollen*, knob, lump.

Cf. knit, knot, knar, knarl, knag, knap, knapskull, knapsack, knop, knurl, knurr and the transition to gnarl. Our word "know" from A. S. *cnawan*, Ice. *kna*, Lat. and Gk. *gno*(*sco*), Skr. *jna* would appear to mean to be in touch with, and therefore to be directly traceable to the Malay *kĕna*, contact, experience. Cf. *kĕnal*, knowing, *kĕnan*, appreciation, *kĕnang*, bringing to mind, pondering over memories.

Remember that we are trying to go back and to get the measure of man's mind many milleniums ago and before the invention of spelling gave a rigid form to words which were and are naturally fluid.

In the *Malay Language and how to learn it*, p. 74, I wrote "you will have gathered by this time that what I am trying to impress on you is that the Malay language is vivid and alive and that the majority of Malay words delineate and describe themselves as they are uttered. It is as though one man reeled off a series of mind-pictures which his auditors can hear and see at the same time."

Later, in *The Elements of the Malay Language*, p. 63. I wrote "and so there is a science which demands precision but it is not the science of language, of music or of poetry. Precision has a destructive influence on language.

There would be no laughter in language, no *double-entendre* and no individuality if we were all made to conform to one precise mould."

In this chapter we have just examined a few words beginning with, or including in their structure, the morphe *sang*, *sing*, *seng*, *song* and *sung* and the opportunity occurs to examine that well known place-name Singapore.

We have to imagine a sailing craft manned by Malays being piloted into Singapore and at the same time to imagine the running commentary and the *double-entendres* which accurately and spontaneously described the course of the vessel.

Without necessarily advancing any theory, it will be interesting and instructive to note what Singapore could have meant, and may still mean to a Malay although literature and a single form of spelling have obliterated the facets and occulting lights in the original fluent structure of the word.

We know that the port of Singapore, at the southern point of Asia, marked the limit of a voyage during each monsoon and that the prevailing monsoon hindered any further advance. A correct descriptive name would therefore be *Sengkapura* (from *sĕngka*), the Sincapor of old records. But there is more to it than this, so let us allow the language to speak for itself.

In Malay there is first the suggestion and then the growth of associated words, and so each specific growth refers to the genus or genesis of the word.

One word does not extinguish its associates: it calls them and recalls them, so that to a Malay *Sengkapura* might equally and alternatively suggest the port of call *singga(h)* (*sa'hengga*); obstructed (by islands or reefs) *senggah*; or projecting rocks (teeth) *singkil* (cf. *sĕlat sengke*); which have to be close aboard, but yet avoided *singgit*; entered by a narrow channel *sengget*; opening up and revealing itself by degrees, *singkap*, *singgir* (cf. the Singkel and Singkep islands off the Sumatra coast); and also the limit of the voyage *sengkat*.

See also Singora (*Sĕnggora*).

Linguists in Siam, China, India and Africa familiar with apparently similar place-names (vide any atlas gazetteer) may be able to say whether their derivations disclose affinities with the Malayan morphe.

As evidence of characteristic, Malay thought and its expression I ask you to note the play of words in a Malay *pantun*.

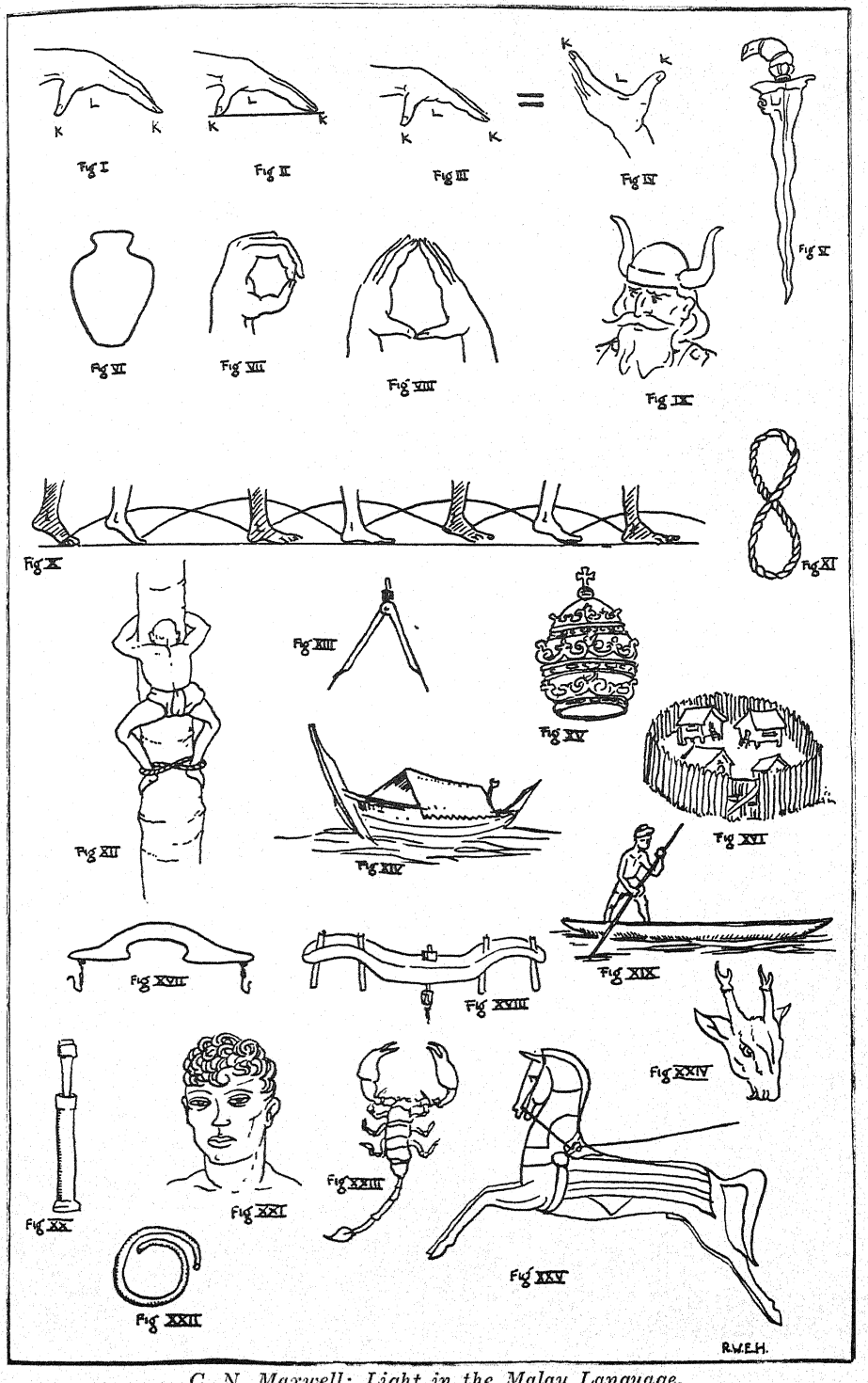
Singapura bĕrnama sĕlat
Sĕlat bĕrnama nĕgri baharu
Pura-pura tidak mĕlihat
Hati didalam bagai di-garu.
Singapura Kĕrimun anak
Tĕmpat mĕngachau koleh-koleh
Kirim salaam banyak-banyak
Minta datang sa-buleh-buleh.

Now compare *pura*, city with *pura-pura*, pretence; *Kĕrimun*, the Carimon islands, with *kĕrumun*, mobbing, attacking in large numbers; *koleh-koleh* cakes, with *kolek-kolek*, boats, and *mĕngachau* (*kachau*) which means stirring the ingredients of the cakes or

stirring up strife, and you will see that the simple lines contain a pointed though veiled allusion to the Carimon islands as a well known haunt of Malay pirates.

And *pura* did not originally mean "city." It meant the spire of Ra.

In old cities and in the new cities today, the landmarks and distinguishing features which travellers see first are the tall temples and spires, dedicated to worship, towering above the ordinary dwellings of men.



C. N. Maxwell: Light in the Malay Language.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF KEDAH.

By Sir RICHARD WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., D. LITT.

This work was planned originally as a History of Kedah, but so much of the material has been published in my *History of Malaya*, that chapters I, III, and VI have become mere notes subsidiary to the corresponding chapters in the larger history, while a chapter on the Hindu period has been excised as superfluous. I am greatly obliged to the Hon. Mr. J. D. Hall, British Adviser, Kedah, for the genealogical tree in my Appendix.

April, 1935. R. O. WINSTEDT.
Johore Baharu.

I.

EARLY CIVILISATIONS.

For the prehistorian and the archaeologist Kedah includes Province Wellesley and Perlis, tracts it lost only in the nineteenth century.

The romance and significance of the shell-heaps of Guak Kepah have been told by Dr. Callenfels and at the Manila conference of Prehistorians by Mr. Collings, and have been outlined in my " History of Malaya " and need not be recapitulated here.

Cord-marked pottery, primitive iron tools and some human remains were found in a cave in the cliff-face of Bukit Chuping in Perlis. Below four feet of phosphates were unearthed a small blackish pot of cord-marked ware and one iron tool of the small-socketed type found in Perak, Selangor and Pahang and associated in Perak cists with cornelian beads, rough pottery and bronze utensils : all relics, apparently, of immigration from India. Finer than that in the Perak cists, the Bukit Chuping pottery may be later. Two knife blades and two socketed spearheads from this Perlis *cache* may be of the same Peninsular iron age as the one definitely identifiable tool. The human remains appear to be those of a race associated with the mixed culture of the Perak caves, where Indonesians may have taught polishing to Australo-Melanesoids.

An ancient oviform clay jar (56 centimetres long and 25.3 across) comes from Pulau Tuba one of the Langkawi islands, but its origin and age have not yet been ascertained. It is now in the Museum at Taiping, Perak.

In the same museum is also a neolithic celt of chalcedony purchased from a Tamil labourer at Sungai Batu near Kedah Peak.

II.

SIAM, MALACCA, PORTUGAL AND ACHEH.

In the thirteenth century the modern Siamese or Thai finally became masters of the Menam valley, and a generation or so later Ligor, as well as Tenasserim and Tavoy, became tributary to the

Siamese kingdom whose capital was Sukhothai. At the same time, though there is no evidence that Siam conquered the whole of the Malay Peninsula, she certainly came into conflict with the Malays. In the history of the Yuan dynasty it is stated that in 1295 "as the Siamese had long been at war with the Malays, both peoples submitted" (to the emperor of China) "and an Imperial order was issued to the Siamese, saying 'Do no hurt to the Malays!'" The *Kedah Annals* record seven pre-Muslim rulers of that country with Sanskrit-Siamese titles: one of them, for example, is styled Phra Ong Maha Podisat; Podisat is 'Bodisat' and the change of sound from sonants to surds is neither Indian nor Malay but Indo-Chinese occurring in Khmer, Siamese and Burmese.

As we know, Arabs had visited Kedah from the ninth century A.D. but an Achinese account gives 1474 A.D. as the date of the conversion of the ruler of Kedah to Islam. This accords with the story in the *Malay Annals* of a Raja of Kedah visiting Malacca to solicit the honour of the royal band that marks the sovereignity of a Malay Muslim ruler; the visit was in the reign of Mahmud last Sultan of Malacca who ruled from 1488 until 1511 when he was driven out by the Portuguese to die in exile at Kampar (Sumatra) in 1528. Kedah's request to Malacca connoted readiness to be her liege, probably in hope of support against Siamese aggression, seeing that Malacca had just helped Pahang to resist Ligor. Before Sultan Mahmud died, a Sri Agar 'diraja, son of Tun Isap Berakah the Bendahara Paduka Tuan of Johore, had married a daughter of the ruler of Kedah.

Whatever political hopes Kedah cherished from alliance with Malacca were blighted by the advent of the Portuguese. Barbosa, whose manuscript is dated Lisbon 1516 described Kedah as "a place of the kingdom of Siam": to the port "an infinite number of ships resort, trading in all kinds of merchandise. Here come many Moorish ships from all quarters. Here, too, is grown much pepper, very good and fine which is conveyed to Malacca, and thence to China." Writing between 1597 and 1600 Godindo de Eredia alludes to the houses at the Kedah port being built of *nibong* palms. Details as to Portugal's trade with Kedah are lacking. But, according to De Faria, in 1611 Diogo de Medoca Furtado sailing down to Malacca destroyed the towns of Kedah and Perlis with fire and sword. A Portuguese fleet had just helped Tenasserim to defeat a fleet of the king of Ava, a service that so delighted Tenasserim's then overlord, the king of Siam, that he offered Furtado a title and allowance. Perhaps it was because Kedah was adopting tactics she was often to adopt later and intriguing with Burma against Siam, that Furtado sacked her ports. Under January 1634 there is an entry in the *Dagh-Register* that the king of Siam had sent 30,000 men from Ayuthia to subdue rebellious Patani, where with reinforcements from Tenasserim, *Kedah*, Bordelong and Ligor the army would amount to 50 or 60,000 men and leave the issue in no doubt.

But Kedah was too far from Ayuthia to enjoy Siamese protection. After the fall of Malacca, the Portuguese methods of

monopolizing trade drove native vessels to seek another mart and led to the rise of Acheh in Sumatra. Acheh's hand was against Malacca's successor Johor, because at times she coquetted with the Portuguese, nor had Acheh any mercy for Johor's ally Perak, whose ruler she conquered and led captive about 1579. Then in 1607 a strong imperialist, Iskandar Muda, came to the throne of Acheh. In 1612 he conquered Deli; in 1613 and 1615 he sacked Johor; in 1618 he conquered Pahang, in 1619 Kedah and in 1620 Perak. He held the Dutch merchant at his court "as a slave"; a Portuguese who had built him 12 fine galleys "he cast before an elephant and brake his bones." His "Admiral galley had a turret built in the stern covered with plates of massive gold". His riches he owed to his monopoly of Sumatran pepper but his government was too corrupt to consolidate what his fleets had won. Even the gilder "that did gild the king's letter" had to be bribed to gild by half a crown's worth of blue calico; and the weigher would not "do right in the weight of iron" until he had received "one bafta white". So wrote Spaight in 1615. And though Acheh kept control over Perak for half a century, the leading into captivity of Sulaiman Shah, Sultan of Kedah, resulted apparently in hardly more than a vague suzerainty over his country. At the same time the social influence of this powerful Muslim neighbour seems to have been considerable. A king of Acheh is said in the *Kedah Annals* to have sent over two Muslim treatises the *Babu'n-Nikah* and the *Siratu'l-Mustakim*, the latter done into Malay in 1634 at Acheh by Shaikh Nuru'd-din Muhammad Jilani-ibni 'Ali ibni Hasanyi ibni Muhammad Hamid a'r-Raniri; the Gujerati author of the *Bustami's-Salatin*. Perhaps the same influence can be traced in Kedah's port laws drawn up in 1650, when Sultan Rajalu'd-din Muhammad Shah, son of the ruler carried to Acheh, was ruling at Naga, while among a set of laws cherished in Kedah was a maritime code copied in Acheh as late as the reign of Sultan Jamal al-'Alam Badr al-munir, a prince of Arab descent who ruled Acheh from 1703 to 1726 A.D.

It is interesting to note that among the state officers mentioned in the port-laws of 1650 is one with the title Sri Maharaja *Khan-khan*, a style due to the influence of Moors from India who carried on indefatigably a tradition of trade inherited from the Pallavas and from Bengal.

III.

ENGLISH PIONEERS.

On 31 December 1600 the East India Company got its charter from Queen Elizabeth, the London merchants being determined to thwart the monopolizing tactics of the Dutch. By August 1609, the Company was aware of Kedah's output of tin: "tin in blocks of some 50 lbs. or some very great quantity may yearly be sold, worth at the instant 40 m. per maund, but note that somewhiles there comes such store from Cadah with other places near unto Malacca that it is of a very base price namely 20 m. per maund." In

September 1610 Mr. Samuel Bradshaw, merchant, advised the Company that "at Queda and Perak is great store of tin and lead to be had who usually truck it for cloth of Suratt or other places." A letter of instructions written about 1614 from the East India Company to its principal agent observes that at " Junckealam, Laniaugh, Keda, Pera and Malacca....nothing is to bee had, howbtt in Junckalan and Pera is great store of Tinn held as good as English Tinne." Four years earlier the Company had built its only factory in Malaya, choosing Patani, a State across the Peninsula behind Kedah, as a base for trade with Siam and the further east. But as early as 5 October 1614 Adam Denton wrote from there, that he held that station " not worthy the keeping only upon sale of cloth as we have hitherto done ; for considering the great quantities brought unto their doors by the Portingals and Moors from Quedah, Trang and Jonkseylon and by the Dutch and us at sea, they at first not being accustomed thereto, the abundance of all sorts made here according to their desires every thread and cheap withal, not being able to vent so much cloth that the profit may defray the great charge."

My " History of Malaya " alludes to the *St. George* owned by Edward Winter.

The seizure of the *St. George* from the Jumlah " was singly done by Agent Henry Greenhill, who had provoakement enough from the Nabobs ministers in these parts. The matter was done by Greenhill's absolute command, without the least consultation or advice taken with the said Chamber. We have had in the Companies stocke of Agent Greenhills ever since his decease....more than 8,000 pagodas, which is worth twice as much as his juncke, though it were never returned." So wrote Chamber, the Company, agent at Madras, denying part in her seizure and begged the Company to suspend judgment till he got home. For evidently the seizure of the junk was a political error and Matthew Andrews, the President at Surat, was credited with a " pirate design " to send a ship to Kedah to capture the *St. George* and restore her to the Nawab, Mir Jumlah. The *St. George*, however, was destined never to return to Indian waters. On leaving Kedah she encountered before July 1661 a great storm off the Nicobars but managed with broken masts to reach the Dindings. Nearly a year later, on 12 May 1662 the Madras factors wrote to their colleagues in Bengal: " Mr. Winter's *George*, that should have bin long ere this delivered to the Nabobs factor in Metchlepatam hath bin at Quedda, and voyageing from thence to Malacca met with a firce storme about the Andaman Islands or Niccaber (wee know not well whether) wherewith shee was prest soe much that shee spent all her standing masts, but made a shift with some jury ones to get into Malacca ; where wee hear by Mr. Cooper, her pilott, shee is now laid up and utterly unfit to proceede further, unless there bee more bestowed on her, in fitting her out then her value. Yet you will perceive by the coppy of our generall consultation that wee have condescended and agreed for the preservation of the Nabobs amity, that now the junck cannot bee restored, hee may take his

choice either of the *Anne*, with all her ammunition and stores or of your new built shipp.... You did much to gratifie him when you told him the takeing of the junke was without the Companies order and none of their business ; for which the Companie and their servants may in time have cause to thancke you."

In April 1661 Joseph Hinmers and William Forster were sent in the *Vine* to Kedah and Johor and William Marshall in a junk to Kedah. In May the English ship *Wyntack* called at Kedah with cloth and other merchandise. In October the *Dagh-Register* noted that the visits of the English to Kedah were not to be hindered but the Dutch must trade with them warily. In 1662 the English were importing cloth, iron and steel into Kedah.

Under 30 October 1662 is the first mention of Mr. Lock, an English private trader at Kedah. The English at Acheh had asked the Queen of the Sumatran state for an order to the Perak chiefs to send Mr. Lock 60 *bahar* of tin due to him ; and the Queen, though refusing at first owing to her treaty with the Dutch and the representations of their Resident Gabriel Bruyl, was later moved to consent. In the following year Lock became involved in some transaction between a Moor Mondas Naen and the Dutch Company which finally accepted Lock's offer to President Riebeck at Malacca to defray part of the debt in Patani gold and in elephants to be shipped to Bengal at the risk of Mondas Naen. The Dutch had wanted all the debt to be paid in tin, but Lock could deliver to Sr. Lucasz in Perak only 15 *bahar* 99½ *bidor* of tin ; the captain of the Dutch galliot, the *Charlois*, reporting that the 130 *bahar* in Lock's store was declared by him not to be the property of the Moor. Oxenden(t), the English President at Surat, had instructed that all the tin in Lock's possession should be sold to the Dutch, before the claims of the English Company and its servants were considered ; and Lock declared that he would sell the Dutch every catty of tin he could ; of Patani gold he promised 2 *tahil* for every *bahar* of tin due, the *bahar* being priced at $40. In sending Oxenden(t)'s order for the satisfaction of Mondas Naen's debt, Riebeck informed Lock that Charles II had signed a treaty of peace with Holland : it was while awaiting Lock's answer to this letter at Kedah, that the crew of the *Exter* committed an atrocious murder of the whole crew of a Moor vessel, including women and children. The records of both Dutch and English Companies bear testimony to the frequent traffic of Moors and English to Kedah this year. On 29 April, 1663, the *Vine* sailed from India for Acheh and Kedah under the command of Joseph Blackman but capsized an hour and a half after starting, owing to too great press of sail : Blackman dashed his head against his ship's timbers to beat out his brains and his drowned body was found much injured about the head. In July John Widdrington, a contumacious servant of John Company, had left Masulipatam for Acheh *via* Kedah in a ship belonging to Mr. Lock. On 31 July the English frigate *Kedah* reached Masulipatam from the Malay state with five elephants, the property of English and Moors ; a sixth had died on the voyage.

On 7 March 1664 Lucasz, the Dutch superintendent in Perak, sailed to Kedah in connection with Lock's offer to get elephants for the Dutch Company but found that in February Lock and all his people had left for Coromandel taking 9 or 10 elephants and a 100 *bahar* of tin in a ship he had built locally. Lock had left his Tamil attorney, Baggesy, to collect all his own and Mondas Naen's outstanding debts and pay the Dutch Company. He wrote to Riebeck at Malacca, complaining of the delay of the Sulan of Kedah in fulfilling his promises, attaching a list of sums owed by the Sultan, amounting to 174 *bahar* 73½ *kati* of tin, of which Lock had collected only 26 *bahar* 178 *kati*: this tin Lock handed over but he claimed from the Dutch compensation for 27 *bahar* of his tin taken from the vessel of the Moors who were murdered by the crew of the *Exter*. Lock's Tamil attorney wrote to Malacca that towards the liquidation of Mondas Naen's debt he would put as many elephants as he could get on the *Rouparee*l, a yacht belonging to that Moor and then lying at Malacca, but the Dutch helmsman learnt from her Moor captain that the Sultan would not let the beasts be delivered, so that on May 2 the *Rouparee*l left Malacca for Masulipatam empty: the Dutch debated whether to send a yacht to collect the elephants or to drop the matter and insist only on the delivery of tin. On 23 September Oxenden(t), the English President at Surat, being reminded of his offer to send a sharp letter to Lock, declined, explaining that Lock was not a servant of the Company but a free trader with whose tin business he could not interfere. On the same date Lock returned to Kedah on his yacht the *Hope* with 146 bales of cloth and other merchandise. On 11 November, Lock's attorney reported that he had got no tin on Mondas Naens account and promised as far as he could to pay the Company himself. He would try to get elephants. But as the Dutch were blockading the country, it would be inadvisable for them to send a ship up the Kedah river for the beasts: the better course would be to sell them to Moors.

In February 1665 Lock sailed again for Coromandel with two yachts, one on his own account and one on the king's, taking 20 elephants, a trade the Dutch had stopped for two years. He had to call at Acheh for provender, and four of the elephants died on the voyage. From Acheh he wrote again to Riebeck, claiming compensation for loss of the tin taken from the Moor ship whose crew was murdered. On 22 October the Dutch decided that, if encountered, Lock should be treated as the formal enemy of their Company. On 4 November, having returned to Kedah, Lock wrote to the commander of the Dutch blockade that he was a friend of the Dutch and would do all he could to pay off the debt of Mondas Naen. Lock had got his two yachts to Kedah just before the Dutch blockade began. But the Dutch decided to keep quiet on account of the second Anglo-Dutch war, and to see if they could induce Lock to come out, when they would capture him. We hear no more of this English trader.

Thomas Bowrey says that there was a British agency in Kedah from 1669 until 1675 but that it was a complete failure.

On 23 May 1673 off Kedah the Dutch captured an English yacht *Bombas*.

On 8 July 1680 a " free " English ship had carried, from Kedah to Surat, tin copper and spelter ; " which must cause decline in the (English Company's) trade." Before the end of that year the number of European and Asiatic ships going to Masulipatam was on the increase : in six months fifteen foreign ships had entered the port, bringing copper, tin, spelter, benzoin and elephants from Tenasserim, Siam, Coringo, Kedah and Madraspatnam, while eight ships had left, carrying cloth, rice, lac, rosewater and dates to Siam, Manila, Tenasserim, Bengal and Acheh.

On 22 October 1681 there is an entry in the *Dagh-Register* that to the damage of their own Company the English drove a large private trade : in twelve months twenty chartered vessels, large and small, had sailed from Surat to Bantam, Siam, Kedah, Masquetta, Persia, China and Malacca. This trade caused the Dutch great loss, especially as the English were esteemed for their natural character and their large purchases.

On 30 January 1682 another entry laments that for lack of proper patrol ships at Kedah the Dutch could collect no duty from an English ship with a cargo of cloth from Surat, and on a Moor ship and a dhow from Acheh.

Yet all this sporadic English commerce led to nothing. In spite of being the first to contest Portuguese monopoly in the Malacca Straits, the English failed to maintain a footing in the Malay Peninsula. The Dutch were their bitter and successful rivals. Lacking the wealth of Amsterdam, unsupported by the Stuarts, injured by pivate English traders, the London Company had not the resources of its oppnoents. " The Dutch Company was the Dutch nation, the English was merely an ordinary private association of merchants." In the Moluccas, at Macassar, in Java, everywhere the English were frustrated by Holland. Throughout the seventeenth century, fascinated by the profits from the cloves, nutmegs and cinnamons of the Moluccas Europeans failed to grasp the even greater potentialities of the trade in calico, indigo, saltpetre, coffee and pepper.

IV

THE DUTCH MONOPOLISTS.

In 1602 the Netherlands, compelling the amalgamation of the several Dutch companies that since 1596 had started to trade in the Orient, gave a monopoly to the Dutch East India Company. In the same year Jacob van Heemskerk arrived and established friendly relations with Johor. In April 1606 off Malacca Admiral Matelief captured three prahus of the King of Kedah, loaded with sarongs and returned them with friendly overtures. In the autumn of the same year he visited Kedah and according to Bort " made friends with the king of that place." Valentijn gives an account of this episode. " About 12 November Matelief ordered the ship *Kleine Son* to take back the ambassador whom the

Prince of Keidah had sent to him to invoke his assistance against the Portuguese, while the Prince should attack them by land. Though Matelief knew that this same Prince had welcomed the Portuguese when they passed his country and that he only came because Matelief had beaten the Portuguese, the assistance was promised. Matelief first dispatched the *Amsterdam* with the supercargo Jasper Jansoon, arriving himself on the 19th before Keidah. The King having warned him on the 24th that there were two boats in the river filled with Portuguese and black soldiers Matelief dispatched thither one galley and one barge under the orders of Pieter van der Dussen who soon returned with only one Portuguese who had left Malacca thirteen days before and had been chased by Malay pirates. Finding that this little king was deadly afraid of the Portuguese and that his help would not be of any value,,Matelief left the place on the 27th." In the following decades the Dutch visited Kedah for tin but there as at Perak the Achinese must have been an obstacle to the trade, especially after their conquest of Kedah in 1619 and the removal of its ruler, Sulaiman Shah, to Acheh. Moreover in 1634 the Siamese had sufficient control over the State to press its Malays into the forces which the Lord of the White Elephant was assembling to attack Patani. Yet no power had enough control over Kedah to prevent the large trade with Moors who as their ancestors had done for centuries, voyaged there from the Coromandel coast in the monsoons to barter cloth for tin. And by 1641 the Sultan of Kedah was so free from care that he sent a Malacca man, Manuel la Motte, to the Governor at Malacca to ask for the loan of an organ ! This was an opportunity the Dutch were quick to seize. On 6 July 1641 Sr. Hermans (alias Hermansen) arrived at Kedah with a formal letter and presents for its ruler from the Governor-General at Batavia. If the Kedah custom of 1650 was then observed, the letter was placed on a brocaded cushion and borne to the court under an umbrella by an elephant, accompanied by twelve standard-bearers and drummers and flute-players, and on arrival at court it was greeted with a salute of five guns, as " unlike Rajas infidels thought salutes a high honour." When the King of Kedah complained that Moors and Bengalis brought him no profit, Hermans suggested that His Highness should refuse them entry or order them to get passes from the Dutch authorities at Malacca. This the Sultan promised to do as soon as he had gathered that the Governor-General did not wish to prevent his own royal ships from trading with Bengal. Moreover he promised to sell the Dutch half Kedah's annual output of tin, though for fear of Siam he would give no rights over a pearl-fishery said to exist off his coast. He engaged to sell Hermans three or four good elephants in three months' time. On his way Hermans called at Pulau Lada whose Orang Kaya told him that the island had a population of 200 and was under Kedah, to whose king it paid yearly 125 to 150 *bahar* of a pepper crop that was shipped to Bengal, Ligor and Patani. On 6 September Hermans returned to Kedah, when the king sold him 22 *bahar* of tin for 3,174 reals and, as elephants had not yet been procured from

Patani and Ligor, His Highness sold the Dutchman for 2,088 reals four he had bought from Klings :—of these four elephants, one died on the voyage to Batavia and one fell overboard and was drowned. " The king of Kedah treated Sr. Hermans in such a modest, unpretentious and friendly manner as was seldom found in Indian Moors." He sent the Governor-General return presents and a letter formally promising to sell half Kedah's annual output of tin to the Company for 31½ reals a *bahar* of 3 *pikul* and to admit no traders that could not show a pass from the Governor of Malacca. A Dutch accountant was stationed at Kedah, responsible to Malacca for directing and extending the tin trade, and Jan Hermans was appointed to superintend the business in Perak, Kedah, Bangri and Junk Ceylon. On 29 October 1641 the yacht *Franecker* sailed from Batavia with 77,182 pounds of tin, of which 7,722 pounds had been got by Hermans in Kedah.

In April 1642 the Sultan despatched a letter to the Dutch Governor at Malacca by the hands of a Portuguese Pero Dabreu. He declared that no Coromandel or Bengal ships were now allowed to trade in tin or elephants unless they produced passes from Vice-Governor Gardenijs and the Dutch authorities in Bengal. But it was common knowledge that the king traded with many Bengal, Coromandel and Javanese vessels and that Kedah was an entrepot for cloth that was taken overland and exhanged for pepper in Patani, Ligor and Pahang. So to prevent these inroads on Malacca commerce the Governor-General decided that, as in Portuguese days, cruisiers should be stationed to intercept vessels bound for Perak, Kedah and Junk Ceylon, a measure designed not only to increase the tin-trade and business at Malacca but to make Patani and Ligor profitable markets for cloth. Accordingly during the monsoons one or two Dutch yachts patrolled between Pulau Lada and the mainland to compel all traders to sell their cargoes for cash or goods at Malacca. It was hoped that as, under the Portuguese, so now Malacca would become a great mart for the sale of cloth at a high rate and the purchase of tin at a cheap rate, deriving in addition a respectable revenue from tolls. But on 19 April 1642 the yacht *Welsingin*, which has gone to Kedah for cattle, returned to Malacca with the news that the Moors were still doing a great trade there in cloth and elephants and that the Sultan had sent so much tin to Coromandel in his royal vessels that there was no chance of the Dutch getting half the annual supply. That spring an Achinese ship carried to Masulipatam from Kedah 5 elephants, 4 *bahar* of tin, 71½ *bahar* of pepper, 8 ivory tusks, 1 tortoiseshell, agilawood and sandal-wood. And a Moor's ship arrived there,also in June, with 12½ *bahar* of tin, 1½ *bahar* of pepper, 2 bahar of arecanuts and other sundries. In addition the Company suffered minor worries. An organ-player sent to the Kedah court at the king's request had " behaved like a beggar ". An upper-merchant Verpoorten was discovered to have traded with Kedah in porcelain without entering his transactions in the Company's books. And two of the Kedah elephants were costing the Company 2¾ reals a week for provender.

In June 1642 the Sultan of Kedah died and was succeeded by his son who on 11 July renewed his father's engagements with the Dutch.

" Agreement and contract made by Jan Hermansz., chief merchant and director of these tin districts, on behalf of the Directorate of the Dutch East India Company in the kingdom of Queda, on the authority of the honourable Heer Anthonio van Diemen Governor-General of the Orient together with the honourable Heer Joan van Twist, Governor and Director of the town and fort of Malacca, given in his honourable letter to His Majesty dated 18th June 1642 empowering us thereto, of the one part and His Highness, the king of Queda, Boule* Lada and several other lordships of the other part to be for ever and inviolable, this 11th July 1642 in Queda.

" Firstly, the king shall allow the just half of all tin found in Queda (or coming into Queda from abroad) to be consigned to the Dutch East India Company or the servants of the same and that at 7 taels 13 maces per bhaer, each tael reckoned as 4r$^{a.}$ and the mace as $\frac{1}{4}$r$^{a.}$, said taels and maces together making 31$\frac{1}{4}$r$^{a.}$ in inferior Queda coinage. The people, however, who bring the tin for sale to the Dutch are offered their choice of demanding cloth at a reasonable price or said Queda coinage without making other evasions as to Spanish r$^{a.}$ or any other claims.

" Further, the king shall not have it in his power to export any tin in his own yachts, praos or otherwise (much less in those of any other nation), before the chief merchant or other Company's servant appointed to this office has gone on board with an agent of the king and has weighed the quantity and taken it in full to the suburb Poupen. Said Company's ships or yachts and other vessels before they take any tin away from here are equally subject to this condition. The above named agents appointed to this office shall, as soon as the yachts, ships or praos have gone down stream and they have come up, go to the king or Orang Kaya Besaar at the first opportunity, each with his memorandum, having previously kept a running account of the export, and report the amount of the tin exported to the king or orang kaya, so that, if it is found that more has been exported or assigned to the king, or to the king's order or otherwise, than to the Dutch, the king shall be bound, within 5 or 6 days, to deliver the amount of the shortage in our warehouses or in the tin exported, for the price and on the condition stated above.

"The king shall have the right to give permission for ships from Bengal, Souratta and other places, if they produce passes from the chiefs of the Dutch Company's servants of those places, to trade in Queda, but, if their pass is held on condition that they first touch at Malacca and they have not yet been there but call here first, in that case the merchant of the Dutch Company, with an agent of the king commissioned by said king and the Governor General shall refuse them entrance to the river and shall direct them to

* = Pulau.

Malacca to ask for a pass from the governor there ; then further, on their return and the production of the same , shall grant them leave to trade and not otherwise. For which examination of passes credit shall be given to the merchant of said above named Company. Signed Jan Harmensz. In the margin : After comparison with the original, which the king has had written in Malay and confirmed with his usual mark, this is found to agree. Dated as above, signed Jan Harmansz."

In July 1642, also, Kedah's new ruler sailed for Porto Novo on the Coromandel coast with seven elephants and 200 *bahar* of tin: on 18 September his people were waiting at Poulecera to escort him home. In March 1642 the king was still refusing trade in tin and elephants to Coromandel ships that had not got Portuguese passes. In September the Procurador, Antonio Louijs Pingero, came from Kedah inveighing against the Sultan and Shahbandar for their foreign trade and for prohibiting the transport of supplies (*mantimento*). In the same month a Moors' ship of about 100 tons reached Kedah with cloth and other merchandise from Surat, with passes from the English, Dutch and Portuguese representatives at Daman. In November orders were issued at Paliacat, Masulipatam and Pipalij that no vessels might go direct to Perak or Kedah: they must have Dutch passes and call first at Malacca. Owing to bad accountancy there was this year (1642) a shortage of rice at Malacca and the upper-merchant Jan Hermansen was instructed to purchase all the rice he could get from Kedah and Trang, evidence that even then Kedah had an agricultural population.

In 1643 the *Dagh-Register* records how a ship belonging to the Nabob Samuchan went from Kedah to Ouglij with tin, pepper, ivory tusks and six elephants. A ship belonging to the Sultan of Kedah visited Porto Novo, Tenagepatam and Palicatta. On March 18 Ouboang In Sachon Cierij Joan Phalowan (?=Hulubalang Enche' Wan, Sri Johan Pahlawan), governor of Junk Ceylon contracted that he would not give leave to trade to any merchants from Kedah, Perak, Java, Coromandel or Bengal unless they first showed their permits to the Dutch representative at Junk Ceylon and had called at Malacca and paid their dues there.

In April 1644 49,004 *kati* or 942 ps. of Kedah tin were despatched for sale to Surat. In May the *Walraven* visited Kedah and contracted for the purchase of 1,000 *bahar* of pepper at 22 reals a *bahar*, and it was hoped this trade would increase. The Second President or Commander Willem Leijel of the ship *Christiaenhaven* stopped a Moor ship on her way from Kedah and, removing all the tin, gold and pepper,left the Moors nothing but five elephants. In October the fly-boat *Eendract* left Kedah for Bengal with eight elephants and other goods worth fl. 14,041.10.14.

In April 1648 the Oija Berquelang in the name of the king of Siam sent the Governor-General three elephants and a request to cooperate with the Siamese forces to subdue first Singgora and then Kedah. The fly-boat *Sandijay* was actually sent to Singgora to assist Siam with guns, ammunition and men.

In 1649 the capture by Arend Barentsen of two ships of the Great Mogul with cargoes worth one and a half million dollars led to an agreement with Surat that Moors from there would no longer sail to Acheh, Perak, Kedah, Ujong Salang and Malacca, and after the engagement had been ratified on the Koran fifteen tons of goods were *prematurely* returned to the Suratis.!

In 1652 the Sultan of Kedah (successor of Rijalu'd-din Muhammad Shah who was reigning at Naga in 1650) held prisoners a Dutch Commissioner Joan Truijtman and others, and according to Bort still in 1678 owed the Company f. 55,784.8.8. " on account of money extorted for their release." It was Truijtman who negotiated the treaty with Perak and Acheh, that led to the reopening of the Perak lodge and the massacre of its garrison in 1651 by the Perak Malays.

According to Valentijn the Dutch had a factory at Kedah from 1654 until 1657 for trade in tin, gold and elephants: first Pieter Beeytzen and then Arend Classon Dray were in charge.

In 1658 the Kedah people killed nine of the crew of the yacht *Hoorn*, and in May 1659 the Kedah river was being blockaded and all commerce stopped, pending satisfaction. In September 1660 the king of Kedah sent Siam the gold and silver flowers, apologizing for this tribute being overdue, as the Dutch had blockaded his port and he was busy protecting it for the Lord of the White Elephant. On 22 January 1661 the yacht *Cabo Jasques* and the sloop *Arend* sailed to Kedah to ascertain if the king would settle differences and make peace, but it was a fruitless errand. Undeterred by the Dutch blockade, Kedah's ruler was thinking of helping Perak to throw off the Achinese yoke: there was a trade in tin between the two countries. In September Kedah was harbouring Malays who had burnt the Dutch lodge at Junk Ceylon and killed its occupants. And the Sultan, no longer afraid of the Dutch, vouchsafed no reply to a demand by the King of Siam that he should send some of his subjects to Siam to be replaced by an equal number of Siamese. In November, 1661, Kedah even sent two vessels to Malacca to capture some of its Dutch or other inhabitants and bring them back alive, an enterprise that failed though the Malays seized two ships coming from Deli. In 1663 the Dutch were still blockading Kedah, though vessels evaded their patrol by running into creeks and transporting their cargoes overland on elephants and buffaloes. In April a Dutch patrol, the *Ganges*, arrived in Perak with cargo seized from two Moor ships bound for Porto Novo, which owed toll on elephants and tin exported from Kedah: the cargo seized consisted of 11¼ *tahil* of gold-dust, 173¼ rixdollars in specie, 563 Patani *mas* and 269 Johor *mas*. The Company allowed the export of elephants to Masulipatam and other Indian ports on payment of an export duty and at the shipper's risk: the Moor merchants not only had to bear the loss from beasts dying on the voyage but also (to their annoyance) to pay freight on those beasts. On imports to Kedah Moors had to pay a toll of 5% on the value of the goods, unless they were sold to the Dutch Company, when they were duty-free. Under May

1663 the *Dagh-Register* records that Kedah exported many betel-nuts to Ligor. In July the Pangeran of Mendura applied for passes to send two vessels to Kedah for Moorish goods, promising to take no tin. On 3 September, 1663, the yacht *Cabo Jasques*, the galliot *Hammenhiel* and the bark *Exter* left the Dindings to keep Moors out of Kedah and admit no rice (!) or salt, so as to bring the king to reason : fishermen and Englishmen were not to be molested. While there, the crew of the *Exter* massacred the entire crew of a Moor ship bound for Junk Ceylon. Twenty one of their victims, including 2 women and 2 infants, were weighted with stones and thrown into the water. One child leapt into the sea and swam aboard begging for her life, but she was seized by the legs and had her head dashed against the ship's side. Three women were first violated and then cast overboard with sacks of rice tied to their necks. In all 30 or 33 persons were killed, the cargo was looted and the vessel hidden. Hard bargainers, the Dutch were just. The chief " monsters " were Jan Gassim the Maltese Commander, Jacob Jacobs of Hoorn mate, Jan Dirkssen of Rotterdam and Hendrick Avelst of Drilst. The last three had their right hands chopped off ; all four were broken on a cross and finally all except Gassim were beheaded and exposed on wheels. Of the rest five were hanged and eight " had the sword put over their heads."

On 27 November 1663 the directors in Bengal wrote how on refusal of passes to the Nabab Chandaura and others for Maccassar and Kedah, the governor Mamet Isoph of Bellesor had written disdainfully to the merchant Voorburgh with threats that if the Company molested Moor ships at sea, he would have his revenge on its servants : the Dutch quarrel with Kedah was not his concern and would not hinder his ships from going there.

In March 1664 a yacht belonging to one Assenina Puty reached Kedah with 40 bales of cloth after a long voyage from Masulipatam. The Dutch blockade being then raised, she sent her boat with fifteen men to Malacca for the pass necesary for her voyage. On April 1 it was decided to continue the blockade of Kedah till the Sultan came to reason. In May a Moor ship belonging to Casselebe reached Porto Novo from Kedah after a bad voyage with a cargo of 12 elephants, 220 *bahar* of tin, 2 to 5 of pepper and 2 of *radix China*. In August it was resolved that no passes were to be issued to Moors for Acheh, Tenasserim and Kedah. The Kedah blockade continued but vessels from Java and Johor were allowed ingress and egress. In August the *Jasques* was engaged in the blockade and by October the *Ganges* also. The *Fortune* guarded the north and the *Malacca* was to waylay a Cambodian junk trading in tin and pepper. While the blockade continued, all ships that applied for passes were compelled to visit Malacca.

On 26 January 1665 the king sent two envoys to Malacca with a short letter expressing a desire to renew his old friendship with the Company, in answer to which His Excellency expressed a like desire, though doubtful of any lasting peace with so proud a ruler. It was best for the Company to have no lodge there,

seeing that anyhow a naval blockade was necessary. On 27 March 1665 the sloops *Polvis* and *Goede Hoop* sailed to Kedah to prevent a Moor ship from Porto Novo calling for elephants. In July the English trader, Mr. Lock, had gone from Kedah to Coromandel with two yachts, one on his own account, one on the Sultan's, taking 20 elephants, a trade the Dutch had contrived for two years to stop :—four of the elephants, however, died on the voyage. A Moor ship entered from Bengal with a pass from the director, van Heyninge. These breaches of monopoly were not likely to advance negotiations for peace. Again however on 14 July the Council resolved to keep Moors out of Kedah until the king should make peace : the admission of their ships from Bengal had done great harm. In September the galliot *Terboede* and the boat *Kemphaen* were despatched to Kedah to exact toll from a Moor vessel newly arrived and to keep out all other Moor vessels. In November, it was remarked that the king of Kedah was slow to make terms because ships from Bengal were admitted and the English helped in the elephant trade. The Javanese, too, were importing salt and exporting as much tin fom Kedah as in time of peace : the tin was sold at Malacca. A Cambodian junk had been at Kedah for a year and apparently would never go home, as its captain had gambled away all his possessions and was now in the service of the Sultan. It was decided to attack any vessel belonging to Kedah's ruler, if encountered at sea.

In May 1668, Raja Stia Pahlawan, Timsoura Byera and Meget Kudus visited Batavia as envoys from the Sultan of Kedah, proposing a treaty of peace such as existed in the time of the Sultan's grandfather and of his father, Paduka Marhum Allechir Rajma and delivering as presents a baby elephant 3½ cubits high, together with three cloths, one red with a border of gold-thread, another red entirely wrought with gold thread and the third green with a 'head' of red silk inwrought with gold. Not until 27 July did the Governor-General give the envoys his reply. In November 1668 Balthasar Bort noted that of the 'Saletters' or pirates who infested the Straits, those from Kedah were by no means the fewest in number.

In May 1670 the Company politely refused permission to the ruler of Japara (in Java) to import rice, salt and pepper to Barus, Acheh, Kedah and Junk Ceylon as the Dutch were at war with those places. In July orders were issued to the commanders of the ships and shops employed in the blockade of the Kedah river whereby they should regulate their actions :—

> " In view of the fact that the king of Queda and his nobles are still in default and have not paid the Honourable Company a notable sum of money, amounting according to the books of *f*55784.8.8, which it claims from them and that there are just reasons for resenting and avenging the massacre perpetrated in 1659 on nine Dutch seamen on the river Queda, having moreover good cause to maintain the contract made with them in 1642, whereby they are bound to deliver to the Honourable Company half of the tin found in their country

and brought thither from abroad at $31\frac{1}{4}$ re$^{s.}$ the bhaar, which contract has never been carried out by them, therefore we are compelled to continue the blockade there, in which you shall conform to the order given to you in the following.

" The chief object of this blockade is the prevention of most of the trade and traffic of foreigners in Queda by refusing them entrance and access to the river, but on the contrary keeping them away, especially the Portuguese and Moorish ships, so as to cut them (i.e. the King and nobles of Queda) off from a large part of the prosperity and revenue which they would enjoy from said traffic, and thereby to force them to come to the resolution to give satisfaction to the Honourable Company.

" When any Portuguese or Moorish ships arrive, even if the same should be provided with passes from our officials in Cormandel, Bengaale and Suratta (since they usually come from those places), you shall not allow them to enter the Queda river, but must keep them outside and not suffer them to land any goods or to receive any from the shore for the purpose of trade or war, even if they are willing to pay Malacca's dues to you there. Instead they must depart thence either to Aatchin or Tanassery. This, however, we should not like to see, but would rather they came hither, whereto you are to exhort them and to promise that, when they have been here and paid toll, they shall not be refused a pass to aforesaid place on condition of delivering to you a certain quantity of tin from there, for which payment shall be made to them at 40 re$^{s.}$ the bhaar.

" Since we have maintained and are maintaining only a blockade at Queda without attempting anything more by means of open warfare, therefore, in accordance with the latest treaty concluded between the sovereigns on both sides in Europe, we must not keep the English out of Queda, but must allow them to go out of and into the river undicturbed. They are, however, in conformity with said treaty subject to examination, which you shall propose to them with discretion and in fact carry out (so as to maintain the custom).

" It is not their practice to carry any contraband goods thither, but they do bring merchandise belonging to the Moors as freight, which ought to be subject to the Malacca toll, if we knew it for certain, but they will never own to it, so that we cannot find it out ; all the same you may learn of it by a side wind and ask them if they have any Moorish goods on board, and must note down their answer and the names of the ships and their captains together with the nature of their cargoes, whence they come and by whom they have been equipped, all of which information you must then write in detail to us at the first opportunity that offers.

" All native vessels which are not provided with our passes, you must also keep outside Queda, except those com-

ing from the North, viz. from Aetchin, Oedjangh Salang and Trang, which are still allowed to voyage to Queda (without being obliged to go to Malacca first) and have the right to take piece goods and other merchandise there, but never any tin. All vessels must therefore be closely but politely and not rashly examined and, if any tin is found in them, you shall remove the whole of it and give the owners a bill to enable them to demand payment for it here, which shall then be made. If, however, they are disposed themselves to come hither at once with their own vessel, you are to remove only half and to allow them to retain the other half, on the understanding that you give them a receipt for what you have taken and do not in the smallest degree wrong them in their persons or goods nor treat them rudely.

" You shall warn any vessels touching there from Pera to depart with their cargo, but any tin found in them you must remove, keeping a good record of the amount both of the pieces and of the weight together with the name of the owner to whom you shall also give an acknowledgment of receipt, so that he may ask payment here from us.

" The force blockading Pera is now enjoined to grant no passes to Queda and you must not provide the Queda people with passes to voyage to Pera, as being disadvantageous to the Honourable Company at this conjuncture.

" You must remove about a third of the tin in their cargo from vessels coming from Queda, even if they hold passes from us and wish to come hither and must give for it a bill on us to be discharged here at 40 re^{s} the bhaar of 375 lbs.

" If Moors or other people bring you tin of the country, you are also authorised to accept it, the purchase to be completed either here as above or yonder by yourself, if you have the money, but you must not pay more than 35 reals of eight in specie for the bhaer of the stated weight. You cannot get too much at this price.

" You shall allow the Queda fishermen to go about their business unhindered and free and to go in and out of the river daily, trying to accustom them to come to you for a pass, as happens before Pera, so as to make it possible to distinguish their vessels from those of the Saletters or pirates roving there and thereby to prevent their being attacked if encountered by our ships. In return for this liberty they must occasionally bring necessary provisions on board to you, so as the better to keep our men in health. You are to buy these from them, treating them civilly. You must make them understand this and, at the same time, make it clear that, if they neglect to do it, you, on your side, will not suffer their fishing, but will put obstacles in the way. However, you must not do this lightly, since it is rather hateful to do damage to poor harmless fisherfolk.

" On land also you shall undertake no hostilities and shall allow none of our people to go ashore, so that they may not be surprised and killed by the Malays. At sea and in the river the practice of hostility or enmity towards the Queda and other native vessels must be avoided in future as in the past and no offensive, but merely defensive, action must be taken against the same when meeting, boarding (*aandoen*) and examining vessels. You must abstain from the commission of the first hostile act, but must all the same be always so much on your guard that they do not harm you, even if they intended to do so. If you are first attacked by them, you may not only resist, but may overcome them, as is permitted under the laws of war.

" If the king of Queda or the nobles of the country attempt to send a ship to Cormandel, as has certainly happened in the past, you must effectively stop it even by force of arms, and see that you not only prevent it, but also employ and set means in action to get the same into your power, sending it then with crew, goods and everything hither, so as to derive from it payment of the notable sum of money which the Honourable Company claims with justice from the king (as heretofore indicated).

" If vessels wish to board you now as in the past with a white flag and to bring a message from the king or nobles, you must allow them to come and go unhindered and must treat the crew in a friendly way and receive them well; all the same you must not trust them too far and must see to it that you are carefully on your guard and in an attitude of defence against their rascally and treacherous wiles. You must make a note of their message and of whatever else you learn from them and, when opportunity serves, send us a report thereof. If they happen to make any proposals for the settlement of the Company's claim, you shall tell them that the Governor and Council of Malacca have now received order from their Honours the Supreme Government of India in Batavia to come to an agreement with the king concerning this matter and, if his Highness is disposed to send envoys with full powers for that purpose alone, give them to understand that we, on our side, will contribute everything that is just and right to the arrival at a treaty and agreement, so as to renew and re-establish the old friendship between Queda and us.

" Four sailors ran away from the yacht *Geldria* in 1669 when it was blockading Queda; they are said to be living in Queda by permission of the king. You must never cease trying to get them back and making enquiry as to their doings yonder. It is reported that three of them have already died, but we have no assurance of this.

" The blockading force must be kept yonder almost the whole year, so long as we get no satisfaction, wherefore, so

as to have no lack of drinking water and firewood, they must be looked for betimes in the Bonting and other islands, so that these necessaries may always be fetched thence. If, on such occasions, any durable ship's timber and other wood for building praos is found in the forests, see to getting a goodly provision of it to send to us one time or another or to bring with you yourself.

" For the protection of aforesaid drawers of water and hewers of wood some men must always be employed, otherwise they run the risk of being suddenly attacked and slain by the Malays, as has happened several times in former days.

" In conclusion I recommend you to take this our order well to heart and to fulfil it and put it in action with circumspection according to circumstances ; relying on which we wish you a good result in all your dispositions and God's blessing. We remain your friends (signed Balthasar Bort, H. Schenkenbergh, H. S. van der Oy, A. Lucase, Nicolaas Muller, Jan Joosten Bal, and Jacob M. Schagen, Secretary.

(In the margin) Malacca. 16th July 1670."

The masters of Portuguese and Moorish ships were told emphatically that if they wished to sail south of Malacca they must touch there and that the blockade rendered it useless for them to call at Perak or Kedah, but if either of those places was their only destination, they must have been to Malacca, paid their dues and received a licence and a pass according to ancient custom. Persons sailing from Perak to Kedah or Bengkalis had to deliver their tin to the Company at 30 reals a *bahar* or, if payment were in piecegoods, at 35 reals " so as to get more custom for the cloth, whereto all diligence must be applied." If Kedah ships returning from Perak empty attempted to load with tin between the Perak river and the Dindings, then even if they had passes, they were examined at the Dindings " in a perfectly amicable way ". Any tin found was seized and the owners were directed to the Perak blockading force for payment.

" If you suspect tin in the vessels plying between Queda and Oedjang Salang and, on examination of the ships, you find tin there, you must remove it all, no matter how little it may be, and pay the owners 35 reals of eight in specie for each *bhaer* of 375 lbs, or else give them an order on us for the receipt of 40 re^{s}. here, if they prefer to have this. You must do this only in the case of vessels unprovided with our passes. From those that have passes, you need only remove about a third of their cargo of tin, giving a receipt for it, so that they may not proceed with the remaining tin to any other place than Malacca, where they shall receive 40 reals a *bhaer* for the tin they carry and also for what has been removed, this you must give them courteously to understand.....

" If you find Javanese vessels there without our passes, as also Malay vessels under which are included those from Aat-

chin, Dillij, Queda, Pera and Johor, you shall not treat them roughly for the first voyage, but inform them that they need not be afraid that any harm will be done to them by you, that they may conclude the business they have begun without anxiety, and, on their departure, come fearlessly to you, when you shall remove half of the tin in their ships and give to the owners thereof a receipt, so that they may come here with the rest of the tin and be paid for it at 40 re^{s}. the *bhaer*. In the case of persons who may be disinclined to come hither, but wish to return to their own country, you shall allow them to do so, but shall remove the whole of the tin and not pay them more *per bhaer* than 30 r^{a}. with which they will have to be content."

Under 17 April 1676 the *Dagh-Register* records that the Dutch cruisers off Perak and Kedah were often attacked by pirates but beat them off. Everything these cruisers got from the Company's store had to be entered in full with the day of the month in each ship's account, which was closed yearly on the last day of July. In 1678 Bort noted that for the Kedah blockade, it was necessary to send there twice a year in the southern and northern monsoons one armed yacht of 70-80 tons and a sloop, with 65 men.

In spite of the interminable blockade, Balthasar Bort rightly reported that " the kings of Perak and Queda are of small account " and Europeans were the only foes Malacca had to fear. Still at Kedah, as at Acheh, Junk Ceylon and Tenasserim, the traffic of the Malays and Javanese was far too great. " They are chiefly attracted thither by the cheap cloth they can buy there, but since everything must be ordered according to and brought into harmony with present times, we must do, not what we wish we can, taking into consideration that, even if we were to prevent the Moors from sailing to said places and several others, the Honourable Company would all the same not attain its object, since the English, Portuguese, French and Danes principally the first named, would in time of peace frequent the said places so much the more, whereas, since the Moors are there, they mostly stay away, knowing that, as regards the trade in cloth in competition with them, they, like ourselves, have no chance. This has been clearly proved at Aatchin to the English, who stopped their trade in that place so long as we allowed the Moors to traffic there, but, as soon as we kept the Moors away, they came (according to their old usage) to fish in our troubled waters, insisting on admission yonder, although we maintained a blockade of the harbour, and failing in that, contrived by protests against loss and injury done to them, to make capital and get profit out of it in England..... The Moors, being prevented by us from trafficking, they load the ships of said European nation or take some members of that nation into service on their own ships and fly their flag, these men then proclaim themselves the owners of the ship and of the whole cargo, a trick they have made trial of several times before Queda. Against this device there is as yet nothing else to be done than to follow the latest order of their Honours in Batavia given

in their letter of 19th October of last year (1677) reading as follows :

> " But if Moorish ships from Suratta or elsewhere should come to the places where tin is to be had without certificates from the Honourable Company and flying the English flag and with some men of that nation in the crew, so that these may affirm that they are the owners of the said ships and of the cargoes, our blockading forces round about these places must bear themselves with all discretion, as our previous orders ordain, so that no trouble may be made thereby for our Government in Europe, as would happen, if they acted otherwise, which action we have to avoid here at least as carefully now as at any time."

The burghers and inhabitants of Malacca were not allowed to go to local ports, including Kedah, except with Company's piece goods bought and paid for, to be proved by a note from the head merchant and the cashier : this we learn not only from the *Dagh-Register* under August 1678 but also from Bort's Report and from the *Plakaatboek* under 9 August 1678.

In January 1680 the Oya Berquelang informed Governor-General Ryckloff van Goens that Siam could not grant the Dutch a monopoly of the tin at Ujong Salang and Banggri, as the inhabitants were turbulent, sold tin to whom they pleased and were incited by Kedah Malays to create trouble ; Siamese forces from Ligor had failed to quell them. In February the *Dagh-Register* records how Juriaaen Vryhoff, skipper of the yacht *de Hoop*, having imprudently gone ashore at Kedah on the invitation of English friends, was detected as a Dutchman and arrested by the king ; however, by April, the skipper had his ship restored and was released, being given 100 rixdollars as compensation for missing goods, and he left in the sloop *Winhout* for Malacca. In October the king of Kedah was harbouring two fugitive chiefs from Salang and their 200 followers and refused to restore them to the Ophra of Salang: the king of Siam had sent 40 war boats to Ujong Salang and 70 more were to follow. In December two Kedah envoys to Johor were " out of fear " quietly allowed by the Dutch to go and return through the Rupat channel. In the same month there were two Moor ships at Kedah : the Merchant Adriaen Weylant was going in the yacht *Muyderbergh* to collect the Company's " just dues " from them and others.

In April 1681 the king of Siam, while declaring that he did not object to Dutch being in Kedah, feared that they might suffer disaster as before. For May there are two entries in the *Dagh-Register*. All hope of friendship with Kedah was abandoned, still more of any agreement to exclude English and other traders, from whom Kedah made a great profit. Off the coast of Kedah the Dutch patrol had exacted toll of 2,000 rixdollars from two Moor ships, whereupon the Indian captain had threatened that he would take care Dutch ships had to pay the same toll in Coromandel waters. In October there were two English and eight Moor ships from Surat, Bengal and the Maldives beside a Portuguese vessel

from Pegu with sundry merchandise for sale. The cloth and tin trade in Perak was small on account of smuggling to Kedah and Acheh.

In January 1682 the king of Siam wrote that he had given the Dutch a monopoly of Ligor tin but had never promised them a footing at Salang and Bangri : if the Dutch took the tin from those fields, Siam would have insufficient for her own large needs. Besides they were not peaceful localities. When the Dutch were there before, there was a conflict between the people of Salang and traders from Kedah, and the Dutch had suffered harm. The people of Salang and Taku killed the Moors His Majesty sent to govern them, and the people of Taku used poisoned fire in their interminable guerilla warfare. In April 1682 two Kedah envoys called at Malacca on their way to Johor with letters from the Sultan and Shahbandar asking the Dutch to assist them on their voyage : it was decided to sound them on their return how best to negotiate with the king of Kedah. Among reliable Malays living at Batavia was a Che' Amaluddin of Kedah.

Further the *Dagh-Register* has not yet been published. But there in cumulative realistic detail we have a picture of Dutch relations with Kedah in the heyday of the Company's power. The early trading treaty was an illusion to both the contracting parties ; a diplomatic gesture on the part of Malays soon to awake to the vexation of Dutch doggedness, a serious but ineffectual effort for monopoly by the Dutch East India Company. In 1678 Bort thought it would be possible to conclude a peace and trading contract with the Sultan of Kedah, " if the Honourable Company were to write off the money it claims on good grounds from him." But it would have been idle generosity. Kedah was too far to the north, for the Dutch to blockade her rivers effectually. She was too close to India and too favoured by the monsoons for the Dutch to prevent her flourishing trade in tin and elpehants with the Muslim and European merchants of that country. Her suzerain was Siam but the hold of Siam over Kedah was too vague for the Dutch to benefit by any treaty with that suzerain, nor indeed in those days would any treaty with Siam have been more than a scrap of paper.

Valentijn records that in 1710 Henrik Pelgrom and in 1711 Pieter du Quesne were in charge of the Dutch factory at Kedah. In 1704 Robert Lesly a portegé of Thomas Bowrey, was ill and penitent at Kedah : having started as a model youth he had fallen into bad company and embezzled money, in order to pay his gambling debts at Malacca. Writing about that time Alexander Hamilton found the country "both small and poor." " The town " he continues, " stands on the Banks of a small navigable River, deep, but narrow, about 50 Miles from the Sea, and the King resides in it, but shews no Marks of Grandeur, beside arbitrary governing. Their religion is *Mahometan*, much mixt with *Paganism*. The people are deceitful covetous and cruel. It was many Years tributary to *Siam* but in their long *Pegu* War, it threw off the Yoke. Its produce is Pepper, Elephants and Eleph-

ants Teeth, Canes and *Damar*, a Gum that is used for making Pitch and Tar for the Use of Shipping. The King is poor, proud, and beggarly, and never fails of visiting stranger Merchants at their coming to his Port, and then, according to Custom, he must have a Present. When the Stranger returns the Visit, or has any Business with him, he must make him a Present, otherwise he thinks due Respect is not paid to him, and in Return of these Presents his Majesty will honour the Stranger with a Seat near his sacred Person, and will chew a little *Betel*, and put it out of his royal Mouth on a little gold Saucer, and sends it by his Page to the Stranger, who must take it with all the Signs of Humility and Satisfaction, and chew it after him, and it is very dangerous to refuse the royal Morsel." "Some ages" before Hamilton's visit, while Kedah had been at war with Ligor, the King's son conceived a guilty passion for the Queen, murdered his father and then married his own mother—a traveller's tale collected by Hamilton that shows strong Siamese influence!

V.

BUGIS ADVENTURERS.

Under 4 August 1681 the *Dagh-Register* records that a fugitive from Kedah claiming to be the younger brother of the Sultan applied to the merchant Wijlant for himself and his followers to be allowed to live at the Dindings. He proposed from under cover of Dutch protection to enlist about 150 Bugis from Ulang (?= Klang) and attacked his brother. A further entry under January 1682 gives his title as Dato' Padang Sri Jana and says that he went to the Dutch force blockading Perak and wanted permission to resort to Selangor to seek Bugis help against his brother, declaring that with two ships and three to four hundred Bugis he could set himself up as King of Kedah, where he had many adherents. Little of his story was believed and he was refused leave to use the Dindings as his base.

In 1717 there were Bugis forces at Langat, a district of the modern State of Selangor. Five years later Daing Parani, one of the five Bugis brothers famous at that day in the politics of the Malay Peninsula, is said to have married the daughter of a Bugis Yam-tuan of old Selangor, then a small river State. In 1722 the Bugis established themselves as the *de facto* rulers of the old Johor empire. Expelling from Riau Raja Kechil, a Minangkabau pretender to the Johor throne, they established there as ruler of Johor and Pahang a scion of the ancient house of the Malacca Bendaharas, son of a Sultan killed by Raja Kechil. Then they created the Office of Yamtuan Muda (or junior king) Riau to be held always by members of their own Bugis house, and for first holder they chose Daing Merewah one of the five brothers. From this vantage point they were to dominate the rich Malay States on the west of the Peninsula for nearly a century. A Bugis was elevated to the Sultanate of old Selangor and there was a Bugis ruler of Klang now a district of the modern State. The chief of the

ancient Malacca province Sungai Ujong was given the Bugis title of Dato' Klana Putra and, ranking to this day as a YamtuanMuda, must have come under Bugis influence and probably had Bugis blood. For some years there was a Bugis Yamtuan Muda of Linggi and the same Bugis title still survives at Tampin. Having consolidated their position in the southern half of the Peninsula they sailed in their war prows further north, to Kedah, Perak and Kelantan, insistent everywhere on intermarriage with the Malay royal families.

The Kedah campaigns of the five Bugis brothers, sons of Upu Tenribong Daing of Lakkai in the Celebes, are described in Malay chronicles written unfortunately at Riau and therefore lacking some of the local colour that might have occurred in chronciles compiled in Kedah. Some time after 1722, when the Bugis established themselves at Riau and before 1728 when one of the five brothers Daing Merewah died, the eldest son of a Sultan of Kedah* invited the five brothers to assist him in a quarrel with his younger brother for the throne. He promised the Bugis mercenaries 15 *bahara* of dollars for their help. The five brothers came, made sure of the loyalty of Bugis living in Kedah and straightaway installed their client as Sultan. The younger brother attacked but after a month's fighting was worsted and fled the country. The new ruler paid up three *bahara* of dollars and asked for time to pay the balance. Some accounts record that Upu Daing Parani, one of the five brothers, married a sister of the new Sultan of Kedah.

In A.H. 1136, namely at the end of 1723 or before the autumn of 1724 A. D., the brothers received intelligence that Raja Kechil, the pretender they had driven from Johor and Riau, had gone to Kedah to help the younger of the Kedah princes, oust the Bugis nominee from the throne of that country and further that Raja Kechil had been given the hand of another of the princes' sister. If Raja Kechil were victorious in Kedah, he would again attack the Bugis at Riau. Besides the brothers were bound in honour to support their nominee. With drums beating they sailed from Riau in sixty war-boats. By the time they reached Kedah their redoubtable foe, Raja Kechil, had got forts and stockades built on every promontory on the river. This measure, he hoped, would frustrate the Bugis tactics of massed charges and would allow his forces to meet the matchlocks and carbines of their enemies with cannons and swivelguns instead of in the open field. Raja Kechil declined to listen to any proposal for negotiations between the rival

*Note.—Who was this Kedah ruler? If the list of Sultans given at the end of the *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa* is correct, it must have been Ata'u'llah Muhammad Shah alias Marhum Bukit Pinang: but the Kedah princes must have had long reigns. The predecessor of Ata'u'llah Muhammad was Ziau'd-din Mukarram Shah, who from the evidence of a coin reigned as early as 1665 A.D.; from the evidence of another coin, his successor Muhammad Jiwa Zain-al-abidin, was reigning in 1741 A.D. But who was the ruler whose throne was disputed in 1681 A.D.? It looks as if one ruler at least has dropped out of the tree.

Kedah princes. For several months the Bugis war-boats fired on the stockades, till Kedah commerce was ruined and the only trade was in munitions. Siak chronicles relate that the campaign lasted two years. Finally, according to the Bugis chronicles, Daing Parani invited Raja Kechil to settle the strife by single combat. Daing Parani sailed his war-boat upstream and built a stockade opposite that of Raja Kechil. In a general engagement the Bugis drove the Minangkabaus back into their stockade. Among the Minangkabaus there seem to have been some Bugis mercenaries ; one Yahya from Macassar offered to fight the Bugis in the field but fled when the saw their chain armour ; however, he contrived to surprise the Bugis stockade and kill some of its inmates ; some of his followers, caught in the Bugis fort, were beheaded and had their heads exhibited on stakes. Daing Parani then stormed his enemy's stockade. Diving into the moat Raja Kechil escaped though wounded by a lance ; but he had left his head-kerchief behind and offered a title to any warrior who should retrieve it and save him from the shame of its loss. Yahya of Macassar again entered the stockade and snatched the head-kerchief from his master's bed. When the war-boat of Daing Parani passed opposite Raja Kechil's stockade, the Bugis leader was shot on the roof of the cabin. Enraged by the loss of this chief the Bugis landed and stormed the village, killing every Siak and Kedah man they met. Raja Kechil fled back to his kingdom of Siak in Sumatra.

This Kedah campaign had repercussions in Perak. Minang kabau warriors and Kedah Rajas usurped high Perak offices until apparently they were driven out by a Bugis invasion across the Selangor boundary. The Bugis leader, we know, was Klana Putra, namely Daing Merewah, the first Yamtuan Muda of Riau.

Again in 1742 Perak was invaded again by Daing Chelak, another of the five famous brothers. Possibly he attacked from Kedah ; more probably from Selangor.

Probably after the 1742 campaign the Bugis ruler of Selangor was installed Sultan Salahu'd-din by the Sultan of Perak and married his daughter to Raja 'Abdu'llah son of the ruler of Kedah :—this bridegroom must have been the son and successor of Muhammad Jiwa Zain-al-abidin Muazzam Shah or Marhum Kayangan who was reigning in 1742, first moved the capital to Alor Star and died about 1778.

In 1770 the famous Bugis warrior, Raja Haji (who was shot in 1784 at Teluk Ketapang while attacking the Dutch at Malacca) urged his brother Sultan Salahu'd-din of Selangor to demand from Kedah the payment of 12 *bahara* of dollars still owing for Bugis help rendered by their father and uncles in 1724. On the way they visited Perak, anchored above the fort of the now effete Dutch Company and demanded the hand of the niece of Sultan Mahmud of Perak for Sultan Salahu-'d-din. Leaving his brother behind for the nuptials Raja Haji sailed on to a successful Kedah campaign.

The Sultan refused his demand for payment, whereupon he captured the fort at Batangan and chased the Kedah forces to Alor Star which also fell. The Malays were poor undisciplined fighters. In 1772, the Honourable Edward Monckton, envoy of the East India Company to the Sultan of Kedah, wrote to India that " the King of Quedah and all the Malay kings have got guns enough to drive all the Europeans out of India if they know how to make use of them. There is nothing to be dreaded from giving them more, as they have already got so many, I therefore, would humbly beg to recommend that the Company supply the King with as many guns as he may want. He will always give 100 per cent, and if we do not supply him, the Danes will always find favour here." At Perlis Monckton saw at least 300 guns lying about in the mud. The Danes got two-thirds of the weight of the guns in tin : " formerly it was full weight."

Today it has been almost forgotten how in the first negotiation between Kedah and the British for a settlement, Siam, then too occupied in war with Burma and Cochin-China to be a menace to Kedah, is hardly mentioned : it was the Selangor Bugis whom the Sultan feared and hated. Writing from Kedah on 18 August 1771 to his firm, Jourdain Sullivan and De Souza of Madras, Francis Light began his letter—" Gentlemen, I have the pleasure to inform you that the King of Queda has granted to you the Qualla or seaport of Queda with a fort lying near it to be kept by you, *in consideration you will promise to assist him against the people of Salengore.* The force it will be necessary to maintain for this service and the expenses of the Factory, the King proposes should be equally divided between you and him and that the trade be carried on on your joint account. I must beg leave to acquaint you gentlemen that if you do not take advantage of this offer it will be given to the Dutch "—so ingrained was the fear of a rival Company now tottering on its last legs but still too near at Malacca and still with the aura of past glory. On 25 November, 1771, Light wrote again that the Sultan would grant not only the seaport but the whole coast from it to Penang : " the king is the only merchant and without his licence no one can buy. This power he has given entirely to me on your account. A stock of 15,000 Sp. dollars, part specie, part goods, will be necessary to be kept always in hand for this trade.....There are here now two Danish vessels from Tranquebar with 40 sepoys and guns, ammunition, and other military stores. They have brought a letter and present from their Governor to the King desiring a factory and offering to send 300 sepoys more and to assist him in recovering the ships and guns carried away by the Salengorians. The King told them he had given the fort, Qualla and whole coast to the English." In a private letter to Mr. Jourdain Light noted that the jealousy Indian traders felt towards their European rivals even conquered their fear of the Bugis : " I have kept my ground notwithstanding

the opposition of the Chooliars (=Chulia), Danes and Dutch. The former seem resolved if possible to exclude the English from any connexion in the places to which they trade and would suffer themselves to be plundered a second time by the Buggese rather than you should have a settlement here." To Mr. De Souza, another of his principals, Light wrote " if you will but send sepoys and a few Europeans with leave to assist the King against Salengore, I will engage not a slab of tin, a grain of pepper, Betel nut or Damar shall go out of my hands but for your service. If the gentlemen think it venturing too far to assist the King of Queda let it be done in the Nabob's name to recover the property of his subjects. Had I authority to act neither Danes Dutch French or any one else should drive me out. Nothing is to be feared from the Malays while this King lives. He is too clever to be fed with idle notions. He knows the English are capable of assisting him not only against Selengore but Siam." The Company now sent from Madras the Honourable Edward Monckton to suggest to the Sultan that " in consideration of the support the Company proposed to give " him, he should grant the Company all the Kedah port dues for the payment of military expenses grant ground for a fort and agency, and sign a contract to take from the Company every year at fixed prices certain quantities of articles enumerated and supply in return tin, wax, pepper and elephant's teeth or other staple articles for the China market. But when the Sultan discovered that the Company's " support " did not include aid against Selangor, he dismissed Monckton as a " stuttering boy " and declared that " the King of Siam had strictly forbidden him ever to let any Europeans settle in his Kingdom."

The decay of the Dutch Company's power enabled the Bugis to fight for a share of the revenue Kedah derived from duty on opium, goods from Bengal and Surat, pepper from Sumatra, and tin, wax, timber and rattan. It was only the British acquisition of Penang in 1786 and the imperialist policy of the Siamese at the beginning of the XIXth century that finally kept the Bugis south of the Bernam. Without the restraining influence of Governor Fullerton anxious for peace and trade, Siam and the Bugis would have continued their fight in Perak for the mastery of the northern Malay States. In Kedah and Perak the Siamese and the British, in Negri Sembilan the Minangkabaus, in Riau the Dutch thwarted Bugis ambitions. And the last phase in Riau and Selangor revealed Bugis chiefs lacking the vigorous *elan* of their ancestors and incompetent to keep pace with a world of altered commerce and altered warfare. Nevertheless the Bugis trader adapted himself to the new conditions. In a letter dated 25 January 1794 Francis Light reported that 1 to 2,000 came yearly to Penang, remaining two or three months on shore. They were " the best merchants among the Eastern Islands....The great value of their cargoes either in bullion or goods, make their arrival much wished for by all mercantile people."

VI.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE KEDAH WARS.

There was much miscellaneous correspondence between Penang and Kedah during these years. On 22 December 1817 the Governor of Penang thanked His Highness for a present of 20 head of cattle and sent him 6 muskets and a fowling-piece in return. In May 1818 the Governor was promising the Sultan to help capture his fugitive slaves and asking him to send from Kedah any rare Malay birds, plants and flowers. On 9 July 1818 the Governor was asking the Sultan to redeem from their purchaser, the Penghulu of Kroh, five Malays, British subjects, kidnapped with murder and violence by scoundrels who had sold their captives for $50 the lot and had then fled to Kedah. On 24 December the Sultan asked the Governor to recover two slaves, Abdullah and Jingga, who had escaped to Penang with stolen property :—on 11 January 1819 the woman Jingga was captured and returned. On 12 April 1819 the Governor requested the Sultan to help Malay agents of the Ceylon Government to seek recruits in his state for a Malay regiment :—on 1 October the Sultan gave Captain Blackenberg 40 convicts for Ceylon sepoys. On 18 April 1819 the Sultan reported that a Kedah man had rescued a Captain Douglas and his crew of one European, one Portuguese, one Malay and two Chulias, when they were shipwrecked off Pulau Chadik; but a Penghulu Muda Sah of Trang had seized the Captain's goods and mistress. In October 1819 the Sultan was seeking help against the pirates that molested traffic between Kedah and Penang. On 8 December (1819) he complained that cholera had dispersed a Kedah fleet assembled to deal with a Bugis Raja Husain from Selangor who assisted pirates with provisions and had collected a gang of them on the Perak river :—the Raja was an official pirate, sanctioned by the Sultan of Selangor who later was to expel her Kedah and Siamese conquerors from Perak. On 23 March 1820 the Sultan of Kedah asked for two reams of paper for copying the Koran. On 4 November he wrote that he did not know if the chiefs of Kurau and Larut harboured pirates but Perak being under him he would enquire and forbid its ruler to receive bad characters.

Sultan Ahmad Taju'd-din Halimshah made no preparations to resist the Siamese in 1821, being, afraid, according to Colonel Low, to call upon Malays who detested his rule. While he fled to his brother Tengku Sulaiman on the Prai River, a large brig and schooner containing the Sultan's treasure fell into the enemy's hands. Fourteen or fifteen Siamese war-boats were prevented by two British cruisers from entering the Prai river in pursuit of the Sultan. His second son was Tengku Ya'akob. In spite of British intercession the Bendahara was carried off and poisoned on the way to Singgora. The Chau Phya sacked the Langkawis and threatened Perak. It was on 28 November 1821 that the Penang Governor wrote to Bengal that the Penang forces would have to be augmented.

The Sultan's uncle, Tengku Anum, a tool in the hands of the Chau Phya, was recognised as Governor of Kedah in order to

back the demand for payment to him of the annuity payable for Pinang. In October 1822 Governor Phillips wrote to the Sultan of Deli that it was useless for him to discuss further with Siam the release of the ex-Sultan's sister. On 17 October Phillips advised the ex-Sultan that he would not be given ship's papers for return to Kedah, and if he or any of his followers left the island, they would forfeit British protection ; let him await the result of Burney's mission. On 13 December Phillips repeated the same advice, suggesting this time that the exile should await the ruling of the Governor-General.

In March and in April 1823 Phillips warned the ex-Sultan that he had not the means to fight Ligor or Siam.

In July, 1824 in spite of an abundant harvest little rice was imported into Penang, whereupon the government asked Kedah's governor, the son of the Chau Phya, for immediate assistance to import 100 *koyan* of rice at $15 a *koyan* and 50 *koyan* of padi at $7½ a *koyan*.

In April 1825 the Penang government informed the son of the Chau Phya that it was incredible he had stopped the export of Kedah rice to Penang and any such order must be withdrawn at once, especially as this interference with trade would increase the piracy of which Penang was perpetually complaining.

1826 found the ex-Sultan restive. He wanted to send his children and numerous dependents over to Kuala Muda where they could earn their own living by cutting timber, rattans and *atap*. However he consented to await the return of Captain Burney. But could he have a sailing-boat out of the Company's godowns for his amusement ? On 22 August he wanted to move to Kuala Prai to plant rice and earn money. Meanwhile Burney was fighting a losing battle for one whom the Siamese denounced as a conspirator with the Burmese. " How can you make rotten fish good again ? " the Phya of Singgora asked Burney. The Sultan had enemies in his own camp. Tengku Anum, who had taken Kedah's tribute to Bangkok once or twice, was now attached to the Chau Phya : he and thirty other Malay chiefs petitioned the Lord of the White Elephant not to restore the exile !

Not till June 1831 was the ex-Sultan induced to remove to Malacca. On 15 September 1826, provided the ex-Sultan would go there and engage not to attack or abet attacks on Kedah, the Chau Phya agreed to release his kinsmen, servants and slaves and the Company undertook to pay him $10,000 a year, buy his house at Penang, give him land at Malacca and provide a ship for his transport. Fullerton refused him permission to cross to Prai but would not compel his removal to Malacca, pending reference to Bengal.

In January 1828 the ex-Sultan wanted to remove to Jelutong or Teluk Ayer Tawar but permission was refused and a mild attack of small-pox kept His Highness quiet. Still he refused to go either to Malacca or Sumatra. In the latter half of the year there was alarm in Kedah lest the ex-Sultan and his sons should

invade the country. The Chau Phya urged that in accordance with the Burney treaty the ex-Sultan should be removed so that the Kedah agriculturists might settle down to their rice-planting.

In February 1829 Ahmad Taju'd-din was remonstrating with the Penang police magistrates. He, who could not get the money due to him and could not buy supplies, how could he be privy to disturbances in Kedah created by his sons and adherents? His nephew Tengku Din (alias Kudin) had gone to Kedah by Siamese invitation: Tengku Long Puteh was living at Kuala Muda. But Kedah's governor, the son of the Chau Phya, had a different tale. Tengku Kudin, two sons of Tengku Long Puteh and more than a dozen Malays from Penang and the Province, including two ex-peons of the East India Company, had attacked Pulau Mutia, Salang and Langkawi and even the fort of the Siamese governor of Kedah. Two of the Sultan's sons, 'Abdu'llah and Daik, along with his brother-in-law, Tengku Long Puteh, invaded Kedah and built a stockade from which they were routed in half a day. Tengku Din with the sons of Tengku Long Puteh then attacked the coast but mistaking the way and arriving almost at daylight they were easily beaten off. A letter was intercepted from Tengku Jamjam, the Sultan's sister, to her "pirate" husband Tengku Long Puteh: "You are very anxious and worried about the work in hand. What can I say? I trust in the Almighty that He will protect you and I pray for the safety of you all. Consider and conciliate all your followers. Haji 'Abdu'llah is an old man and he will be like a brother to you. Conceal nothing from him. I entreat you to seek advice of the right people, for you are not acquainted with the way and you must take care of your followers. Treat chiefs as chiefs and ryots as ryots. I only remind you of this; I do not presume to instruct. Do not be anxious about me here: I rely on the protection of the Almighty." In November Resident Councillor Ibbetson informed the son of the Chau Phya that the ex-Sultan had escaped to the mainland but the British would apprehend him if he gave trouble. On 19 December the ex-Sultan wrote to Sri Lela Pahlawan and Raja Putra Jaya a letter intercepted by the Siamese:—"Know that I have arranged with the Governor of Penang who has forbidden me to make war from there but has recommended me to move to Teluk Ayer Tawar and try to get all the Kedah people living at Prai, Penaga and Kuala Muda to join me. 5,000 will join me. The Governor wants it kept secret from the Siamese. The Company will assist me. I have received 100 muskets with powder and ball. I have ordered my son Zainal-abidin and Tengku Long Puteh my brother-in-law to await at Langkawi the return of all the Panglimas from the west. They will return this month, when I intend to attack Kedah with 5,000 men by way of Pulai. Do not let my people be suspicious. The Bengal Lord has ordered the Raja of Penang to send 4 vessels and 1,000 sepoys to my aid."

On 30 January 1830 the Siamese governor of Kedah forwarded the intercepted letter to Penang, reporting this plot of the Sultan and his adherents in Province Wellesley and enquiring why

sepoys had been stationed at Prai, Penaga and Bukit Mertajam. Colonel Low has described what happened. Some while before Tengku Sulaiman, a brother of the ex-Sultan, had borrowed $2,000 from the Penang Treasury under pretext of bribing the Siamese to restore his brother : in return the Siamese had given him charge of Kota just inside the Kedah border. He now incited the people of Prai to take up arms, whereupon with the inconsequence of Malay warfare they murdered a constable, three sepoys and some peons. The " pirate " Tengku Long Puteh joined him, and a half-caste Pakir Shah. The British Superintendent of Police arrested two sons of the ex-Sultan on their way to invade Kedah, also a nephew, also a Penang merchant and Frederic Reiter, a German forger.

On 15 April 1832 Sir John Claridge, the Recorder and Sultan's friend, was recalled, principally because he refused to go on circuit owing to a dispute between him and Fullerton over certain court expenses. In 1829 this irasible Recorder struck a solicitor Mr. Trebeck, off the roll of Law Agents for gross insult to the court, because in a pleading he stated that Isma'il, the Muslim Laksamana of Kedah, submitted himself to the *Civil* Jurisdiction of the Recorder's Court, Mr. Trebeck meaning no more than that the Laksamana was (*a*) a Kedah subject and (*b*) a Muslim who would not submit to the *Ecclesiastical* jurisdiction of the Recorder's Court. The other Justices namely Fullerton the governor and Ibbetson the Resident-Councillor refused to restore Trebeck to the roll, and though Claridge later offered to accept an apology, Trebeck refused to petition his court, and died a conveyancer and agent for the Raja of Kedah, (Cases in Her Majesty's Supreme Court of the S. S. 1808-84, ed. by J. W. N. Kyshe, Singapore 1885, Vol. I pp. 4-12.)

After six years of peace the Siamese had only 300 troops in Kedah.

In March 1838 the ex-Sultan discovered a paladin in his nephew, Tengku Muhammad Said, a man "of unsettled if not predatory habits" :—" at this time there is Tuanku Muhammad Said who had become enlightened by Allah's grace and has been directed by Allah to return to Kedah. Let all my chiefs and relatives who wish to partake of the mercy of Allah assemble at Merbok river." Along the nothern border of Province Wellesley Tengku Muhammad Taib waited with 800 men to cooperate with a fleet under Wan Mat 'Ali from Langkawi. On 13 June Wan Mat 'Ali drove back a Siamese fleet at Kuala Merbok. On 3 August Tengku Muhammad Said attacked the Kedah fort but was repulsed by its garrison of 70 Siamese and 300 Malays. Then Tengku Muhammad Taib descending the river captured the families of those 300 Malays and placing them in front of his force advanced on the fort : when two of their women had been killed and two wounded, the Malays in the fort became aware of the inhuman ruse and deserted their posts. The fort fell and its Siamese defenders were massacred. The Malays took Perlis and Trang. Their force was estimated at 10,000. They marched north sacking

villages and Buddhist temples. One column reached the Patani river, another under Tengku Muhammad Taib invested Singgora for three months but was driven back to Kedah by 500 Chinese and 2,000 Siamese. Meanwhile the indomitable Chau Phya had crossed the Kedah frontier with 1,500 men. A detachment of 300 men under one Sayid Husain was encountered, defeated, decimated. Alur Ganu was attacked and taken. The British blockaded the Kedah Coast and destroyed Malay boats and other property. Kedah fort was invested and fell. The forces of the Sultan's eldest son, Tengku 'Abdu'llah, dispersed ; 'Abdu'llah and his chiefs fleeing to Perlis and finally surrendering to Governor Bonham at Penang. The Singgora force returned to Kedah but dwindled to a few hundred on the way. The remnant of the Malay army amounting only to a thousand men was collected at Jiram by Tengku Muhammad Said. He attacked the Siamese line at Alur Ganu, securing each bank of the rival below the enemy's position, but the Chau Phya counterattacked, drove one body of the Malays into British territory and the other towards Perlis. When defending Tengku Muhammad Said from a charge of piracy, Logan contended that his rule restored half a year of hope and prosperity to Kedah and that he had retreated to Perak " still present to Malay memories, adorned with all the lustre which the deepest attachment could confer." If this is perhaps an exaggeration, so most certainly was the official view. According to it the Tengku was a criminal. In his flight he wasted the country and burnt the villages, telling the Malays to migrate to Penang ! Perlis he reduced to ashes ! Then posting himself on the north bank of the Muda river he intercepted Malay refugees and seized their arms and one fifth of their buffaloes, selling the beasts on the spot to Penang speculators ! Finally he fled to Perak with property of his own people worth $10,000 ! The " piracy " for which he was arrested and tried in Penang was maritime war for the recovery of his country ! Acquitted on the ground of no jurisdiction he was removed to Calcutta for a while : returning he died in obscurity at Penang. His enemy the Chau Phya was recalled to Bangkok and kept there under suspicion of pro-British sentiments until a few months later he also died.

The home authorities found the boundary treaty of 1868 irregular in form, being beyond the powers of the Governor and probably of the Sultan to contract, and they substituted for it the treaty of 6 May 1869 practically identical in content but contracted between Great Britain and Siam. They disapproved too of the stoppage of the Sultan's annuity. In 1867 Tengku Ziau'd-din, brother of the Sultan married the daughter of the Sultan of Selangor, was created viceroy of that State and induced a number of his fellow countrymen to go to Selangor as his followers. The Sultan of Kedah took no interest in the ensuing Selangor disturbances except that he hoped for the defeat of the party favoured by the Maharaja of Johor. This feeling against the Maharaja prompted his marriage with a daughter of Sultan 'Ali of the Singapore family.

APPENDIX.

The Kedah Royal Family.

According to a Kedah history, *al-Tarikh Salasilah*, compiled by Che' Hasan bin Che' Muhammad Arshad of Alor Star, the rulers of " Kala, the old name for Kedah ", (as he remarks), were princes from " Gumrun in Persia ", and the following is the royal tree.

Maharaja Derba Raja

Maharaja 'diraja Putra

Maharaja Maha Dewa — Maha Sura

Maharaja Kerma 'diraja

Maharaja Kerma

Maharaja Diwa

Maharaja Derma Raja

Maharaja Maha Jewa — Maha Kerna

Maharaja Derba Raja (changed name of country to Kedah and his title to Sultan Muzaffar Shah, d. 1179 A.D. (13.2.575)).

S. Mu'azzam Shah, d. 1201 (8.8.598) — T. Sulaiman — T. Muhammad

S. Muhammad Shah, d. 1236 (13.5.634) — T. 'Putri — T. Mahiran

S. (?) Maazul Shah, d. 1280 (18.4.679) — T. Nur 'Aishah

S. Mahmud Shah, d. 1320 (15.4.721). m. T. 'Aishah — T. Ahmad

S. Ibrahim Shah, d. 1373 (11.7.775) m. T. Mala — T. (?) Azlin

S. Sulaiman Shah, d. ca. 1422 (15.8.826) — T. 'Abdu'r-Rahman

S. Ata'illah Muhammad Shah, d. 1472 (13.8.877) — T. Mansur

In the case of a few names my romanized copy of the MS. is corrupt. But the list, which from the beginning of the seventeenth century is certainly accurate, gives a remarkable list of rulers, and if correct puts the conversion of Kedah to Islam a hundred years earlier than that of Pasai and some two hundred years earlier than the Islamic inscription of Trengganu now in Raffles Museum. Considering the geographical position of Kedah and the early visits of Muslims to the State there seems no reason why it should not be correct. The names of collateral members of the royal house are given as far back as the thirteenth century, and the exact dates for the deaths of rulers is most remarkable but not impossible in a State which must have had literate Muslims at its courts from very early days. Even for pre-Muslim times the list has points of similarity with that in the "Kedah Annals", a work full of Siamese influence and folk-lore. The above list gives nine-pre-Muslim rulers, the *Annals* give seven, namely Marong Mahawangsa, Marong Mahapodisat, Sri Mahawangsa, Sri Indrawangsa, Maha Perita Baria, Phra Ong Maha Podisat and Phra Ong Mahawangsa or Muzaffar Shah. The *Annals*' tree then runs:

Muzaffar Shah

Mu'azzam Shah (reigned at Kota Palas)	R. Muhammad Shah	Sulaiman Shah (reigned at Langkapuri)

Mu'azzam Shah (reigned at Kota Palas)

Muhammad Shah

(? Mansur) Shah

Mahmud Shah

Sulaiman Shah

Rijalu'd-din Shah, Marhum Naga.

Muhiyyu'd-din Shah, Marhum Sena.

Zia'u'd-din Mukarram Shah, Marhum Hilir *or* M. di-Balai.

Ata'i'llah Muhammad Shah, Marhum Bukit Pinang.

Muhammad Jiwa Zainal-'Abidin Mu'azzam Shah, Marhum Keyangan. Moved to Alor Star.

'Abdu'llah al-Mukarram Shah, Marhum Muda, Bukit Pinang.

Ahmad Taju'd-din Halim Shah, Marhum Melaka.

Zainal-Rashid.

And so on, omitting six rulers ascribed in my list to the period 1302-1620. The reigns of these six early rulers seem to be incredibly long. And it is to be hoped that further research in Kedah may throw more light on the history of its royal house.

VII.

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ADAT KUALA PILAH

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This paper was written with the idea of shewing what is the Adat in Kuala Pilah at the present time. It is inevitable that some of it should be a repetition of information in other works. Chapter II is all contained in Winstedt's and Nathan's Johol; the work and duties of the Royal Retainers are detailed in Wilkinson's Sri Menanti; and most of the proverbial sayings are to be found either in Caldecott's "Songs and Sayings of Jelebu" or Parr and Mackray "Rembau". In spite of these repetitions we trust that readers may find the form of presentation of interest, and something new in the modern development of the adat as affecting the life of the Malays of the Kuala Pilah District.

CHAPTER I.

Pendahuluan.

Sa-bermula maka ada-lah orang-orang Melayu yang dudok di-dalam Jajahan Kuala Pilah ter-bahagi dua, satu pehak dari pada mereka itu mengikut adat Perpateh dan satu pehak mengikut adat Temenggong ia-itu bangsa raja dan dari pada hamba-hamba ra'ayat yang kadim kapada raja maka sakalian hamba-hamba ra'ayat yang lain dari pada itu ia-lah mereka yang memakai adat Perpateh. Maka sa-orang dagang masok juga di-dalam lengkongan adat jika sa-kira-nya mereka itu kahwin di-dalam sasuatu suku yang dua belas.

Bahwa dengan sa-sunggoh-nya orang Melayu di-sini datang dari Menangkabau, dan samenjak nenek moyang-nya hingga sekarang buleh di-kira beratus tahun juga lama-nya, maseh juga mereka mengikut adat negri asal-nya dahulu. Maka mereka itu terkandong di-dalam enam Luak saperti yang tersebut di-bawah ini:—

Luak Johol;
Luak Muar;
Luak Jempol;

Luak Terachi ;
Luak Gunong Pasir ;
Luak Inas.

Maka tiap-tiap luak itu di-bawah perentah sa-orang Penghulu, dan mengandongi beberapa suku. Maka tiap-tiap suku itu di-ketuai oleh sa-orang Lembaga, dan di-bawah-nya ada pula pegawai-pegawai dengan gelaran ibu bapa dan orang besar dan mereka itu memerentah akan anak buah-nya.

Maka Luak Johol itu berbeza dari pada lain-lain luak, kerana Penghulu-nya sa-orang dari pada Undang yang Empat yang mentabalkan Yang di-Pertuan Besar, Negri Sembilan, dan juga ahli Majlis Mashuarat Ke-Adilan dan Undang, Negri Sembilan. Pada zaman dahulu berkuasa-lah ia di-atas lain-lain luak, akan tetapi pada masa ini perentahan-nya masok ka-Inas dan Gemencheh di-dalam jajahan Tampin sahaja.

Maka Penghulu luak Ulu Muar, Jempol, Terachi dan Gunong Pasir di-gelarkan Penghulu Tanah Mengandong, dan pekerjaan-nya lain dari pada memerentah anak buah-nya, berkenaan juga di-atas pekerjaan mendirikan Adat Istiadat di-Istana Besar, Sri Menanti. Maka segala luak itu di-bawah perentah Ke-Adilan, iaitu Yang di-Pertuan Besar, Negri Sembilan, dan hal-hal yang bersangkutan dengan adat di-sembah-kan oleh Penghulu Luak itu ka-bawah duli Yang Maha-Mulia dan sedia menjunjong titah perentah dari pada-nya. Maka Yang Maha Mulia Yang di-Pertuan Besar, Negri Sembilan itu berkuasa menjadikan pegawai-pegawai-nya sendiri dari pada suku-suku di-dalam luak Penghulu itu, iaitu di-gelarkan pegawai 99, dan pegawai-pegawai itu memegang jawatan Adat Istiadat di-Istana Besar, Sri Menanti.

Shahadan lagi adat yang tersebut di-bawah ini telah di-pungut dan di-persetujukan di-dalam Mashuarat-Mashuarat Penghulu dan Lembaga di-dalam jajahan ini, iaitu adat yang maseh di-pakai pada masa ini. Maka tiada-lah apa-apa tambahan atau ubahan sa-bagaimana di-persetujukan oleh Penghulu-Penghulu dan Lembaga-Lembaga itu, iaitu di-atas peraturan, bahasa, dan pepatah adat-nya. Dan lagi di-mana di-dapati perbezaan di-atas peraturan dan perbilangan adat di-antara Lembaga-Lembaga, maka perbezaan itu di-terangkan di-bawah tiap-tiap fasal yang di-sebutkan di-bawah ini.

Maka peraturan ini harus berubah pula mengikut masa dan kesukaan orang yang memakai-nya, sa-bagaimana ubahan yang telah jadi dari pada zaman dahulu hingga sekarang ini. Sunggoh pun adat itu tetap saperti pepatah,

Tidak kuning oleh kunyit,
Tidak lengkang oleh panas,
Tidak lapok oleh hujan.

Ada kala-nya ada juga ubahan-nya saperti pepatah,

Adat di-atas tumboh-nya,
Muafakat di-atas buat-nya.

Note (1) Maka Penghulu Luak Ulu Muar, Jempol, Terachi, dan Gungong Pasir itu memakai gelaran Undang Tanah Mengandong, iaitu pegawai kapada duli Yang Maha Mulia Yang di-Pertuan Besar, Negri Sembilan, dan tiada buleh memakai gelaran Undang bagi Luak-nya masing-masing, tetapi ada juga masa-nya di-pakai-nya gelaran itu iaitu dengan kehendak-nya sendiri sahaja.

Note (2) Maka Undang Johol tiada bersetuju di-atas Luak Ulu Muar, Jempol, Terachi dan Gunong Pasir itu telah keluar dari bawah perentah-nya. Mengikut cherita-nya pada zaman dahulu di-hantar oleh Undang Johol Empat orang Lembaga ka-Muar, dua orang ka-Jempol, dan hingga pada masa ini Lembaga itu atau keturunan-nya ada lagi.

Maka gelaran Lembaga-Lembaga itu saperti yang tersebut di-bawah ini :—

Luak Ulu Muar : Dato' Paduka Besar,
Dato' Seri Maharaja,
Dato' Senara Muda,
Dato' Orang Kaya Bongsu,

Luak Jempol : Dato' Lela Raja,
Dato' Seri Amar Mentri.

Maka pekerjaan-nya saperti pepatah :—
Berayah ka-Johol,
Tiang Balai kapada Dato' Muar,
Tiang Kerajaan kapada Ke-Adilan.

Maka mengikut saperti yang tersebut sunggoh-pun mereka itu bertali ka-Johol, akan tetapi pada masa ini Undang Johol itu tidak pernah menchampori di-atas apa-apa hal yang berlaku di-dalam Luak-Luak itu, dan kuasa-nya telah berpindah kapada Ke-Adilan.

CHAPTER II.

SUKU-SUKU di-dalam Luak PENGHULU.

Johol.—Maka gelaran Penghulu Johol itu Dato' Johan Pahlawan Lela Perkasa Setiawan dan giliran-nya di-dalam Suku Biduanda. Maka pegawai-pegawai di-bawah perentah-nya saperti di-bawah ini :—

Dato' Baginda Tan Mas	Bakal Penghulu Johol.
Dato' Jenang	Kapala Waris.
Dato' Penglima Hitam	Juak : Suku Biduanda Raja Balang
Dato' Penglima Puteh	Juak : Suku Seri Melenggang.
Dato' Raja Balang	Suku Biduanda.
Dato' Raja Senara	Suku Mungkal.
Dato' Andika	Suku Seri Melenggang.
Dato' Baginda Raja	Suku Tiga Batu.
Dato' Paduka Besar	Suku Seri Lemak Menangkabau.
Dato' Sinda Maharaja	Suku Paya Kumboh.

Dato' Gempar	Suku Biduanda.
Dato' Seri Maharaja	Suku Paya Kumboh.
Dato' Mentri	Suku Biduanda.

Ulu Muar.—Maka gelaran Penghulu Muar itu Dato' Setia Maharaja Lela Pahlawan dan giliran-nya di-dalam Suku Biduanda. Maka pegawai-pegawai-nya saperti di-bawah ini :—

Dato' Baginda Maharaja		Suku Seri Lemak Pahang.
Dato' Shahbandar		Suku Biduanda (Waris).
Dato' Perdana		Suku Biduanda (Bakal Penghulu Muar).
Dato' Perba		Suku Biduanda ,,
Dato' Paduka Besar	Lembaga yang Empat	Suku Tanah Datar.
Dato' Seri Maharaja		Suku Mungkal.
Dato' Senara Muda		Suku Seri Lemak Menangkabau.
Dato' Orang Kaya Bongsu		Suku Seri Melenggang.
Dato' Peda Maharaja	Lembaga yang delapan	Suku Tiga Batu.
Dato' Senara Kaya		Suku Paya Kumboh.
Dato' Senara Angsa		Suku Batu Belang.
Orang Kaya Kechil		Suku Anak Acheh.
Dato' Maharaja		Suku Batu Hampar.
Dato' Maharaja Lela		Suku Tiga Nenek.
Dato' Baginda Raja		Suku Biduanda Sungei Ujong.
Dato' Bangsa Balang		Suku Seri Lemak Pahang.
Dato' Perdana.	Lain² Lembaga	Suku Tanah Datar.
Orang Kaya Muda		Suku Seri Lemak Menangkabau.
Penghulu Dagang		Suku Biduanda Jawa.
Dato' Seri Maharaja		Suku Mungkal.

Jempol.—Maka gelaran Penghulu Jempol itu Dato' Lela Putera Setiawan dan giliran-nya di-dalam Suku Biduanda. Maka pegawai-pegawai-nya saperti di-bawah ini :

Dato' Shahbandar	Suku Biduanda	Waris Prempuan.
Dato' Paduka Tuan	,,	Kapala Waris.
Dato' Lela Raja.	Lembaga Suku.	Tiga Batu.
Dato' Seri Amar Mentri	,,	Tanah Datar.
Dato' Setia Raja	,,	Tiga Batu.
Dato' Maharaja Setia	Lembaga	Suku Tiga Batu.
Dato' Setia Penghulu	,,	Suku Tiga Nenek.
Dato' Setia Pahlawan	,,	Suku Seri Lemak (Pahang).
Dato' Ombi	,,	Suku Biduanda Waris.
Dato' Jingkaya	,,	Suku Seri Melenggang.
Dato' Komo	,,	Suku Mungkal.
Dato' Besar	,,	Suku Batu Hampar.
Dato' Sura	,,	Suku Paya Kumboh.
Dato' Seri Pahlawan	,,	Suku Anak Acheh.

Terachi.—Maka gelaran Penghulu Terachi itu Dato' Injah Pahlawan dan giliran-nya di-dalam Suku Seri Lemak Pahang. Maka pegawai-pegawai-nya saperti di-bawah ini :—

Dato' Andatar		Bakal Penghulu Terachi.
		Suku Seri Lemak (Pahang).
Dato' Seri Amar Raja		Kapala Waris.
Dato' Amar Penghulu		Suku Seri Lemak (Pahang).
		Kepala Waris.
Dato' Menteri Maharaja	Lembaga	Suku Tiga Nenek.
Dato' Raja di-Muda	,,	Suku Biduanda.
Dato' Amar Pahlawan	,,	Suku Anak Acheh.
Dato' Raja Sekara	,,	Suku Seri Lemak (Pahang).
Dato' Raja Senara	,,	Suku Batu Belang.
Dato' Paduka Menteri	,,	Suku Batu Hampar.

Gunong Pasir.—Maka gelaran Penghulu Gunong Pasir itu Dato' Orang Kaya Setiawan dan giliran-nya di-dalam Suku Tanah Datar. Maka pegawai-pegawai-nya saperti di-bawah ini :—

Dato' Menteri Maharaja	Suku Tanah Datar (Kepala Waris.)
Dato' Paduka Seri Maharaja	Suku Tiga Batu.
Dato' Setia Lela	Suku Seri Lemak Menangkabau.
Dato' Setia Raja	Suku Paya Kumboh.
Dato' Andika	Suku Anak Acheh.
Dato' Lela Raja	Suku Tiga Batu.
Dato Bangsa Balang.	Suku Tiga Nenek.

Inas.—Maka gelaran Penghulu Inas itu Johan Pahlawan Lela Perkasa Setiawan dan giliran-nya di-dalam Suku Biduanda. Maka pegawai-pegawai-nya saperti di-bawah ini :—

Dato' Bentara Jantan		Suku Biduanda.
Dato' Bentara Betina		Kepala Waris.
Dato' Penglima Hitam		Juak Suku Biduanda.
Dato' Penglima Puteh		,, ,, Seri Melenggang.
Dato' Andika	Lembaga	Suku Seri Melenggang.
Dato' Bangsa Balang		Suku Tiga Nenek.
Dato' Baginda Raja		Suku Biduanda Buah Peta.
Dato' Setia Raja		Suku Kuala Sungei Ujong.
Dato' Menteri		Suku Kuala Punggor.
Dato' Baginda Maharaja		Suku Seri Lemak Menangkabau.

Maka banyak-nya orang Melayu yang memakai adat perpateh dan luas tanah pesaka di-dalam jajahan Kuala Pilah ada-lah saperti di-bawah ini. Keterangan ini di-dapati serba sedikit pari pada daftar negri banchi tahun 1931 dan juga dari pada buku-buku di-dalam pejabat tanah Kuala Pilah.

	Banyak Orang.	Luas Tanah-nya.	Banyak Grant Tanah.
Luak Johol	3,000	3,000	1,500
Luak Ulu Muar	16,000	13,000	7,000
Luak Jempol..	6,000	5,000	2,500
Luak Terachi	2,000	2,000	1,000
Luak Gunong Pasir ..	2,000	1,000	500
Luak Inas	1,000	1,000	500
	30,000	25,000	13,000

CHAPTER III.

Pekerjaan Penghulu Luak.

Bahwa di-dalam tiap-tiap Luak itu di-pileh sa-orang Penghulu dari pada Waris Negri, iaitu dari pada suku yang memerentah di-dalam luak itu. Di-dalam luak Johol, Inas, Muar dan Jempol suku-nya Biduanda ; Terachi, suku Seri Lemak Pahang ; dan Gunong Pasir, suku Tanah Datar.

Maka apa bila hendak melantek Penghulu hendak-lah bulat segala Lembaga saperti pepatah :—

Bulat Lengkongan menjadikan Lembaga,
Bulat Lembaga menjadikan Undang,
Bulat Undang menjadikan Ke-Adilan.

Apa bila telah bulat semua-nya baharu-lah di-lantek dengan mendirikan istiadat di-rumah ibu-nya atau saudara perempuan nya. Maka tempat Penghulu itu di-lantek di-namakan telaga Penghulu. Maka pada masa itu di-adakan adat istiadat Sembah Menyembah oleh segala Lembaga, Waris, Ibu Bapa, dan Orang Besar suku, serta memasang Lamat delapan puchok, iaitu alamat kebesaran Penghulu Luak.

Maka sa-telah selesai istiadat itu di-dirikan pula istiadat di-rumah isteri-nya, iaitu menentukan Balai Penghulu dan melantek isteri-nya dengan gelaran "Inche". Maka rumah isteri-nya itu di-namakan Balai Penghulu.

Maka alamat kebesaran Penghulu itu delapan puchok iaitu di-pasang pada hari ia jadi, Hari, Mulai Puasa, Hari Raya Puasa, Hari Raya Haji, dan pada apa-apa masa yang di-dirikan istiadat-nya.

Bahwa Penghulu itu kunchi di-dalam luak nya, dan berkuasa-lah ia menjalankan hukum adat di-atas Lembaga-Lembaga di-dalam Luak-nya. Maka hendak-lah Penghulu itu menyiasat di-atas segala hal pengaduan segala Lembaga-Lembaga-nya dan menyampaikan apa-apa hal yang patut kapada Ke-Adilan. Pada zaman dahulu Penghulu itu luas kuasa-nya saperti pepatah :

Buleh menghitam dan memutehkan,
Buleh memanjang dan memendekan,
Buleh mengesah dan membatalkan.

akan tetapi semenjak di-adakan Ke-Adilan kuasa-nya telah berhad saperti pepatah :

Kata berchari kapada Lembaga,
Sah batal kapada Undang,
Hidup mati kapada Ke-Adilan.

Maka sharat kuasa Penghulu itu di-atas pekerjaan-nya saperti pepatah :

Tali pengikat kapada Lembaga,
Keris penyalang kapada Undang,
Pedang pemanchong kapada Ke-Adilan.

Maka Penghulu itu manjalankan perentah-nya melalui Lembaga sahaja saperti pepatah :

Alam berjejak kapada Luak,
Undang berjejak kapada Lengkongan.

Shahadan lagi jika Penghulu hendak kahwin di-panggil-nya Lembaga perempuan yang di-kehendaki-nya. Jika tiada apa-apa alangan di-bayar adat $14 (sa-bahara) kapada Lembaga itu, dan wang itu di-namakan tanda pesaka Penghulu supaya di-bela oleh Lembaga perempuan itu akan pesaka-nya. Dan wang itu tiada terpulang kapada perempuan, ha-nya terpulang kapada Lembaga dan ibu-bapa perempuan itu iaitu bagi makanan-nya. Maka pada masa kahwin-nya hendak-lah di-dirikan adat istiadat Penghulu.

Maka adat Penghulu pada masa bercherai hidop atau mati dengan isteri-nya mengikut pepatah :—

Hidop tiada bersuarang,
Mati tiada bersudah,
Banyak di-tarek sedikit tinggal,
Sedikit di-tarek banyak tinggal.

Maka pepatah itu mengandongi harta charian sahaja. Jika cherai mati, harta charian terpulang kapada isteri-nya semua-nya dan jika cherai hidop terpulang-lah kapada-nya sendiri menentukan bahagian harta itu. Maka Penghulu itu terpaksa memelihara akan adat-nya, dan jika dia dzalim di-atas bahagian harta itu buleh Lembaga-Lembaga-nya menunjokan kesalahan-nya, dan jika dia engkar di- hukum dia mengikut pepatah :

Orang beradat tiada tahu akan adat-nya gugor pesaka-nya.

Maka di-atas harta pembawa dan dapatan tiada-lah apa-apa beza-nya dari pada lain-lain orang.

Maka jika sa-orang anak-buah suatu suku hendak mengadap Penghulu hendak-lah berjumpa Lembaga-nya terlebeh dahulu supaya di-bawa-nya mengadap. Maka peraturan mengadap itu mengankat tangan serta berkata dengan lemah lembut dan memanggil diri-nya " berhamba Datok ".

Note (1).—Maka pepatah yang tersebut di-atas ini berkenaan dengan kuasa undang tiada di-pakai lagi kerana perkara jenayat di-bawa di-hadapan hakim mengikut undang-undang negri. Dan lagi Penghulu Tanah Mengandong itu tiada pernah mempunyai kuasa saperti itu tetapi pepatah itu di-pakai oleh sebab Penghulu Tanah Mengandong itu letua bagi segala peraturan adat istiadat di-dalam luak-nya.

CHAPTER IV.

Peraturan Pekerjaan Lembaga.

Bahwa dari pada tiap-tiap suku di-dalam Luak Penghulu di-pileh sa-orang menjadi Lembaga iaitu dengan kebulatan ibu bapa serta dengan anak buah semua-nya. Maka hendak-lah mengikut giliran yang tertentu, kerana di-dalam satu suku itu banyak perut yang mewarisi pesaka Lembaga itu.

Note (1).—Maka tiap-tiap Lembaga itu di-pileh dari pada sa-orang yang ada pelajaran di-atas Adat dan resam negri serta baik tingkah laku-nya. Apa bila telah bulat semua-nya baharu-lah di-lantek dengan mendirikan istiadat Lembaga dan pekerjaan melantek itu di-buat di-rumah ibu-nya atau di-rumah saudara perempuan-nya. Maka rumah Lembaga itu di-lantek di-namakan Telapak Lembaga. Pada masa itu di-tentukan pakaian Adat Lembaga itu serta di-adakan juga adat sembah menyembah oleh segala ibu bapa dan anak buah-nya.

Kemudian dari pada itu di-dirikan juga adat istiadat jamuan di-rumah isteri-nya iaitu mementukan tempat tinggal-nya dan rumah itu di-namakan telatak Lembaga.

Note (2).—Maka Alamat kebesaran Lembaga itu Empat Puchok iaitu di-pasang pada hari jadi, Hari Mulai Puasa, Hari Raya Haji dan apa-apa masa yang di-dirikan istiadat-nya.

Note (3).—Maka Lembaga itu kunchi di-dalam suku-nya dan hendak-lah anak buah-nya menyampaikan apa-apa hal yang tumboh di-dalam lengkongan-nya. Maka tiap-tiap Lembaga itu hendak-lah menjalankan pekerjaan memerentah anak buah-nya mengikut adat, dan menyampaikan kapada Penghulu apa-apa hal yang tiada buleh di-selesaikan-nya atau bersangkutan dengan Penghulu.

Maka adat Lembaga itu kahwin di-panggil-nya ibu bapa sa-belah perempuan yang di-kehendak-nya itu serta ibu bapa-nya sendiri dan jika tiada alangan di-ikat-lah janji dan di-bayar $7/- kapada ibu bapa sa-belah perempuan. Kemudian baharu-lah nikah dengan mendirikan istiadat-nya.

Maka Lembaga bercherai saperti pepatah :—

Hidup tiada bersuarang,
Mati tiada bersudah,
Sedikit di-tarek banyak tinggal,
Banyak di-tarek sedikit tinggal,

iaitu sama juga seperti Adat Penghulu.

Maka apabila Lembaga mati hendak-lah Lembaga sa-belah isteri-nya mendirikan adat Lembaga itu sa-bagaimana tharaf

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Note (1).—Maka jika tiada bulat di-antara waris menjadikan Lembaga hendak-lah di-sembahkan oleh Penghulu kapada Ke-Adilan, supaya di-pileh sa-orang mengikut perpatah adat :—

Berjenjang naik,
Bertangga turun,
Embun sa-titek di-lautan,
Tanah sa-kapal di-gunong.

Note (2).—Maka pada masa ini alamat itu di-pasang pada hari jadi lembaga dan hari berolek dengan mendirikan istiadat. Dan pada masa lain-lain jarang di-adakan kerana kebanyakan Lembaga-Lembaga itu tiada kelengkapan atau sharat menyempurnakan istiadat itu.

Note (3).—Maka jika lembaga membuat salah hendak-lah Penghulu-nya menyembahkan kesalahan itu kapada Ke-Adilan supaya di-siasat kesalahan-nya.

si-mati itu dan istiadat yang di-dirikan itu saperti dibawah ini :—

1. Membakar lamat Empat puchok,
2. Memasang tabir langit-langit, sampaian, sireh puan, tilam berulas dan palut tiang empat batang.
3. Payong dua di-kembang.
4. Tunggul Merual.
5. Keris dua bilah.
6. Pedang dua bilah.

Maka adat istiadat ini di-pakai oleh Lembaga-Lembaga suku yang tua (pangkat) di-dalam tiap-tiap luak dan lain-lain Lembaga-Lembaga kurang adat-nya dari pada yang tersebut.

CHAPTER V.

Ibu Bapa dan Orang Besar Suku.

Bahawa ibu bapa itu gelaran sa-orang ketua di-dalam satu suku. Apa bila menjadikan ibu bapa itu hendak-lah dengan kebulatan anak-buah-nya. Maka sa-telah berkebulatan di-hantar kapada Lembaga dan di- sembahkan kapada Penghulu Luak. Ada pun jawatan itu di-bawah perentah Lembaga, dan ada-lah ibu bapa itu tiada ber-gilir-gilir dan tetap di-dalam sa-suatu perut itu sahaja, yaani jika banyak perut-nya maka banyaklah pula ibu bapa-nya dengan masing-masing giliran-nya. Maka hendak-lah ibu bapa itu memerentah anak buah-nya saperti pepatah :—

Yang kusut di-selesaikan,
Yang keroh di-jernehkan,

dan apa-apa hal yang tiada buleh di-selesaikan hendak-lah di-sampaikan kapada Lembaga-nya. Maka pekerjaan ibu bapa itu pada masa mendirikan istiadat saperti perpatah :—

Berkayu berakar,
Tungku berchakah,
Kerbau di-tambang,
Beras di-basoh,
Hinai andam,
Orang di-panggil.

Dan apa bila sa-telah siap semua-nya di-sembahkan kapada Lembaga-nya saperti pepatah :—

Terpelanggong nak jatoh,
Terbengkalai nak sudah,
Lembaga vang punya.

Maka di-dalam tiap-tiap suku itu di-pileh sa-orang menjadi Besar suku dan pekerjaan-nya menurut perentah ibu bapa dan buleh juga membuat pekerjaan ibu bapa jika di-benarkan-nya. Maka pada masa mendirikan istiadat Penghulu atau Lembaga orang besar suku itu menjadi juak iaitu menjadi ganti Kaki

Tangan Waris suku-nya, di-dalam pekerjaan istiadat itu. Maka orang memegang jawatan itu mendapat kebebasan pada masa hari itu.

CHAPTER VI.

Orang Semenda Dengan Tempat Semenda.

Bahawa apa bila sa-orang laki-laki kahwin di-dalam suatu suku- maka si-laki-laki itu masok kapada sifat orang semenda dan sebelah bini-nya tempat semenda. Maka bini-nya itu orang semenda juga pada pehak saudara laki-nya akan tetapi tiada lazim di-adatkan kerana mengikut adat perpateh laki-laki itu tinggal di-rumah bini-nya. Maka apa bila lepas kahwin di-beri oleh tempat semenda-nya akan kedua laki bini itu harta saperti kampong dan sawah, iaitu tempat menchari makan, dan harta yang di-beri itu tiada buleh di-jual atau di-gadai dengan tiada kebenaran tempat semanda-nya. Jika di-jual atau di-gadai harta itu dengan tiada kebenaran tempat semenda-nya salah ia pada adat dan di-hukum oleh tempat semenda-nya dengan jamuan. Maka kedudokan orang semenda dengan tempat semenda itu mengikut pepatah :—

" Saperti timun dengan durian ".

iaitu tempat semenda raja orang semenda. Pepatah adat-nya :—

Di-suroh pergi,
Di-panggil datang,

kerana kunchi di-dalam orang semenda itu ia-lah tempat semenda-nya. Maka jika sa-orang semenda hendak mendirikan adat iaitu khenduri nikah kahwin atau apa-apa pekerjaan berkenaan dengan adat hendak-lah ia memberi tahu tempat semenda-nya terlebeh dahulu, dan jika tidak dihukum oleh tempat semenda-nya dengan sa-bentok chin-chin mas. Maka pada masa hendak memasang alat di-jemput tempat semenda-nya dan ibu bapa-nya kerana mereka itu mempunyai hak di-atas pekerjaan itu.

Maka jika ada perselisehan di-antara laki-bini dengan orang lain di-atas apa-apa hal hendak-lah orang semenda mengadu kapada tempat semenda-nya supaya di-siasat dan di-selesaikan saperti pepatah :—

Yang kusut di-selesaikan,
Yang keroh di-jernehkan.

Jika tiada habis oleh-nya di-sampaikan-nya kapada ibu bapa dan Lembaga-nya.

CHAPTER VII.

Dari Hal Ayer Kaki dan Ayer Kaki Lengkongan.

Bahawa ada-lah yang di-namakan Ayer Kaki Duli Yang Maha Mulia Yang di-Pertuan Besar itu ia-lah mereka yang bersuku Batu Hampar. Maka sekalian mereka itu mempesakai Seri Amar di-Raja, dan Raja di-Wangsa, iaitu dua di-antara Orang Empat Istana. Dan lagi adat dahulu-nya perempuan dari pada suku itu mempesakai Inche'Puan. Sabit-lah dengan perbilangan.

Darah sa-titek dari pada Ke-Adilan,
Daging sa-keping dari pada Ayer Kaki.

Ayer Kaki Lengkongan.—Maka ada-lah yang di-katakan Ayer Kaki Lengkongan itu ia-lah yang bersuku Tanah Datar yang mempesakai Penghulu Dagang dan Akhir Zaman. Maka ka-empat pesaka itu di-namakan Orang Empat Istana. Kemudian pula ada Orang Suku Tiga Batu iaitu Ayer Kaki Yam Tuan Muda, Jelebu, dan Orang Suku Seri Lemak Pahang dan Suku Seri Lemak Menangkabau di-kandongi di-dalam Lengkongan Istana. Maka dalam Suku Tiga Batu itu mempesakai pembesar dua orang dari pada Apit Lempang Orang Empat Istana iaitu Penglima Jaya dan Penglima Garang. Maka Suku Seri Lemak Menangkabau mempesakai Raja Penghulu dan Seri Lemak Pahang mempesakai Setia Penghulu, dan Suku Seri Lemak Pahang Bukit Tempurong mempesakai Setia Muda. Maka pegawai-pegawai yang tersebut diatas itu bersama dengan Raja Mentri dan Hakim Mentri, Suku Batu Hampar, dan Mentri Maharaja, Suku Tanah Datar, ia-lah di-namakan Orang Besar Lengkongan.

Maka pekerjaan-nya mengaturkan di-dalam anak buah masing-masing.

Note (1).—Maka suku-suku yang lima itu ia-lah,

Batu Hampar,
Tanah Datar,
Tiga Batu,
Seri Lemak Menagkabau,
Seri Lemak Pahang,

iaitu di-namakan Ayer Kaki Lengkongan.

Bahwa dengan sa-sunggoh-nya sakalian suku-suku itu pada zaman dahulu berkumpol di-dalam Lengkongan Istana, Sri Menanti, akan tetapi pada masa ini ada juga orang-nya menumpang di-lain-lain tempat saperti Juasseh, Kuala Jempol, dan Gunong Pasir.

Shahadan lagi ada-lah sakalian mereka-mereka yang di-dalam suku-suku yang kelima itu hamba yang kadim pada Ke-Adilan. Maka hendak-lah mereka-mereka dari pada suku yang kelima itu membela pelihara Duli Yang Maha Mulia, dan Yang Maha Mulia Tunku Ampuan atau Inche' Puan, dan anak-anak putra.
Pepatah adat-nya :—

Jika berdiri tidak terserundak,
Jika berlenggang tidak tersebat,
Jika melangkah tidak tersangkut,
Jika ia berkata tidak terdadek (selang),

Note. (1). Maka Orang Ayer Kaki Lengkongan itu sadikit sahaja dari pada suku-suku yang lima itu. Pada masa ini ada-lah di-taksirkan di-dalam 2000 orang dan lain daripada-nya di-dalam perentahan Lembaga-nya masing-masing.

Ka-laut jadikan apong,
Ka-bukit jadikan tongkat,
Ka-darat jadikan suloh,
Di-kampong jadikan tepong tawar sedingin.

Maka pepatah ini khas kapada Ayer Kaki dan kapada Ayer Kaki Lengkongan.

Bahawa jika sa-kira-nya sakalian orang-orang Ayer Kaki Lengkongan itu hendak membuat pekerjaan olek jamu dengan adat ber-istiadat tidak-lah di-larang ia memakai alat kebesaran kapada Yang di-Pertuan. Sharat-nya hendak-lah memohonkan izin dari pada Putra Yang Empat yang akan memohonkan dari pada ka bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia. Mengikut cherita-nya pada zaman dahulu Orang Ayer Kaki dan Ayer Kaki Lengkongan itu berkuasa di-atas orang suku dua belas saperti pepatah :—

Ka-bawah buleh menchapai,
Ka-atas buleh menyelok,

akan tetapi pada masa ini kuasa itu telah hilang sunggoh-pun buleh dudok sa-janjar makan sa-pinggan dengan lembaga.

CHAPTER VIII.

Peraturan Pekerjaan Orang Empat Istana.

Bahawa ada pun peraturan pekerjaan Orang Empat Istana itu, ia-lah yang hak dalam adat-nya yang pertama memegang Kunchi Peti Benyian, iaitu peti adat dan pesaka, dan yang kedua mengtahui adat dan istiadat yang berkenaan kapada Yang di-Pertuan, Tengku Ampuan atau Inche' Puan, dan sakalian anak-anak putra. Sabit-lah saperti pepatah adat ada-lah anak-anak putra itu pelok ambian Orang Empat Istana dan hendak-lah Orang Empat Istana itu mengembalai di-atas serba serbi pekerjaan dengan adat istiadat Istana, dan anak-anak putra. Maka dalam adat-nya ada-lah Orang Empat Istana itu titah terjunjong di-sini berbunyi pepatah adat-nya,

Pesan di-turuti,
Pertaroh di-pemalami.

Shahadan lagi tidak-lah dapat di-uraikan dari pada satu ka-satu ha-nya-lah ada sedikit di-tuliskan saperti di-bawah ini :—

Bahawa jika sa-orang anak putra hendak meminang sa-orang anak putri maka Orang Empat Istana itu akan jadi chinchin-nya. Maka jika mungkir salah suatu dari pada sa-belah pehak putra atau pun putri maka siapa yang mungkir itu akan di-siasat oleh Putra Yang Empat supaya di-hukumkan oleh Yang Maha Mulia Duli Yang di-Pertuan. Dan lagi jika sa-orang putra berkelakuan yang tidak baik dengan sa-orang anak perempuan Ayer Kaki Lengkongan hendak-lah kepala suku itu mengadap Putra Yang Empat. Maka jika sabit kesalahan-nya anak raja itu akan

memberi saga hati kapada Ayer Kaki Lengkongan iaitu bertabur melukut.

Bahawa hendak-lah Orang Empat Istana mecharikan adat-nya menengokan salah benar-nya jika sa-orang membuat salah kapada putra-putra. Jika sah salah-nya maka di-hukum mereka yang salah itu dengan.

Mas sa-bahara,
Buah tangan delapan,
Tepak sa-buah.

di-kechualikan Ayer Kaki Lengkongan tentang mas sa-bahara itu.

Maka Orang Empat Istana itu menyambut ka-sampaian raja raja lain negri dan menanti kedatangan Undang.

Maka jika sa-orang Undang hendak datang ka-Istana maka hendak-lah ia mengadap dahulu Putra Yang Empat salah sa-orang dari pada Putra itu baharu-lah buleh di-sambut oleh Orang Empat Istana membawa menyembah ka-bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia.

Bahawa jikalau salah suatu dari pada Undang itu wafat apa bila hendak menyempurnakan ka-jadian ganti-nya itu maka hendak-lah segala lembaga-nya membawa Undang itu mengadap Duli Yang Maha Mulia di-Istana Besar Seri Menanti. Maka Orang Empat Istana itu-lah yang mengtahui hal ahwal-nya dan hendak-lah di-dahului oleh sa-orang dari pada mereka itu mengadap Yang di-Pertuan, iaitu Seri Amar di-Raja, kata adat-nya aluan sembah.

Maka apa bila wafat Penghulu Ulu Muar hendak-lah Baginda Maharaja memberi tahu segala lembaga-lembaga Luak Ulu Muar mengadap ka-Istana mempersembahkan Penghulu Muar telah wafat apa-apa titah akan di-junjong. Kemudian di-titahkan oleh Duli Yang Maha Mulia menyiasat di-mana tempat kebesaran-nya Dato Muar kapada Orang Empat Istana yang akan di-sembahkan kapada Duli Yang Maha Mulia supaya tersimpan pada Peti Benyian. Maka apa bila hendak menyempurnakan kejadian ganti-nya itu hendak-lah ia bersumpah di-hadapan Duli Yang Maha Mulia di-Istana Besar Seri Menanti, kemudian kebesaran pesaka-nya itu di-kembalikan balek oleh Orang Empat Istana ka-tangan Dato Penghulu Ulu Muar yang baharu itu sendiri.

CHAPTER IX.

Pegawai Yang Enam dan Pekerjaan-nya.

Bahawa ada-lah yang di-katakan Pegawai Yang Enam itu iaitu,

Penglima Sutan,	Laxamana (ii),
Penglima Raja,	Dato Andatar,
Laxamana (i),	Dato Johan.

Maka ada-lah pekerjaan Dato Johan itu menyambut ka-sampaian raja-raja lain negri ka-Istana di-mana Baginda itu di-sambut oleh Orang Empat Istana. Dan ada-lah pekerjaan Dato Andatar itu menanti kadatangan Undang ka-Istana di-mana mereka itu di-sampaikan kapada Orang Empat Istana.

Dan lagi hendak-lah Pegawai Yang Enam itu hadzir apa bila tiap-tiap alat kebesaran akan di-turunkan. Maka pekerjaan-nya ia-itu menyambut kebesaran itu dari Dato Dagang. Maka Dato Dagang manyambut dari pada Dato Akhir Zaman, Akhir Zaman dari pada Raja di-Wangsa, Raja di-Wangsa dari pada Amar di-Raja. Adat-nya Amar di-Raja di-dalam bilek, Dato Raja di-Wangsa di-luar bilek, Akhir Zaman tengah rumah, Penghulu Dagang di-Serambi. Maka Dato Johan yang sedia menanti di-halaman Istana menyerukan kapada Pegawai Yang Enam menyuroh menyambut alat kebesaran itu.

Maka terwajib-lah mereka itu membuat pekerjaan di-mana alat kebesaran akan di-pasang sa-bagaimana yang telah biasa di-perbuat. Demikian-lah jua apa bila hendak menyimpan-nya ; ada-lah Dato Johan itu ia-lah sa-orang dari pada Pegawai Yang Enam di-kampong mengaturkan anak buah. Ada-lah sakalian-nya anak-buah di-dalam suku-nya itu tidak-lah terlengkong oleh luak yang berpenghulu dan suku yang bertua. Ada-lah Dato Johan itu di-dalam anak- buah-nya saperti Dato Raja Penglima.

CHAPTER X.

Apit Lempang Orang Empat Istana.

Bahawa ada-lah yang di-katakan Apit Lempang Orang Empat Istana itu ia-lah.

Dato' Membesar,
Dato' Andika,
Dato' Sutan Bentara,
Dato' Raja Penglima,
Dato' Bentara Kanan,
Dato' Bentara Kiri.

Maka ada-lah pekerjaan Apit Lempang itu ia-lah sa-bagaimana Orang Empat Istana memegang hak di-dalam Istana. Maka ada-lah tiga dari pada Apit Lempang itu iaitu

Dato' Andika,
Dato' Sutan Bentara,
Dato' Raja Penglima,

ada dan mereka melengkongi anak buah masing-masing. Bahawa ada-lah segala rumah mereka itu tiada-lah terlengkong kapada luak yang berpenghulu dan suku yang bertua ha-nya kapada Ayer Kaki dan Ayer Kaki Lengkongan sahaja.

CHAPTER XI.

Pegawai Sembilan Puloh Sembilan Dan Pekerjaan-nya.

Ada pun yang di-katakan Pegawai Sembilan Puloh Sembilan itu ia-lah pegawai yang terhak kapada Ke-Adilan. Maka gelaran mereka itu sa-mata-mata di-kurniakan oleh Yang di-Pertuan Besar, dan gelaran itu ada di-dalam Ayer Kaki Lengkongan dan tiap-tiap suku dua belas di-dalam Luak Ulu Muar, dua belas di-dalam Jempol, enam di-dalam Terachi, enam di-dalam Gunong Pasir,dan ada pula di-Rembau, Inas, Gemencheh dan Ayer Kuning.

Maka pada adat-nya mereka itu sampan pelayang pada Ke-Adilan dan pekerjaan-nya sa-mata-mata menerima titah. Bahawa dengan sa-sunggoh-nya pada zaman dahulu ada-lah Pegawai Sembilan Puloh Sembilan itu ia-lah menjaga segala pantang larang pada Ke-Adilan. Apa-apa yang di-larang jika berjumpa mereka dengan orang suku-suku itu memperbuat-nya maka wajib-lah mereka memberi tahu kapada Orang Empat Istana atau kapada pehak-nya (Pegawai yang Enam dan Apit Lempang) supaya yang menerima aturan itu menyembahkan kapada pengetahuan Duli Yang Maha Mulia.

Shahadan lagi jika kedengaran oleh mereka itu akan lamat berbunyi lapan, dua belas, enam belas dan tiga puloh dua maka wajib-lah mereka mengetahui ada-kah lamat itu kesusahan atau kesukaan.

Maka pada masa ini pekerjaan Pegawai Sembilan Puloh Sembilan itu ia-lah mengadap ka-Instana Besar, Seri Menanti, apa bila menabal Yang di-Pertuan Besar atau melantek Tunku Ampuan atau Inche' Puan dan masa berolek istiadat juga. Dan hendak-lah mereka hathir tiap-tiap tiga tahun masa mengadap Penghulu Tanah Mengandong dengan lembaga-lembaga-nya dan menolong dengan pekerjaan bersiram dan lain-lain-nya.

Note (1) Maka asal Pegawai Sembilan Puloh Sembilan itu ia-lah pada zaman dahulu apa bila Duli Yang Maha Mulia berangkat kamana-mana ada-lah sa-orang yang dudok tetap di-tempat itu yang memberi santapan. Maka orang itu berjasa kapada Yang di-Pertuan dan di-beri gelaran kapada-nya. Apa kala mati sa-sa-orang Pegawai Sembilan Puloh Sembilan, maka hendak-lah waris yang mempesakai pegawai yang mati itu menyembahkan kapada salah sa-orang daripada Putra Yang Empat dan Putra Yang Empat menerima ganti-nya, serta mereka itu datang mempersembahkan dengan membawa buah tangan (bokor) dan tepak. Pada zaman dahulu memang di-katakan mereka-mereka itu sembilan puloh sembilan tetapi pada masa ini buleh di-katakan terlebeh dari pada tiga ratus.

Note (2) Pada fikiran Orang Empat Istana Pegawai Sembilan puloh Sembilan itu saperti lembaga, iaitu tidak ter-lengkong oleh muafakat dan ketua (lembaga) atau luak

penghulu, adat-nya melengkongi rumah sa-buah anak buah sa-orang. Akan tetapi lembaga-lembaga tidak bersetuju sa-kali-kali. Pada timbangan mereka itu, luar pekerjaan istana, Pegawai Sembilan puloh Sembilan itu orang semenda pada tempat semenda-nya maka hendak-lah ia mengikut hukum ketua-nya berkenaan dengan adat.

CHAPTER XII.

Part I.

Peraturan Adat Nikah Kahwin Suku-Suku Yang Dua Belas.

Pinang-Meminang.—Bahwa jika sa-orang laki-laki hendak kahwin, terlebeh dahulu di-pisitkan dekat rumah dan dekat kampong perempuan yang di-kehendaki itu. Kemudian dari pada itu berjumpa-lah sabelah laki-laki dan sabelah perempuan. Maka apa bila bertemu di-pakatkan kedua pehak-nya. Maka adat-nya hendaklah sabelah laki-laki itu menghantar chinchin mas sabentok kapada sabelah perempuan itu supaya chinchin itu di-tunjokkan kapada tempat semenda dan orang semenda-nya. Jika esa sakata di-terima chinchin itu, jika tidak esa sakata di-pulangkan chinchin kapada sabelah laki-laki itu.

Note (1).—Maka apa bila chinchin sudah di-terima dengan persetujuan tempat semenda oleh sabelah pehak perempuan itu janji di-buat di-antara kedua pehak-nya.

Maka jikalau elah sabelah laki-laki di-dalam perjanjian-nya itu di-lunchorkan chinchin ; jika perempuan elah di-gandakan dua bentok chinchin kapada sabelah laki-laki itu.

Waktu Nikah.—Kemudian apa bila hendak nikah di-hantar bujam epok berisi dengan sireh berlipat serta dengan kelengkapan-nya kapada sabelah laki-laki, iaitu tanda menjemput dia serta dengan mas kahwin-nya ka-rumah perempuan itu. Maka satelah diterima bujam epok itu turun-lah laki-laki itu dari pada rumah-nya ka-rumah perempuan serta di-iringi oleh sanak saudara dan kaum kerabat-nya. Apa bila sampai di-sambut dengan hormat-nya oleh sabelah perempuan, kemudian di-nikahkan. Maka waktu nikah itu hendak-lah di-terangkan sabanyak mana mas kahwin yang sudah di-bayar kapada ibu bapa perempuan itu.

Mas Kahwin.—Maka nikah kahwin yang tersebut di-atas ini di-namakan nikah kahwin bermuafakat, Maka mas kahwin-nya di-tetapkan saperti di-bawah ini :

Note (1). Maka di-dalam Luak Muar apa bila sa-orang meminang anak Penghulu atau anak Lembaga yang empat di-pakai sa-bentok chinchin bergonta dan jika anak Lembaga meminang pakai dua bentok chinchin bunga serunai. Pada fikiran Penghulu Luak Muar suku binduanda waris patut memakai dua bentok chinchin tetapi Lembaga-nya tiada bersetuju. Di-dalam Luak Jempol apa bila sa-orang meminang anak dara waris biduanda di-pakai chinchin mas berangkai bertambat dengan benang champor warna.

Dan lagi peraturan pinang meminang di-dalam lain-lain suku tiada apa-apa peraturan yang tertentu.

Note (1) *Luak Johol*—Anak dara, Waris	..	$40
Janda ,,	..	$20
Anak dara lain-lain suku	..	$30
Janda lain-lain suku	..	$15
Luak Ulu Muar —Anak Dara	.. ..	$20
Janda	..	$10
Luak Jempol (*a*) —Anak Dara Waris	..	$28
Janda ,,	..	$14
(*b*) —Lain-lain suku Anak Dara		$20
,, Janda	..	$10
Luak Terachi —Anak Dara	.. ..	$20
Janda	..	$10
Luak Gunong Pasir —Anak Dara	.. ..	$20
Janda	..	$10
Luak Inas —Anak Dara	.. ..	$20
Janda	..	$10

Sembah Menyembah.—Maka adat-nya lepas kahwin hendaklah laki-laki dan perempuan-nya pergi ka-rumah ibu bapa-nya serta di-iringi oleh sanak saudara sabelah perempuan dengan membawa buah tangan iaitu saperti bokor yang berisi dengan wajik atau penganan. Maka pada zaman dahulu diberi bokor sabanyak dua belas buah kapada ibu si-laki-laki, delapan buah kapada mak sanak ibu, enam buah kapada saudara perempuan, dan dua buah kapada saudara perempuan yang jauh. Maka apa bila mereka itu balek ka-rumah-nya di-isi pula bokor itu oleh yang menerima-nya dengan wang saberapa patut-nya dan pada zaman dahulu di-beri kambing atau kerbau buat pengisi bokor itu.

Harta pembawa dan harta dapatan.—Maka jika si-laki-laki ada harta sendiri di-namakan harta pembawa dan hendak-lah ia

Note (1). Maka pada masa ini kebanyakan orang kahwin dengan tiada membayar mas kahwin-nya dengan wang tunai, iaitu di-beri chagaran mas atau grant tanah dan barang itu lazim di-tebuskan oleh waris laki-laki. Maka chagaran itu biasa-nya di-tulis di-dalam surat nikah oleh tuan kathi. Maka lazim-nya barang-barang chagaran itu di-tebuskan apa bila lepas kahwin tetapi ada juga masa-nya barang-barang itu tiada di-tebuskan sa-belum bercherai.

Maka yang lazim di-ikut pada masa ini saperti di-bawah ini :—

Luak Muar : Dengan chagaran dan bayaran tunai.
Luak Jempol : Dengan bayaran tunai.
Luak Terachi : Dengan chagaran.
Luak Gunong Pasir : Dengan bayaran tunai.
Luak Johol dan Inas : Dengan bayaran tunai.

Maka jika laki-laki mati sabelum di-jelaskan mas kahwin-nya wang mas kahwin itu di-halalkan oleh bini-nya serta di-pulangkan barang-barang chagaran kapada waris laki-nya atau pun terpaksa-lah waris laki-laki itu menebuskan barang-barang itu. Wang mas kahwin itu jika di-halalkan oleh bini-nya hendaklah dengan redza dan tidak dengan jalan paksa kerana mas kahwin itu hak kapada perempuan si-mati itu.

menerangkan kapada tempat semenda-nya serta ibu bapa dan lembaga kedua pehak-nya masa berkahwin itu. Maka jikalau perempuan-nya ada berharta di-namakan harta dapatan dan hendak-lah pula ia menerangkan harta dapatan itu kapada ibu bapa dan lembaga kedua pehak-nya.

Maka harta pembawa serta dengan harta dapatan itu tiadalah buleh di-habiskan ; jika di-habiskan harta pembawa menjadi hutang kapada perempuan itu ; jika harta dapatan habis menjadi hutang kapada si-laki-laki.

Harta Charian.—Maka satelah sampurna nikah kahwin itu di-beri kapada mereka laki-bini oleh tempat semenda-nya harta (jika ada) iaitu :—

Kampong sa-sudut,
Sawah sa-lopak,
Rumah berketak tanga (bagi tempat menchari makan).

iaitu menyerukan untong baik dan untong jahat ; pepatah adat-nya,

Chichir sama rugi,
Dapat sama laba.

Maka jikalau ada tambahan harta-nya itu di-namakan harta charian laki-bini.

Melarikan perempuan.—Bahawa jikalau sa-orang laki-laki membawa lari perempuan ka-rumah tuan kathi hendak-lah tuan kathi itu memanggil ibu bapa sabelah perempuan iaitu wali-nya supaya menyelesaikan adat pesaka iaitu mas kahwin. Apa bila sudah selesai baharu-lah di-nikahkan.

Bersalahan.—Shahadan lagi jika sa-orang laki-laki merumahkan anak dara atau janda dengan tiada pengtahuan ibu bapa perempuan itu di-salahkan mengikut adat, dan terpaksalah ia nikah ; nikah kahwin saperti itu di-namakan bersalahan. Maka mas kahwin-nya saperti di-bawah ini :—

Luak Johol—	
Anak dara waris	$120
Janda waris	$60
Anak dara lain-lain suku	$60
Janda lain-lain suku	$30
Luak Muar—	
(*a*) Anak dara waris	$120
Janda waris	$60
(*b*) Suku yang sabelas anak dara	$48
,, ,, ,, janda	$24

Note (3). Penghulu Luak Muar telah menchadangkan mas kahwin bagi suku biduanda waris iaitu anak dara $28 dan janda $14 tetapi lembaga-nya tiada bersetuju di-atas chadangan itu.

Luak Jempol—.

(*a*)	Anak dara waris	$120
	Janda waris	$60
(*b*)	Suku Biduanda Waris Gempa Anak dara	$80
	Janda	$40
(*c*)	Lain-lain suku anak dara	$48
	,, ,, janda	$24

Luak Terachi—

(*a*)	Anak dara waris dan Biduanda Kampong Kubang	$120
	Janda	$60
(*b*)	Biduanda Rembau, Biduanda Kampong Masjid Anak dara	$78
	Janda	$39
(*c*)	Lain-lain suku anak dara	$48
	,, ,, Janda	$24

Luak Gunong Pasir—

(*a*)	Anak dara waris	$80
	Janda waris	$40
(*b*)	Lain-lain suku anak dara	$48
	,, ,, Janda	$24

Luak Inas.—Di-dalam Luak Inas adat bersalahan berbeza di-antara satu suku dengan lain oleh sebab itu tiada ke-terangan yang khas bagi adat mas kahwin-nya.

Nikah Hukum.—Maka di-dalam jajahan ini ada juga di-buat perkerjaan nikah hukum, iaitu apa bila perempuan yang di-pinang itu belum chukop umor-nya lagi. Nikah saperti ini tiada-lah berjumpaan di-antara laki-laki dengan perempuan, sakadarkan menyempornakan hukum shara' sahaja dan persatuan-nya di-tanggohkan. Dan peraturan saperti ini memang mengikut adat juga.

Nikah Luar Adat.—Shahadan lagi ada juga di-perbuat orang di-dalam jajahan ini kahwin yang tiada mengikut adat iaitu dengan kesukaan ibu bapa perempuan sahaja dan tiada-lah mengikut sharat peraturan pinang meminang dengan menghantar chin-chin dan memberi tahu ibu bapa serta lembaga. Maka perbuatan itu di-larang oleh adat akan tetapi tiada di-keraskan lagi. Di-dalam Luak Gungong Pasir Penghulu Luak sendiri buleh membuat dengan tiada apa-apa hukum di-atas nya.

Nikah Kahwin Yang di-larang oleh Adat.—Bahwa dengan sa-sunggoh-nya pantang larang jikalau sa-orang anak buah kadim nikah sama janda bapa saudara-nya yang kadim, iaitu saudara dari pada ibu-nya. Demikian juga jika adek nikah sama janda abang-nya atau abang nikah sama janda adek-nya. Maka hukum-nya mengikut adat di-atas orang laki-laki yang membuat salah itu tiada buleh menerima jawatan aturan pesaka.

Note (1).—Maka pantang larang sa-orang laki-laki nikah dua perempuan di-dalam satu suku. Kesalahan itu di-namakan sumbang salah dahaga-dahagi, iaitu saperti pepatah adat-nya.

" Sa-batang enau dua sigai,
Pelesit dua sa-kampong,
Satu di-beri dua di-tarek."

Maka hukum-nya bagi kesalahan itu tiada-lah buleh orang laki-laki itu menerima jawatan aturan pesaka dan bagi perempuan yang kedua itu tiada buleh menerima tanah pesaka hingga keturunan-nya.

Note (2).—Maka pantang larang jika sa-orang laki-laki nikah sama sa-orang perempuan suku-nya sendiri. Kesalahan itu di-namakan sumbang salah dahaga-dahagi juga iaitu menderhaka kapada suku-nya. Maka hukum-nya tiada buleh orang laki-laki itu menerima jawatan aturan pesaka dan perempuan itu tiada buleh menerima pesaka hingga keturunan-nya dan di-keluarkan kedua-nya dari lengkongan lembaga dan luak penghulu-nya.

Maka jika di-dalam lengkongan lembaga berlaku nikah sawaris iaitu kahwin sama satu suku di-namakan sumbang salah dahaga-dahagi iaitu saperti pagar makan tanaman. Maka mengikut adat di-buang kedua-nya saperti pepatah :—

Hidup tidak di-pelihara,
Mati tidak di-tanam,
Harta di-ambil,
Tuan-nya di-bunoh.

Maka si-laki-laki itu tiada buleh menerima pesaka, demikian juga saudara-saudara-nya yang sa-ibu dengan-nya saperti pepatah :—

Tebu busok sa-ruas di-buang sa-ruas. Akan tetapi jika cherai laki-laki itu dan mengaku kesalahan kapada lembaga-nya saperti pepatah :—

Salah makan di-muntahkan,
Salah patok di-kitaikan (kelitaikan),
Salah hujong jalan balek ka-pangkal jalan, atau
Sumbing di-titek,
Patah di-tupang.

Note (1). Maka pantang larang ini tiada di-pakai lagi, iaitu jika ada tumboh pun tiada-lah di-hukum mengikut adat.

Note (2). Maka pada masa ini ada juga tumboh nikah sa-suku itu di-dalam Luak Jempol, dan di-dalam suku Paya Kumboh di-dalam Luak Muar di-antara satu perut dengan lain di-dalam suku itu. Pada cherita-nya nikah kahwin sa-suku itu telah memang di-benarkan semenjak nenek moyang-nya dahulu. Ada kala-nya di-dengar juga orang nikah sa-suku di-dalam lain-lain suku, akan tetapi lembaga-lembaga-nya enggan dari pada menerangkan di-atas hal itu. Dan lagi ada juga lembaga-lembaga yang bersetuju di-atas nikah kahwin sa-suku itu supaya harta anak buah-nya tiada melempah keluar dari-pada suku-nya sendiri. Nikah kahwin sa-suku itu buleh di-katakan akan bertambah lagi di-dalam masa yang ka-hadapan.

iaitu mengaku membela adat pesaka-nya. Maka di-hukumkan dengan jamuan iaitu kerbau sa-ekor, beras lima puloh gantang dan membayar mas dua puloh (Tujoh ringgit dua puloh sen). Apa bila telah berjamu itu baharu-lah dia balek dudok sa-janjar makan sa-pinggan dengan waris-nya, iaitu buleh memnerima pesaka waris-nya.

Ganti Tikar.—Bahawa jika sa-orang laki-laki kematian bini dan ada mempunyai harta dan anak telah di lazimkan di-dalam jajahan ini di-rundingkan ia nikah dengan adek atau kakak ipar-nya. Maka gelaran ganti tikar itu dipakai apa bila kahwin dengan adek atau kakak ipar yang sa-ibu sa-bapa dengan bini-nya, dan pada saudara yang lain tiada di-pakai, akan tetapi di-dalam Luak Johol gelaran itu di-pakai apa bila kahwin dengan saudara sanak ibu, sanak datok dan sanak moyang kapada bini-nya.

Bercherai laki-bini.—Bahawa jika sa-orang laki-laki hendak bercherai hendak-lah ia menjemput dan memberi tahu tempat semenda-nya supaya di-siasat atas segala harta kedua laki-bini itu, mengikut pepatah :—

Chari bahagi,
Dapatan tinggal,
Pembawa kembali.

Note (1).—Maka apa bila telah selesai bahagian harta itu baharu-lah buleh bercherai mengikut pepatah :—

Suarang berageh,
Sa-kutu belah.

Maka pulang-lah si-laki-laki kapada suku-nya dan anak-nya tertinggal kapada suku janda-nya. Maka buleh-lah laki-laki itu memberi belanja di-atas nafkah anak-nya dengan kesukaan-nya. Jika ia mengengkar di-atas belanja itu dan perempuan itu dengan waris-nya tiada daya upaya memeliharakan anak itu buleh-lah perempuan itu memberi anak-nya kapada si-laki-laki. Maka ter-paksalah si-laki-laki itu mengambil, dan memeliharakan, sa-hingga chukup umor-nya. Kemudian dari pada itu terpulang-lah anak itu pada suku-nya.

Part II.

Peraturan bagaimana Anak-Anak Putra hendak kahwin kapada suku dua belas.

Bahawa ada-lah yang di-katakan putra itu ia-lah anak putra yang berketurunan daripada Yang di-Pertuan Besar. Maka ia-lah yang dinamakan kata adat-nya pelok ambian Orang Empat Istana dan bela pelihara pada Undang di-dalam luak-nya.

Note (1). Maka pergadohan selalu tumboh pada masa menentukan bahagian harta apa bila bercherai hidup atau mati. Kerana masa kahwin-nya telah lama dan saksi-saksi-nya ada yang telah mati pula.

Maka dengan sa-sunggoh-nya luas-lah kebebasan anak putra itu daripada sa-genap perkara-nya. Sabit-lah saperti pepatah adat-nya :—

Ka-atas buleh menchapai,
Ka-bawah buleh menyelok.

Maka jika sa-orang anak putra kahwin dengan barang mana-mana suku yang dua belas hendak-lah di-beri tahu dahulu kepada Orang Empat Istana. Maka jika kesukaran kerana sebab jaoh, maka pada-lah dengan di-beri tahu kapada Orang Besar Negri, atau Pegawai Raja, yang ada hadzir pada tempat itu. Kemudian daripada itu hendak-lah Orang Besar Negri, atau Pegawai Raja itu memberi tahu juga kapada Orang Empat Istana.

Maka hendak-lah anak putra itu membayar mas kahwin sa-bahara besar iaitu berharga dua puloh empat ringgit. Kemudian lepas kahwin telah tetap isteri-nya di-dalam bela pelihara Orang Empat Istana berserta di-panggil Inche kapada-nya dan lagi ada-lah putra putri dari pada kedua-nya itu termasok-lah mengikut nasib bapa-nya.

Note (1).—Jika sa-kira-nya anak putra melalui sa-bagaimana peraturan di-atas ini, maka tiada-lah ia pelok ambian Orang Empat Istana. Demikian juga isteri-nya atau putra putri-nya jika sabelum bertabur melukut kapada Orang Empat Istana.

Note (2).—Maka apa bila anak putra itu bercherai hidup atau mati, jikalau hendak kahwin janda-nya itu dengan laki-laki yang bukan anak putra, sa-nya siapa yang berkehendakan itu, wajib-lah ia membayar sa-bahara (berharga empat belas ringgit) kapada Orang Empat Istana. Pepatah adat-nya :—

Mengunchopkan payong,
Merebahkan tombak.

Kapada fikiran Orang Empat Istana jika sa-kira-nya putra putri mereka itu suka menuntut tanah pesaka saperti kampong atau sawah dari pada harta ibu-nya tiada-lah menjadi larangan kapada-nya, akan tetapi penghulu luak Tanah Mengandong dan lembaga-nya tiada bersetuju sa-kali-kali. Kapada timbangan-nya jika di-tarek perempuan suku dua belas ka-dalam pelok ambian Orang Empat Istana hendak-lah perempuan itu meninggalkan harta pesaka-nya kapada waris-punya, dan anak putra putri-nya tiada buleh menuntut. Maka perkara ini belum ada keputusan

Note (1). Jika di-pinang anak perempuan suku Biduanda (Waris Penghulu) hendak-lah dengan dua bentok chinchin bersamaan dengan anak perempuan Ayer Kaki Batu Hampar. Di-dalam lain-lain suku hendak-lah satu bentok chinchin bunga serunai.

Note (2). Pada fikiran Orang Empat Istana jika sa-orang laki-laki dari pada Ayer Kaki Lengkongan kahwin dengan perempuan suku dua belas hendak-lah perempuan itu keluar dengan segala harta-nya dari pada lengkongan lembaga-nya, akan tetapi lazim-nya Orang Lengkongan itu menumpang sahaja di-atas tanah pesaka bini-nya dan anak-nya mengikut adat ibu-nya. Maka ada juga perempuan dari pada Ayer Kaki Lengkongan kahwin dengan laki-laki suku dua belas, tetapi jika ada pun anak-nya tertentu mengikut adat ibu-nya.

yang tetap lagi dan jika ada apa perselesehan akan di-timbangkan oleh Majlis Meshuarat Ke-Adilan.

Maka sabda Yang Teramat Mulia Tengku Besar, Sri Menanti, maana-nya bukan-nya Orang Empat Istana itu lebih atau besar dari pada anak-anak putra ha-nya Orang Empat Istana itu menjunjong titah perentah dari ka-bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Yang di-Pertuan Besar. Jika tumboh saperti yang di-atas hendak-lah anak-anak putra yang tersalah itu bertimbang salah ka-bawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Yang di-Pertuan Besar di-istana di-nama bertabur melukut kapada Orang Empat Istana dan Lengkongan Ayer Kaki lazim-nya iaitu kerbau sa-ekor beras 50 gantang atau apa-apa yang di-patutkan oleh Ke-Adilan.

Part III.

Peraturan Adat Semenda Menyemenda Ayer Kaki Lengkongan.

Bahwa apa bila sa-orang laki-laki akan menyemenda ka-dalam apa-apa suku yang di-katakan Ayer Kaki Lengkongan hendak-lah dengan peraturan adat juga, pinang jujoh (pinang meminang) iaitu di-ulur chinchin. Maka jika anak perempuan Batu Hampar Ayer Kaki di-pinang dengan dua bentok chinchin, sa-bentok chinchin bergunta dan sa-bentok chinchin bunga serunai, dan lain-lain anak perempuan Ayer Kaki Lengkongan dengan dua bentok chinchin bunga serunai.

Maka ada-lah mas kahwin-nya sabagaimana yang di-tetapkan oleh Ke-Adilan, iaitu mengikut bangsa masing-masing. Shahadan lagi jika bersalah-salahan saperti rumah-merumahi atau diserah dengan berani sahaja, iaitu tidak mengikut

Tali yang merentang,
Jalan yang berlateh,

(tidak berchinchin) terkena-lah mereka bersalah-salahan iaitu saperti adat-nya di-bawah ini :—

1.	Anak dara Ayer Kaki Batu Hampar ..	$120
	Anak janda ,, ,, ,, ,, ..	$60

demikian juga Waris Penghulu Suku Biduanda.

2.	Anak dara Ayer Kaki Lengkongan ..	$80
	Janda ,, ,, ,, ..	$40

demikian juga Waris Penghulu yang bukan suku Biduanda.

CHAPTER XIII.

Dari Hal Kematian dan Bahagian Harta.

Kematian Bujang.—Bahwa apa bila sa-orang bujang mati maka segala harta-nya terpulang kapada waris-nya dan hendak-lah waris-nya itu menyelamatkan.

Menyelamatkan Kematian. Note (1).—Maka apa bila mati salah sa-orang di-antara laki bini hendak-lah di-selamatkan orang mati itu, jika si-laki-laki oleh bininya, jika perempuan oleh laki-nya mengikut pepatah :

Hidup di-pelihara,
Mati di-tanam,

iaitu hendak-lah membuat khenduri pada hari di-kuborkan, meniga hari, menujoh hari, dua kali tujoh, empat puloh dan sa-ratus hari.

Kematian Bini.—Bahwa apa bila perempuan mati, di-jemput janda-nya pulang kapada suku-nya, dan di-siasat di-atas segala harta kedua-nya mengikut pepatah :

Chichir di-pungut,
Hilang di-chari.

Maka di-bahagi harta itu mengikut pepatah :

Chari bahagi,
Dapatan tinggal.
Pembawa kembali,

Maka sa-telah selesai bahagian itu pulang-lah si-laki-laki kapada suku-nya saperti pepatah :

Anak buah pulang kapada ibu bapa-nya,
Waris pulang kapada suku-nya,
Suku pulang kapada tua-nya,
atau
Belut pulang ka-lumpur,
Sireh pulang ka-gagang-nya,
Pinang pulang ka-tampok-nya.

Kematian Laki.—Shahadan lagi apa bila laki-laki mati, dan telah lepas edah janda-nya, di-hantar tanda batang tuboh si-laki-laki itu kapada waris-nya, iaitu sa-lengkap pakaian dan tikar bantal. Maka di-siasat di-atas harta kedua-nya. Jika ada pembawa di-pulangkan kapada waris laki-laki itu dan lain-lain harta di-tinggalkan kapada perempuan si-mati itu mengikut pepatah :

Hidup bersuarang,
Mati bersudah.

Note (1). Maka perbelanjaan menyelamatkan kematian itu mengikut di-atas keadaan si-mati, jika orang miskin tiada kurang dari pada tiga puloh ringgit ($30) dan yang lazim di-buat sa-banyak $50, bagi orang kaya ada juga sampai $300. Perbelanjaan itu di-bayarkan dari pada harta charian laki bini. Jika tiada harta charian buleh di-gadaikan tanah pesaka bagi belanja menyelamatkan si-mati itu.

Note (2). Maka harta pembawa itu jika wang tunai hendak-lah di-pulangkan baik dengan wang atau dengan barang mengikut nilaian-nya. Peraturan ini di-pakai di-dalam semua luak, melainkan Luak Jempol, iaitu jika ada wang pembawa dan telah di-belanjakan membuat rumah tiadalah di-pulangkan lagi.

Peraturan Harta charian.—Bahawa apa bila mati salah sa-orang di-antara laki-bini, jika tiada anak di-bahagikan harta charian-nya mengikut pepatah :

Mati laki pulang ka-bini,
Mati bini pulang ka-laki.

Note (1).—Maka jika anak-nya tinggal terpulang-lah segala harta charian itu kapada anak-nya.

Kematian Meninggalkan anak.—Maka segala anak-nya di-mileki oleh suku ibu-nya dan jika ibu-nya mati di-pelihara oleh saudara sa-kadim-nya. Ada pun anak-nya itu tiada buleh menuntut atas harta pembawa bapa-nya. Dan lagi apabila ibu-nya mati segala harta charian dan harta dapatan si-mati itu terpulang kapada anak-nya. Maka peraturan bahagian harta itu segala tanah pesaka terpulang kapada anak perempuan dan anak laki-laki itu buleh menuntut di-atas harta lain-lain, saperti tanah, kerbau, kambing dan barang-barang pakaian laki-laki saperti keris dan senapang, melainkan rumah, barang-barang peremasan dan lain-lain pakaian perempuan, iaitu terpulang kapada anak perempuan semua-nya.

Sedekah Mati.—Bahwa di-dalam peraturan Adat Perpateh telah lazim dari pada zaman dahulu kala mengeluarkan sedekah dengan wang apa bila sa-orang yang memegang jawatan pesaka mati dan bayaran sedekah ini tertanggong di-atas bini-nya menyempurnakan. Demikian juga apa bila bapa, emak, isteri dan mentua laki-laki dan perempuan-nya mati dan tertanggong-lah bayaran itu di-atas orang yang menyandang pesaka adat itu. Maka orang-orang yang wajib mengeluarkan sedekah masa mati-nya berhak pula menerima sedekah apa bila mereka-mereka itu menziarah si-mati yang tertentu mengeluarkan sedekah adat itu. Ada pun orang-orang yang wajib mengeluarkan dan menerima sedekah adat apa bila salah sa-orang dari pada-nya mati ada-lah saperti di-bawah ini :—

1.	Undang	enam suku iaitu..	$1.50
2.	Isteri Undang	,, ,, ,, ..	1.50
3.	Bapa Undang	tiga ,, ,, ..	0.75
4.	Emak Undang	,, ,, ,, ..	0.75
5.	Mentua laki-laki Undang	dua ,, ,, ..	0.50
6.	Mentua perempuan Undang	,, ,, ,, ..	0.50
7.	Lembaga	,, ,, ,, ..	0.50
8.	Isteri Lembaga	,, ,, ,, ..	0.50

Note (1). Bahwa dengan sa-sunggoh-nya peraturan di-atas harta charian ini di-pakai oleh orang Melayu di-dalam jajahan ini oleh sebab kebanyakan orang mati itu meninggalkan harta charian sachukop-chukop atau terlebih sadikit dari pada perbelanjaan menyelamatkan dia, akan tetapi apa bila orang kaya mati di-tuntut oleh waris-nya di-atas bahagian harta charian-nya iaitu dengan muafakat atau hukum shara.'

9.	Bapa Lembaga	dua suku iaitu..		$0.50
10.	Emak Lembaga	,,	,, ,, ..	0.50
11.	Mentua laki-laki Lembaga	,,	,, ,, ..	0.50
12.	Mentua perempuan Lembaga	,,	,, ,, ..	0.50
13.	Waris Undang	tiga	,, ,, ..	0.75
14.	Ibu Bapa	satu	,, ,, ..	0.25
15.	Besar Waris	,,	,, ,, ..	0.25
16.	Baginda Raja (Aluan Sembah)	tiga	,, ,, ..	0.75

Maka mengikut bilangan Lembaga dan ibu bapa di-dalam jajahan ini tentu-lah banyak wang di-pakai bagi sedekah akan tetapi tiada lazim semua-nya hadzir kerana tempat mereka-mereka kabanyakan jaoh di-antara satu dengan lain akan tetapi di-atas kematian Undang memang banyak belanja wang sedekah adat itu.

Dan lagi apa bila Ke-Adilan dan Tengku Ampuan mangkat sedekah adat itu keluar juga kapada mereka-mereka yang menyandang pesaka demikian juga di-atas ke-mangkatan putra yang Ampat dan putra-putri Ke-Adilan ada-nya. Maka di-atas bayaran sedekah itu lazim juga di-buat dengan bayaran sa-paroh dari pada yang lazim di-gelar "suku kechil" iaitu bagi mereka-mereka yang ka-kurangan wang.

Kepala Mayat.—Bahawa jika Undang wafat hendak-lah di-sembahkan wang $14 kapada Ke-Adilan iaitu kepala mayat serta kain sapelulusan tanda batang tuboh demikian jua jika Lembaga mati dan wang $14 itu di-hantarkan kapada Undang Luak-nya tetapi tiada dengan tanda batang tuboh ada-nya.

CHAPTER XIV.

Peraturan Adat Tanah Pesaka.

Part I.

Suku-Suku Yang Dua Belas.

Note (1).—Sa-bermula maka tanah pesaka itu ia-lah tanah kampong dan sawah turun temurun dari zaman nenek moyang dahulu. Jikalau salah sa-orang dari pada suku yang dua belas mengambil tanah kampong atau sawah baharu, tiada-lah terpaksa ia memasokan tanah itu di-dalam bilangan tanah pesaka, lengkongan lembaga-nya, melainkan dengan kesukaan-nya sendiri.

Note (1). Pada fikiran sa-tengah lembaga-lembaga di-dalam jajahan Kuala Pilah buleh juga di-masokan tanah kebun getah dalam bilangan tanah pesaka akan tatapi permintaan saperti itu jarang di-terima. Nampak-nya jika tanah kebun getah berumah dekat dengan sawah itu sahaja di-mintai, jika jauh dari sawah tidak di-kehendaki. Pada sabda Yang Teramat Mulia Tengku Besar Sri Menanti, perkara tanah baharu itu tiada buleh di-masokan menjadi tanah pesaka sama ada tanah itu dekat dengan tanah sawah atau lain-nya.

Maka buleh-lah ia menjadikan tanah pesaka dengan sharat memberi tahu kapada Lembaga-nya.

Bahawa ada-lah tanah-tanah pesaka di-dalam jajahan Kuala Pilah di-punyai oleh suku yang dua belas waris perempuan-nya di-dalam jagaan lembaga serta dengan ibu bapa masing-masing. Jikalau putus waris sa-suatu suku di-dalam luak penghulu, maka tanah yang tertinggal oleh suku itu di-namakan tanah pesaka guntong. Maka tanah pesaka guntong itu di-lelong di-antara suku-suku yang lain di-dalam luak penghulu itu dan harga-nya terpulang kapada " Baital Mal ". Maka tuan-tuan tanah pesaka itu tidak-lah buleh menjual atau mengadai tanah-nya, kerana membayar hutang yang terbit dari pada kelakuan yang ma'siat, saperti minum arak, main judi, berzinah dan sa-bagai-nya, melainkan membayar hutang yang bersangkutan dengan perbelanjaan naik haji, menuntut ilmu, kematian dan nikah kahwin, di-sebabkan hutang itu sahaja buleh-lah di-jual atau di-gadai tanah pesaka. Maka hendak-lah sa-kadim-nya tolong bantu tuan tanah pesaka itu menyelesaikan hutang-nya supaya tanah-nya tiada terlelong atau terjual atau tergadai. Pepatah adat-nya :—

Lemah di-tupang,

Chondong di-tungkat.

Dan lagi jikalau tuan tanah bersawah lebar tiada daya upaya menjaga atau menchangkol lagi buleh-lah ia menjual tanah-nya mengikut peraturan adat.

Shahadan lagi tanah pesaka itu hendak-lah tuan-nya taksir harga-nya dengan sa-chukup-nya. Maka orang yang buleh membeli tanah itu ia-lah sa-kadim-nya, dan jika sa-kadim-nya tiada suka, waris-nya, dan jikalau tiada waris yang suka, baharu buleh di-jual kapada suku yang lain. Sa-kira-nya jikalau tanah itu di-beli oleh sa-kadim-nya hendak-lah ia menjual dengan saparoh harga nilian. Jika di-ambil oleh waris atau suku yang lain hendak-lah di-jualkan dengan harga nilian yang penoh. Maka pada masa menjual tanah pesaka hendak-lah di-adakan dua orang saksi, yang pertama lembaga tuan tanah itu, dan kedua ibu bapa-nya. Maka apa bila mati tuan tanah pesaka hendak-lah tanah pesaka-nya di-turunkan kapada sa-kadim perempuan-nya, iaitu anak, adek bradek, sanak ibu, sanak datok, sanak moyang, dan waris. Yang di-katakan waris itu ia-lah suku tuan tanah yang mati itu ada-nya. Jika sa-kira-nya sa-orang mati tiada mening-

Note (2). Maka kebanyakan lembaga-lembaga bersetuju membenarkan menjual tanah pesaka membayar perbelanjaan adat kahwin yang pertama sahaja dan tiada bersetuju bagi perbelanjaan kahwin yang kedua, dan lain-lain-nya saperti membaiki rumah atau khenduri. Ada juga lembaga yang bersetuju tanah pesaka buleh di-jual kerana menyelesaikan hutang kapada chetty atau lain-lain hutang dengan kebulatan waris serta lembaga-nya. Bahawa dengan sa-sunggoh-nya ada juga orang yang menjual dan mengadai tanah pesaka-nya dengan tiada meminta kebenaran waris atau lembaga-nya terlebeh dahulu, sementelahan pula jika mereka-mereka itu tiada anak perempuan. Maka wang harga tanah itu tiada-lah di-gunakan mengikut adat dan mengikut peraturan ini nampak-lah yang mereka-mereka itu tiada lagi berat mengikut adat-nya saperti dahulu kala.

galkan anak perempuan, ha-nya anak laki-laki sahaja, buleh-lah anak laki-laki itu mengambil hasil tanah pesaka ibu-nya sa-lama hidup. (Note. 1) Apa bila mati terpulang-lah tanah pesaka itu kapada sa-kadim-nya, dan jika tiada ada sa-kadim-nya kapada waris-nya.

Part II.

Ayer Kaki Lengkongan.

Bahawa ada-lah tanah pesaka kampong dan sawah di-dalam lengkongan Istana memang tanah pesaka turun temurun juga. Maka buleh-lah Ayer Kaki Lengkongan menjual tanah pesaka-nya antara-nya sendiri dengan kebenaran ketua-nya iaitu sa-orang Empat Istana atau sa-orang Apit Lempang Istana. Maka tiada sa-kali-kali di-beri kebenaran menjual kapada orang suku dua belas.

Note (2).—Maka adat tanah pesaka Ayer Kaki Lengkongan di-namakan Adat Ketemenggongan yang bersetujuan dengan shara'. Apa bila mati sa-orang perempuan lengkongan tidak-lah di-gagahi jika anak laki-laki tiada suka menuntut harta-nya atau di-bahagi dua sahaja. Jika tidak ada ia meninggalkan anak-di-chari waris-nya dalam shara'yang ada pada Ayer Kaki Lengkongan sahaja.

Shahadan lagi jika sa-orang semenda bukan orang Ayer Kaki Lengkongan tidak-lah ia di-benarkan menerima harta tanah pesaka dari pada bini-nya atau anak-nya dengan jalan apa-apa pun.

Demikian juga jika sa-orang lengkongan menyemenda di-dalam suku dua belas hendak-lah di-turunkan tanah pesaka bini-nya mengikut Adat Perpateh dan anak-anak laki-laki atau waris di-dalam shara' tidak buleh menuntut.

CHAPTER XV.

Peraturan Menarek Anak Perempuan.

Bahwa sa-orang perempuan suku dua belas yang tiada beranak perempuan buleh-lah ia menarek anak perempuan saudara sa-kadim-nya atau anak waris-nya buat anak-nya sendiri iaitu yang membela akan dia pada masa tua-nya dan menerima harta pesaka-nya. Maka hendak-lah ia mengambil anak saudara sa-kadim-nya terlebih dahulu iaitu saperti sanak ibu, sanak datok, sanak moyang, kemudian waris-nya. Jika di-ambil anak saudara-

Note (1). Di-dalam Luak Gunong Pasir lembaga-lembaga bersetuju membenarkan kapada anak jantan mengambil sa-paroh hasil tanah pesaka ibu-nya sahaja sa-lama hidup.

Note (2). Bahawa dengan sa-sunggoh-nya Ayer Kaki Lengkongan memang mengikut adat Temenggong, akan tetapi yang lazim di-turunkan tanah pesaka kapada anak-anak perempuan sahaja, dan di-muafakat ganti bahagian anak laki-laki dengan wang atau harta yang lain. Maka jika sa-orang Ayer Kaki Lengkongan hendak menjual tanah kebun getah-nya kapada suku dua belas tidak apa-apa larangan kapada-nya.

nya hendak-lah beri tahu ibu bapa serta lembaga-nya dan jika anak waris hendak-lah di-terangkan kapada ibu bapa serta lembaga-nya dengan membuat jamuan saekor kambing.

Dan lagi jika menarek anak dari pada lain suku hendak-lah membuat jamuan sa-ekor kerbau, beras lima puloh gantang, mas dua puloh kapada Lembaga dan sabahara kapada Penghulunya. Dan pada masa berjamu itu di-adakan pada berchechah darah di-antara budak yang di-tarek itu dengan sa-kadim yang menerima-nya. Maka perempuan yang di-kadimkan itu tiada-lah buleh menuntut harta pesaka ibu-nya sendiri kerana talian suku-nya telah putus. Maka tiada di-benarkan menarek anak dari pada lain suku melainkan tiada yang buleh di-tarek di-dalam suku-nya sendiri. Maka anak tarek dari pada lain suku itu buleh menerima harta pesaka dan jawatan-pesaka.

Note (1).—Shahadan lagi di-dalam jajahan ini lazim jua orang suku dua belas menarek anak dari pada lain bangsa saperti anak China dari pada kechil-nya. Maka mengikut adat anak tarek dari pada lain bangsa itu tiada buleh menerima tanah pesaka, kerana dia bukan dari pada darah orang Melayu, sunggoh pun di-akui anak akan dia dan buleh dia menerima harta charian sahaja. Note (2).—Jika tiada harta charian di-beri akan dia wang oleh waris yang menerima harta pesaka ibu angkat-nya sa-bagaimana-yang di-patutkan oleh Lembaga-nya.

CHAPTER XVI.

Peraturan menjalankan hukum Shariat Ugama di-dalam Luak Penghulu.

Bahawa pada tiap-tiap kampong di-dalam Luak Penghulu di-dirikan masjid dan tiap-tiap masjid itu di-ketuai oleh empat orang pegawai bergelar Imam, Khatib, Bilal, dan Munkin. Ada pun pegawai itu di-jadikan dengan pilehan orang ramai, ibu bapa, serta dengan Lembaga-nya. Maka pekerjaan peawai itu saperti di-bawah ini :—

(*a*) Imam—Jadi ikutan sembahyang,
(*b*) Khatib—Membacha Khatubah,
(*c*) Bilal—Bang iaitu menentukan waktu sembahyang,
(*d*) Munkin—Memanggil orang sembahyang.

Note (1). Maka di-dalam Luak Gunong Pasir di-benarkan juga menarek anak dari pada lain suku tetapi tiada buleh menerima tanah pesaka. Dan lagi di-dalam Luak Jempol di-benarkan anak tarek dari pada suku dua belas menerima tanah pesaka dan jawatan pesaka. Dan lagi di-dalam Luak Jempol di-benarkan anak tarek deripada suku dua belas menerima tanah pesaka dan jawatan pesaka dan anak dari pada lain bangsa buleh menerima tanah pesaka sahaja.

Note (2). Maka pada zaman dahulu jika menarek anak dari pada lain bangsa di-belikan dia tanah bagi hak-nya sendiri tetapi pada masa ini oleh sebab Undang Undang Tanah Kawasan Melayu tiada buleh di-ikut lagi saperti itu dan anak itu tiada-lah buleh menerima harta tanah lagi. Jika sakira-nya Undang Undang itu tiada di-ubah supaya membenarkan anak tarek mempunyai tanah tanah di-dalam kawasan Melayu hal Menarek anak dari pada lain bangsa itu akan berhenti.

Maka pekerjaan di-luar masjid saperti di-bawah ini :—

(*a*) Imam—Menyembahyangkan orang mati,
(*b*) Khatib—Membacha Talkin,
(*c*) Bilal—Memandikan mayat,
(*d*) Munkin—Melahat kubor,

dan tiap-tiap pegawai itu ada makanan-nya pada masa menyembeleh kerbau hari beradat saperti hari memulai puasa, hari raya puasa, dan hari raya haji dan makanan-nya itu saperti di-bawah ini :—

(*a*) Imam
(*b*) Khatib } Daging bertedoh,
(*c*) Bilal — Daging Penyembeleh,
(*d*) Munkin — Ramek Ramek.

Maka masjid-masjid dalam jajahan ini ada yang mengikut hukum shara' dan ada pula yang mengikut peraturan adat bagi memileh pegawai-pegawai-nya. Jika mengikut adat pilehan itu bergilir mengikut di-dalam keriah masjid itu tetapi peraturan ini telah mulai di-tinggalkan. Maka Tuan Kathi itu berkuasa menyuroh orang-orang di-dalam satu-satu keriah masjid memechat pegawai-nya jika difikirkan pegawai itu tiada pandai. Maka Datok Penghulu dan Lembaga ta'dapat tiada berkuasa masa dahulu-nya di-atas memileh dan memechat pegawai masjid dan oleh itu pada masa ini ada juga tempat-tempat yang kuat mengikut peraturan adat itu lagi tentu sekali kuasa ini telah ke-tinggalan dan kebanyakan orang-orang di-dalam jajahan ini telah beransur setia iaitu di-atas hal masjid mengikut hukum shara' sahaja iaitu berlainan dari pada adat.

CHAPTER XVII.

Perkara Yang Lain-Lain.

Keluar Suku.—Jika sa-orang dari pada waris suku yang dua belas hendak masok kapada suku yang lain dari pada suku-nya sendiri hendak-lah ia memberi tahu ibu bapa serta Lembaga-nya. Apa bila telah di-benarkan oleh Lembaga-nya iaitu dengan persetujuan Lembaga suku yang hendak di-masoki-nya itu baharu-lah buleh berpindah dari pada suku-nya. Maka mengikut adat hendak-lah ia memberi jamuan kapada waris-nya dengan sa-ekor kerbau, beras lima puloh gantang, dan membayar mas dua puloh kapada Lembaga-nya dan mas sabahara kapada Penghulu-nya. Apa bila telah keluar dari pada suku-nya itu tiada-lah buleh ia menuntut apa-apa bahagian harta atau jawatan pesaka dari pada waris-nya lagi.

Masok Suku.—Maka apa bila sa-orang masok dari pada satu suku ka-lain suku hendak-lah ia membuat jamuan pula kapada suku yang di-masoki-nya itu iaitu kerbau sa-ekor, beras lima puloh

gantang dan membayar mas dua puloh kapada Lembaga suku itu serta dengan membayar sabahara mas kapada Penghulu-nya. Ada pun tujuan jamuan itu ia-lah menerangkan kapada segala waris suku itu yang ia telah di-kadimkan dan buleh-lah ia menuntut jawatan pesaka saperti waris yang lain.

Anak Dagang.—Jika sa-orang anak dagang masok kapada Luak Penghulu atau lingkongan Lembaga, hendak-lah ia men-chari tempat kedudokan iaitu tempat menumpang saperti pepatah adat :—

Chinchang berlandasan,
Lompat bersetumpuan,
Perahu bertambatan,
Galas bersandaran,

Note (1) Dagang bertepatan.

Anak Dagang Berniaga.—Jika anak dagang itu hendak berniaga di-dalam Luak Penghulu atau lingkongan Lembaga hendak-lah ia meminta kebenaran kapada Lembaga serta Peng-hulu Luak itu, kerana Lembaga itu melihat baik dan jahat di-dalam lingkongan-nya. Apa bila telah di-persetujukan-nya baharu-lah ia di-beri kuasa oleh Penghulu Luak itu.

Pawang. Note (2).—Maka di-dalam Luak Penghulu itu di-lantek sa-orang Pawang bagi ketua-an pertahunan padi. Maka Pawang itu di-lantek dengan kebulatan anak buah serta Lembaga dan di-sembahkan kapada Penghulu Luak. Maka orang yang bersawah memberi padi kapada pawang itu pada tiap-tiap tahun bagimana yang ditetapkan oleh Lembaga-nya dengan kebulatan anak-anak buah-nya.

Mudin dan Bidan.—Maka di-dalam lengkongan Lembaga itu di-adakan Mudin serta Bidan bagi pergunaan ramai. Maka pile-han itu di-adakan dengan kebulatan anak-anak buah-nya serta di-tetapkan bayaran pada tiap-tiap pekerjaan dengan jawatan-nya itu. Maka jika mereka itu melanggari apa-apa peraturan jawatan-nya neschaya dipechat oleh Lembaga-nya.

Adat menyembeleh kerbau.—Maka adat menyembeleh kerbau di-dalam jajahan ini iaitu pada hari yang beradat saperti hari mulai puasa, hari raya puasa dan hari raya haji, pada empat tempat sahaja, iaitu di-astana Raja, di-balai Penghulu, di-rumah Lembaga dan di-masjid. Maka barang siapa mengengkarkan salah ia pada adat. Maka peraturan ini telah banyak di ubah kerana selalu di-dapati orang menyembeleh kerbau pada tem-pat-tempat yang lain dari pada yang tersebut, oleh itu nampak-lah mereka-mereka itu enggan dari pada memberi bahagian lem-baga-lembaga, pegawai masjid dan lain-lain ketua kampong yang di-tetapkan oleh adat.

Note (1). Adat ini lazim di-pakai lagi kerana jika tumboh apa hal di-atas anak dagang itu terpaksa-lah orang tepatan-nya itu menyelesaikan.
Note (2). Adat ini tiada lagi di-pakai pada masa ini.

APPENDIX CONTAINING NOTES AND EXPLANATIONS.

Written by

YANG TERAMAT MULIA TENGKU BESAR SRI MENANTI.

CHAPTER I.

Muka I.

Baris yang ka-tiga puloh dari atas dari hal inas termasok ka-dalam Luak Johol.

DI-BAHATH—Ada-lah Inas itu tiada sa-kali-kali di-bawah Undang Johol sebab-sebab-nya saperti beberapa perkara yang di-sebutkan di-bawah ini (yang di-ambil dari pada chakap Dato' Inas sendiri.)

Apakala mati sa-orang lembaga di-dalam Inas maka Dato' Penghulu Inas memberi tahu kapada tuan District Officer, Kuala Pilah menyatakan sa-orang lembaga-nya telah kosong. Tuan District Officer datang ka-Inas bersama dengan Dato' Johol dan pehak putra yang ampat yang lazim Tengku Penglima Besar maka di-pileh mengikut giliran-nya apa bila di-tetapkan sa-sa-orang itu jadi-lah ia lembaga.

Apa bila jadi sa-orang lembaga itu datang-lah ia dengan anak buah-nya mengadap Dato' Penghulu Inas pada lazim-nya apa bila sudah mengadap itu sah-lah jadi-nya.

Pada masa Dato' Inas yang ada sa-karang ini ada tiga orang lembaga yang telah jadi semua-nya bagini peraturan-nya dan tiada aturan-nya lembaga yang jadi itu mengadap Dato' Johol sepatut-nya Dato' Johol tiada di-kehendaki hathir pada masa memileh lembaga itu.

Apa bila di-adakan istiadat menyalang di-balai Dato' Johol tiada-lah Dato' Inas mengadap pada masa itu sakadarkan hathir dengan tharap penuntun tetapi lembaga-nya yang ada pada masa itu mengadap Dato' Johol tetapi tiada pula aturan-nya atau adat-nya Dato' Johol berkehendakan mereka itu mengadap.

Pada masa hari raya yang kedua dato' lembaga lembaga di-dalam Inas mengadap Dato' Inas sahaja.

Maka oleh sebab dahulu-dahulu-nya Inas itu ternampak-nampak di-bawah Johol deri kerna Dato' Johol Gubah telah nikah dengan Waris Inas dan mengadakan anak bernama Biong dan Biong pada akhir-nya menjadi Dato' Inas maka itu-lah sebab-nya Inas itu terupa-rupa di-bawah Johol. Pada hal-nya tidak ia di-bawah Johol.

Apa bila ada pergadohan di-dalam Luak Inas maka tiada-lah pernah mereka-mereka mengadap kapada Dato' Johol melain-kan habis-lah kapada Dato' Inas sahaja. Sunggoh pun Dato' Johol hathir bersama-sama pada masa menjadikan Dato' Inas (Ujang) yang ada sekarang tetapi Dato' Inas mengadap kapada yang di-Pertuan Besar, Negri Sembilan pada mengsahkan jadi-nya. Maka segala chakap-chakap Dato' Inas itu menasabah dengan treaty tahun 23.11.76.

CHAPTER III.

Muka II.

Perkataan Saperti Pepatah Boleh Menghitam Memutehkan Boleh Memanjang dan Memendekan Bolth Mengesah dan Membatalkan.

DI-BAHATH—Ada lah nĕgĕri ini dahulu-nya sabelum di-pĕrentah oleh raja Minangkabau iaitu-lah di-bawah taalok Sultan Johore oleh hal yang de-mikian tiada-lah dapat katentuan bagaimana rupa adat-nya akan-tetapi bolehlah di-fikirkan adat yang ada pada masa itu terpulang kapada tadbir ketua-ketua bagi suku yang ampat iaitu Tanah Datar, Mungkal, Sri Lemak Minangkabau dan Sri Melengang maka tĕtĕkala hĕndak mĕngadakan pĕkĕrjaan yang bĕsar-bĕsar sapĕrti olek jamu dan lain lain-nya tĕrnama-lah ia dĕngan nama mĕdan pĕnghulu ampat suku maka dĕngan jalan ini tidak-lah nampak apa-apa kĕkuasaan pĕnghulu-pĕnghulu itu sapĕrti yang tĕlah disĕbutkan-nya itu. Kĕtua suku Tanah Datar nama-nya (1) Juan Sutan Kabĕsaran (2) Kĕtua Suku Mungkal nama-nya Lengang Laut (3) Ketua Suku Sri Lĕmak Minangkabau nama-nya Dato' Puteh (4) Kĕtua Suku Sri Mĕlĕngang nama-nya Dato' Sheikh kĕmudian tĕtĕkala nĕgĕri ini sudah bĕraja digĕlar-lah mĕreka-itu (1) Paduka Bĕsar (2) Sri Maharaja (3) Sĕnara Muda (4) Orang Kaya Bongsu.

> Samĕnjak di-adakan kaadilan kuasa-nya tĕlah
> berhad sapĕrti pĕpatah :
> kata berchari kapada Lembaga sah batal kapada
> Undang hidup mati kapada Ke-Adilan.

DI-BAHATH—Ada-lah pĕpatah yang di-atas tiada boleh di-gunakan oleh pĕnghulu-pĕnghulu tanah mĕngandong ha-nya yang boleh di-gunakan pĕpatah yang tĕrsĕbut kapada undang sahaja. Maka mĕrad undang di-sini ia-lah Dato' Kelana Putra Sungai Ujong dan saperti dato'-dato' yang lain iaitu Jĕlĕbu dan Rĕmbau maka kĕdua-kĕdua luak ini dahulu-nya ada Yam Tuan Muda dan sapĕrti Johol tidak ada Yam Tuan Muda tĕtapi di-bawah tadbir anak putra iaitu sapĕrti Almarhum Tengku Muda Chik dĕngan sĕbab itu kĕtiga-kĕtiga luak ini tiada mĕmakai sapĕrti pĕpatah yang diatas akan tĕtapi oleh kĕrana kĕtiga-kĕtiga luak Jĕlĕbu Johol dan Rĕmbau jĕmĕlah undang yang ĕmpat jadi mĕngikut-lah mĕreka itu kapada Dato' Kelana Putra iaitu imam segala undang. Maka saksi pĕrkataan yang di-atas ada-lah lantekan Baginda Tan Amas Johol yang ada sĕkarang ia-lah dengan kahendak Tengku Muda Chik dĕngan di-benar-kan oleh Ke-Adilan, wakil Ke-Adilan masa itu Tengku Bĕsar Berhanudin.

> Pĕrkataan pĕnghulu itu kunchi luak-nya dan boleh
> mĕnjalankan hukum adat di-atas lembaga-lembaga-nya
> di-dalam luak-nya.

DI-BAHATH—Ada-lah pĕrkataan yang tĕrsĕbut tiada-lah di-pakai kapada penghulu tanah mĕngandong kĕrana bĕbĕrapa

lĕmbaga yang ada pĕrbuat oleh Yang Di-pĕrtuan Bĕsar sĕndiri sapĕrti Sĕnara Muda Oler di-jadikan oleh Almarhum Yang Di-pĕrtuan Bĕsar Tengku Radin dan Sĕnara Muda Bakar di-angkat-kan oleh Dato' Siamang Haji Mokmin dĕngan kĕbĕnaran Almarhum Yam Tuan Antah. Dan lagi pada masa Sĕnara Muda Lateh tĕlah tĕrpĕchat ia dariapda gĕlaran-nya maka dĕngan kĕsukaan Yang Maha Mulia Almarhum Tuanku Muhamad telah di-kĕmbalikan ia balek mĕnyandang gĕlaran itu. Shahadanlagi Dato' Baginda Tukang Kahar tĕlah di-angkatkan oleh Almarhum Tengku Muda Chik dan di-bĕnarkan oleh Almarhum Tuanku Muhamad dan dĕmikian jua Dato' Bĕsar Othman lĕmbaga Jĕmpol. Dan jua Paduka Bĕsar yang ada sĕkarang sabĕlum bĕrgĕlar paduka Besar ia tĕlah bĕrgĕlar Pĕnglima Sutan tĕtapi dĕngan kahĕndak Almarhum Tengku Muda Chik di-bĕri ia mĕmakai dua gĕlaran yaitu Paduka Bĕsar lĕmbaga yang ĕmpat luak Muar dan Pĕnglima Sutan pĕgawai yang ĕnam di-dalam astana dan di-bĕnarkan oleh Almarhum Yang Maha Mulia Tuanku Muhamad.

> Bĕrkĕnaan dĕngan pĕrkataan tali pĕngikat kapada lĕmbaga kĕris pĕnyalang kapada undang hidup mati kapada Ke-Adilan.

Di-bahath Ada-lah pĕpatah ini tiada boleh di-gunakan oleh pĕnghulu tanah mĕngandong kĕrana di-dalam luak-luak pĕnghulu ini sĕmata-mata hak kapada Yang Di-pĕrtuan ada-lah pĕrkataan pedang pĕ-manchong dan kĕris pĕ-nyalang kĕdua-kĕdua-nya itu boleh di-gunakan oleh Yang Di-pĕrtuan mĕngikut suka-nya sahaja kĕrana pada masa Almarhum Yang Di-pertuan Besar Tuanku Muhammad dan pada masa itu Yang Berhormat Tuan Martin Lister mĕnjadi Supĕrintendent Kuala Pilah ada sa'orang bĕrnama Karim dĕngan titah pĕrentah Almarhum telah di-hukum salang (dĕngan Kĕris) maka yang mĕnyalang-nya bĕrnama Mĕmpĕrang Balai.

CHAPTER XII PART XI.

Muka II.

Pikiran Orang Ampat Istana jika sa-kira-nya Putra Putri suka menuntut tanah pesaka saperti kampong atau sawah dari pada harta Ibu-nya tiada-lah menjadi larangan akan tetapi Penghulu Luak tanah mengandong dan lembaga-nya tidak bersetuju.

DI-BAHATH—Perkara ini sebenar-nya-lah saperti kata Orang Ampat Istana dalil-nya.

1. Tengku Pengeran bin Almarhum yang di-Pertuan Besar Tuanku Radin telah kahwin dengan Enche' Sudi Suku Sri Lemak Minangkabau, Anak buah Senara Muda maka harta pesaka Enche' Sudi itu di-miliki oleh putra putri-nya hingga masa ini aitu inama-nya Tengku Minut, Tengku Dinah dan Tengku Abdul Jalil.

2. Tengku Daud bin Almarhom Yam Tuan Muda Rembau Tengku Asil telah kahwin dengan perempuan Suku Sri Lemak Minangkabau anak buah Setia Lela di-Padang Biawas Gunong Pasir maka tanah Pesaka itu telah di-miliki oleh putra putri-nya hingga sampai sekarang iaitu deri Tengku Hussain hingga kapada Tengku Tahir dan Tengku Terisah.

3. Masa Almarhum Tuanku Radin bertunggang kuda di-Terachi maka pada masa melalui pada suatu tempat di-dalam Terachi telah terantok kepala-nya (hulu-nya) kapada sabatang poko ' buloh yang melintangi jalan lalu terjatoh katanah dan ter-chedra Yang Maha Mulia Itu hingga keluar darah dari pada jari tangan-nya maka tempat itu di-namakan jernang tumpah dan terhulor kapada Yang Maha Mulia tetapi pada masa Almarhum Tuanku Muhamad dengan kahendak sendiri-nya telah di-kembali-kan nya balek tanah itu kapada yang ampunya-nya dahulu.

CHAPTER XVI.

Muka I.

Dari awal hingga akhir-nya pasal menjalankan hukum shara' di-dalam Luak Penghulu.

Di-bahath—Pasal mengganti Imam, Khatib, Bilal dan Munkin buleh-lah mereka mereka yang di-dalam kariah masjid menchadangkan kapada sa-orang yang di-persutujui-nya akan tetapi ketetapan itu hendak-lah di-atas kathi. Sama ada yang di-chadangkan oleh mereka itu atau lain mereka yang di-pikirkan oleh kathi yang lebih layak atau patut dari pada pilihan mereka itu kerna ada-lah ka-ampat-ampat pegawai yang tersebut semata-mata bergantong kapada hukum shara.'

Dan lagi saperti makanan pegawai-pegawai masjid dari pada daging kerbau dan ramek-ramek itu hendak-lah dengan redza mereka-mereka yang mempunyai kerbau itu ya'ani bukan dengan jalan paksa, Dan jua di-bawah ini di-sebutkan sa-bagaimana ka-adaan mereka-mereka hendak mendirikan masjid-masjid pada masa bekas kathi Sri Menanti Al-Haji Ibrahim menjadi kathi dahulu demikian bunyi-nya (perkataan di-bawah ini di-ambil dari pada perchakapan surat Haji Ibrahim bekas Kathi). Ehwal ada-lah titah bertanyakan hal pada masa patek menjadi kathi siapa yang berkuasa kapada masjid-masjid dan membuat muafakat-muafakat pada membuat masjid di-dalam Muar, Jempol, Terachi dan Gunong Pasir kathi-lah yang berkuasa dan bersama-sama dato' lembaga terkadang-kadang ada penghulu dan orang ramai sahaja bermuafakat bermuafakat ada-nya.

Shahadan di-dalam Jempol ada patek membuat masjid dua buah masjid Tengkek satu dan masjid Majau satu bersama tuan kathi Haji Bakal (Abu Bakar) dan di-dalam Johol ada patek membuat satu masjid bersama-sama Dato' Baginda Tan Mas Dolah Dato' Lembaga. Jemblah-nya tiada bersama pada batin-nya pada Zahir-nya bersama-sama ada-nya. (Arti-nya perka-

taan itu masjid Johol itu di-perbuat oleh kathi tiada persetujuan pada hati dato'[2] lembaga tetapi oleh sebab tiada upaya mereka itu di-persetuju kan-nya juga pada akhir-nya.)

Shahadan lagi banyak-nya masjid di-dalam Luak Muar 23 buah masjid, di-dalam Luak Jempol 8 buah masjid, di-dalam Luak Johol 8 buah masjid, di-dalam Luak Terachi 3 buah masjid, di-dalam Luak Gunong Pasir 1 buah masjid jemlah-nya 43 buah masjid ada satu lagi patek membuat masjid di-Pasir Besar, Muar. Dan yang berkuasa kapada masjid'-masjid di-dalam Sri Menanti, Kathi, Sri Menanti dan di-dalam Jempol Naibal-Kahti, Jempol, dan di-dalam Johol, Naibal-Kathi Johol yang berkuasa kapada masjid-masjid. Ada pun yang tersebut di-dalam kitab-kitab ada-lah Sultan (Raja) itu bayang-bayang Allah dan apa-apa hal-nya dan hukum di-atas-nya, raja dan tuan kathi ada-nya. Pendek-nya semua perkataan yang di-atas itu tujuan-nya membuat atau menganjak semata-mata di-dalam tangan kathi deri kerna masjid itu rumah Allah tiada boleh sa-sa-orang berkuasa lain deri pada raja, ka-adaan raja bayang-bayang Allah.

A TRANSLATION OF THE HIKAYAT ABDULLAH

By J. J. SHEEHAN, M.C.S.

Plate V.

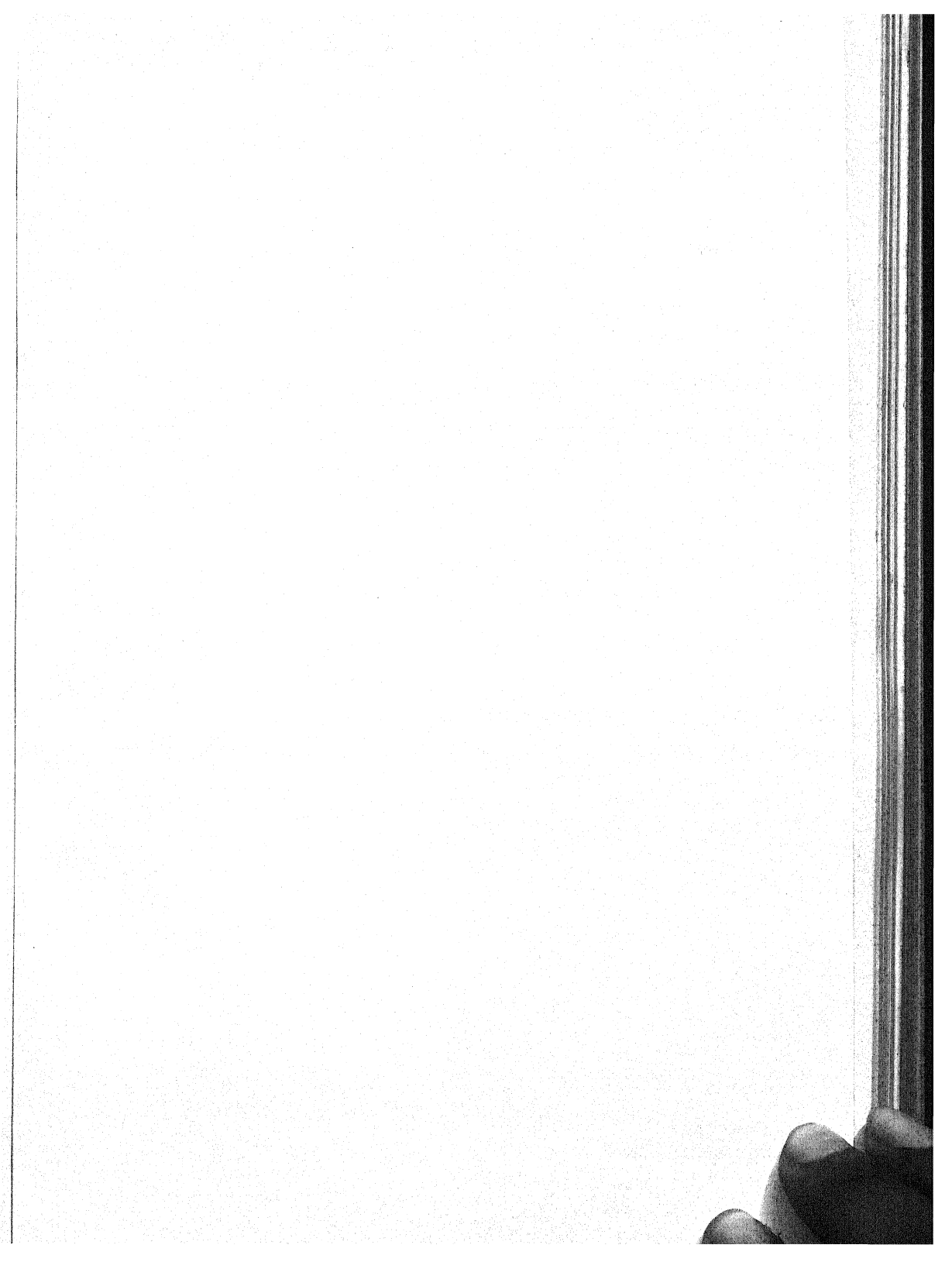
I have in my library a book entitled " Translations from the Hikayit Abdulla ", with comments by J. J. Thomson, F.R.G.S., published by Henry S. King & Co., London, 1874. As I understand that this translation is comparatively unknown, a description of it should prove of interest to readers of the Journal.

2. Mr. J. J. Thomson was Government Surveyor, Singapore. He came to Malaya about one hundred years ago, and retired in 1855. In a preface to the translation he mentions that he was one of Abdullah's pupils, who presented him with a copy of his manuscript. After an absence of eighteen years from the country he was moved to undertake the work of translation by several inducements—the personal request by Abdullah in 1846, when he was too occupied with official work; an ever recurring interest in the affairs of the East, which led him after long absence to peruse Abdullah's manuscript; and lastly, to shew how esteem may be generated in the native mind by just conduct and refined manners.

3. The translation contains 34 chapters and 4 appendices, 349 pages in all, and is handsomely bound in a cover of brown cloth. At the end of each chapter explanatory notes are added for the information of the general reader. Some chapters of purely local interest are not translated, and others only briefly mentioned. These include Abdullah's Schooling, Colonel Farquhar seeking for a Settlement, and the Tan Tae Hoey. All these had already been translated in the Journal of the East Indian Archipelago, 1852, by Mr. Braddell (then Attorney General for the Straits Settlements). The merits of the work may be judged by the translation which he gives of that portion of Abdullah's manuscript dealing with the opening of the Anglo Chinese College, Malacca, and which is published as the frontispiece of the book.

4. Judging from the comments of the translator he had a considerable knowledge of the Peninsula. He was engaged for some years on a Survey of the Coast of Johore and Pahang, where he acquired a wide acquaintance with the Orang Laut. His visits to Malacca were frequent, and in the course of one of them he examined " with great curiosity the portrait of Lord Minto hanging in the resident magistrate's office, where he is represented as breaking the shackles of cruelty. The climate had so destroyed the colours that it might be taken for a black Madonna ". It would be interesting to know if the portrait is still in existence, and what is its present state of preservation.

5. There can be no doubt that Mr. Thomson was well qualified to undertake the work of translation. He had the requisite knowledge of the country, an enthusiasm for the language, and a



Full-size reproduction of page 56 of Abdullah's manuscript.

deep respect for the autobiographer. Here is his description of Abdullah :—

> " The Autobiographer, Abdullah bin Abdul Kada, munshi, was a Mahomedan and a British subject, having been born in Malacca in the year 1797, which date is derived from information given near the end of the manuscript, wherein he stated that in the year 1843 he was forty six years of age. He was the son of Abdul Kadar and his wife Salama, both of Malacca, which Abdul Kadar was the son of Mahomed Abraim of Nagore, South India, and his wife Perbagi of Malacca, and Mahomed Abraim was son of Abdul Kadar, an Arab of Yemen. Thus Abdullah was of mixed race, three removes from the Arab. He would have been called Inchi or Mr. amongst his countrymen had he not earned the designation of Padre, or Father, by his close connection with the Protestant missionaries. In physiognomy he was a Tamilian of South Hindostan. He was tall, slightly bent forward, spare, energetic, bronze in complexion, oval faced, high nosed, and one eye squinted a little outwards. He dressed in the usual style of Malacca Klings or Tamils, having an Acheen saluar (trousers,) checked sarong (kilt), printed baju (coat), a square small cap, and sandals.
>
> " He had the vigour and pride of the Arab, the perseverance and subtility of the Hindoo—in language and national sympathy only was he Malay....."

The relationship between the Autobiographer and the translator were friendly, and they discussed life in general and religion in particular at great length. In these conversations Abdullah's views were expressed with greater freedom than in his autobiography, as the following extract shew :—

> " I would then ask him what became of unbelievers. To this he would reply, that the reply of the Imams (priests) would be that they would go to hell ; but amongst laymen such as himself opinions were very various "....Then Abdullah went on to say " It would be absurd to say that the Reverends Dr. Morison and Milne went to hell because they did not believe in Mohomed ; but the priesthood and women will not agree to my sentiments, nor dare I press them amongst my co-religionists. They are fenced by a boundary of ignorance which I have passed through "....
>
> " Then, said I, " you feel in your religion a sort of compact between the priests and women against the men ". "Yes", said he, "this is only too observable and we sometimes kick against their government but all to no purpose ; they together always carry the day, in the long run. When a man gets sick then is the woman's chance to manage and take it out of him—and the priests, too, " he added."

The translator also emerges as a man of strong and decided views. He devotes many pages of criticism to what he considers the illtimed efforts of the missioneries in certain directions but has

the greatest admiration for individuals, such as Dr. North. He is no lover of the East India Company, " originally founded by Radicals and composed of London shopkeepers ". He dryly comments. " We have seen it out ". He endorses Abdullah's estimate of John Crawford Esqr., F.K.S., whom he designates as the leader of the Philistines. As a sidelight on the translators prejudices the following comment on the Naning war is of interest.

> " The Nanning war was one of these wars of Xerxes in which the East India Company used to indulge, no doubt from sufficient motives.....Sir James Brooke, with 200 of his men would have brought in the penghulu in the course of six weeks—as it was, this service required several regiments who would not march until a way had been cleared, several chains in width, through the tall forests for a distance of 20 miles. The regular troops were calculated for action on the plains of India ; for such a country as the Malay Peninsula they were the wrong material. The *impedimenta* of an Indian army are enormous and the habits acquired even by European Officers are obstruction to enterprise. (Beer)* will have much to account for in future years. The climate is debilitating enough, but the quantity consumed makes it doubly worse, it tends to make the bodily system weak and obese, creating a tendency to fever. I have always found beer drinkers easily prostrated by a little exercise. A love of beer is promoted by the climate and is ultimately detrimental to sound habits and self respect....I have known a European so addicted to it that he required to have a coolie carrying a three dozen case after him if he left his house for any time."
>
> Mr. Thomson concludes his book as follows :—" As I left Singapore for good in 1855, I lost sight of Abdullah but in writing to my old friend and school fellow, Mr. J. R. Logan, on or about the year 1863, he informed me that he had died a few years ago. Thus he had only attained the age of fifty eight or sixty at most ; his autobiography having been written when he was forty six."

Translation of Plate V

(*Mr. Milne invited all the Malacca gentry, to the number of forty or fifty, and they having assembled, each put a dollar*) below the threshold of the door (there might have been seventy or eighty dollars) ; and they all stood round the door when Mr. Milne struck, it, and called out the name of the house as the Anglo Chinese College, by which name it has been since called. This done, all returned to their homes. The house was about one year in building, and when it was finished he removed to it from the old house. As to the old house he levelled it to the ground for a lawn. Now, at this time numerous children of the Chinese, Portuguese and Malays were taught at the College, of whom, four, five, or even ten became clever at reading and writing the English language.

*The translater here names two well known brands of beer.

At the same time, also, many people began to know how to speak English; besides, all the descendants of the Dutch in Malacca changed their habits, language, and costume—male and female. All imitated the English. And many were the times that the gentry asked me to call the Malay children to learn to read and write, either in Malay or English; but they would not come, for in their stupidity they feared that they would be taken by force and made English of. So they would not come, as the impression had got hold of their minds that force would be used to convert them. I urged them to come numberless times. Besides, I explained to them that the English had not the remotest intention of converting them, if they themselves were not agreeable, but that the object was no other than to teach them their own language, or the language of the English, as these acquisitions in after life would greatly facilitate their earning a livelihood. I argued, to learn accounts—would that be of no use? for if they did not learn accounts, how could they trade, buy, or sell? Moreover, I counselled them in many ways but they slighted my advice. The more I harangued them the more they avoided me; for in their thoughts they said I wished to destroy them. This feeling arrived at such a pitch that they conceived in their hearts a spite against me. So I was silent. They went and warned my father, requesting him to forbid me to learn the English language, least I should fall into English customs, and despise my own religion. On this my father forbade me, saying, "I do not like your going to learn the English language and writing, for not a single Mohamedan learns these, and many people say there is something bad in it, and that it tends to hurt our religion." Now, when I heard the words of my father, I considered a while and asked myself, "From what clique does this foolish talk come to my father? Thus long he has advised me to perfect myself, and now he is angry that I have become so. Then I asked, why does my father forbid me to learn these things? And he replied, because many men tell me that harm will come to you by your following English customs, for they are a race skilled in gaining influence over the mind of mankind. I am afraid that harm will come to you by your following their teachings, then I replied "Is it not right to follow good customs, and to cast aside evil habits, and if from a simpleton I become learned would that hurt my peace, now? You, O' father, have listened to the warnings of fools; they have a spite against me, because I told their children to learn, rather than to sit in idleness and nothingness. Would it not be better for them to learn? Then said my father, "you are now clever with your tongue; I am not able to wrangle with you. When you were little, I could correct you; now you are big, I am afraid of you. To this I replied "Let me not be lifted up thus. Even if I were a prince, if I be wrong, I shall be amenable to my father's pleasure." When my father heard this (*he went into his room to seek a rattan cane to flog me*).

THE INSTALLATION OF TUANKU ABDUL-RAHMAN IBNI AL-MARHUM TUANKU MUHAMMAD SHAH AS YANG DI-PERTUAN BESAR, NEGRI SEMBILAN.

By J. J. SHEEHAN, M.C.S.

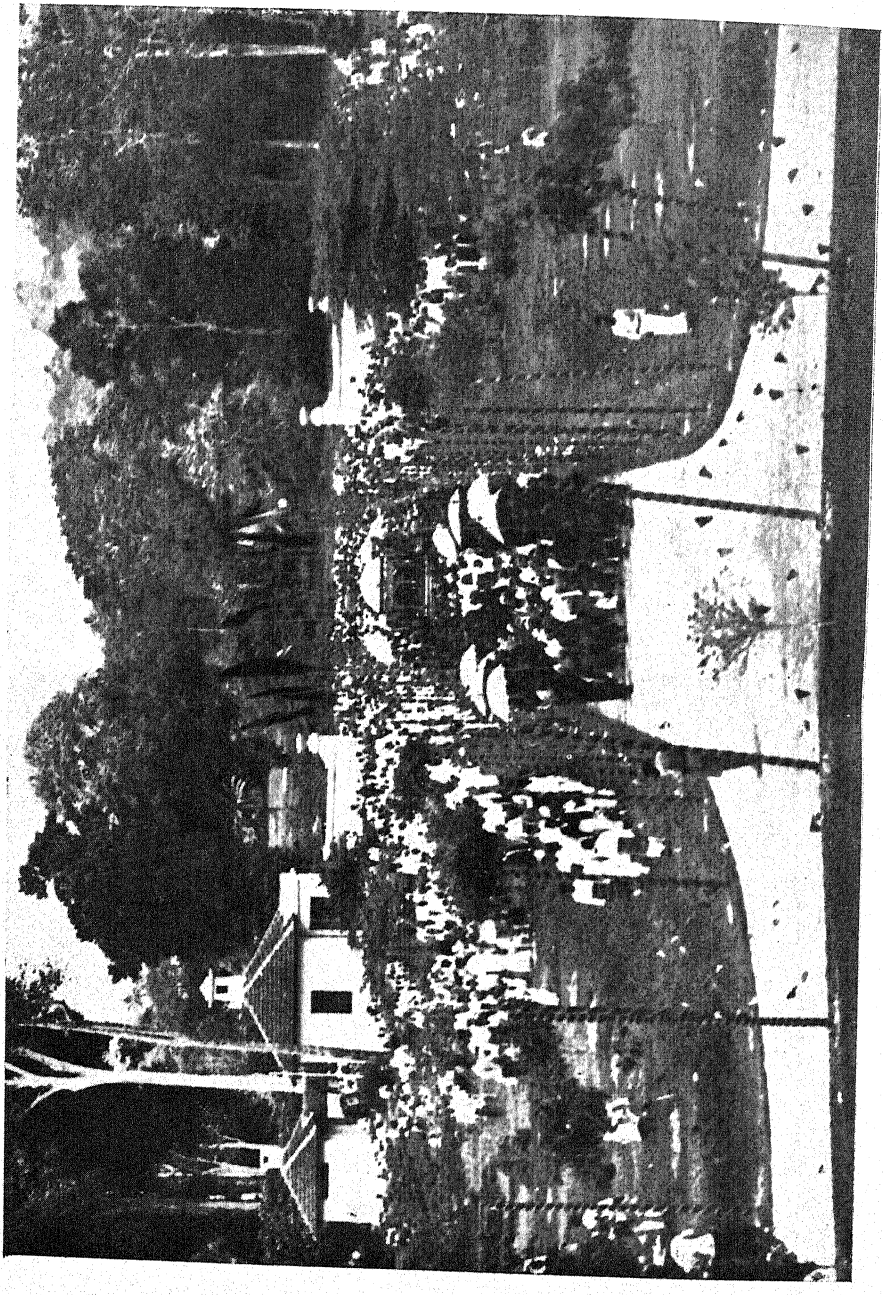
Plates VI—VIII.

The last Installation of a Yang di-Pertuan Besar, Negri Sembilan, that of Tuanku Muhammad, father of the present Yang di-Pertuan Besar, took place on the 7th May, 1898. It was preceded by a Treaty between the Yang di-Pertuan Besar and the four Lawgivers, the Undang of Sungai Ujong, Jelebu, Johol and Rembau. This Treaty and Installation settled many differences then existing between the Court of Sri Menanti and the Undang, and prepared the way for the peaceful development of the country in the years to follow. Mr. E. W. Birch, who was then British Resident was mainly instrumental in bringing about this happy conclusion. To volume No. 46 of this Journal he contributed an account of the proceedings. This account is taken asthe basis for the chapter dealing with Court ceremonial in Wilkinson's Sri Menanti, but Wilkinson lays much more stress on the importance of the Regalia, and the prayers recited during the Installation.

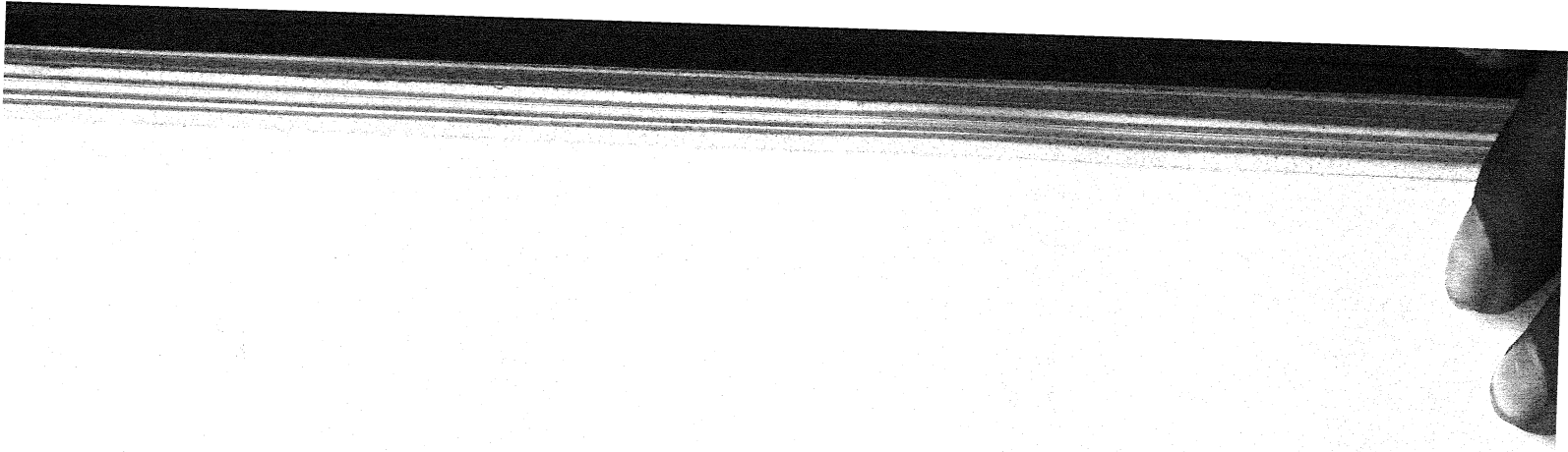
According to Birch, the 1898 Installation was, in essentials, similar to preceding ones. As Negri Sembilan Malays are very tenacious of old custom, the ceremonies of 1934 followed closely those of 1898. Differences were inevitable, due to the modern development of transport and other changes.

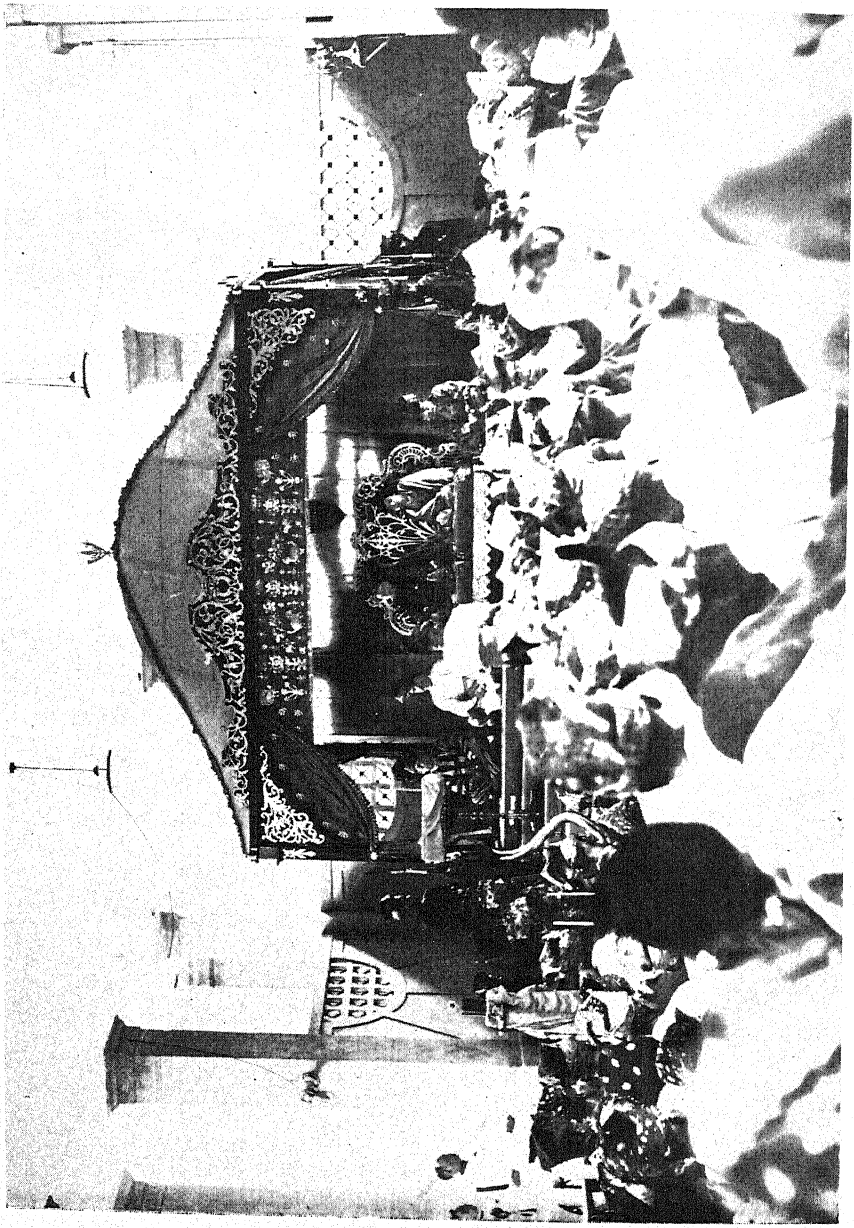
The valley of Sri Menanti can have changed little during the past forty years, when Birch was so impressed with its beauty. The jungle on the hills around still show the same delicate shades of green, and rice fields still flank the roads from Terachi and Kuala Pilah. Rubber has hardly obtruded into this lovely and secluded valley, where the Malay population lives in much the same manner as when Raja Melewar, the first Yang diPertuan, came from Sumatra at the close of the 18th century. It is within the royal grounds that the most noticeable alterations have taken place. No trace exists of the Astana, and Audience Hall where the 1898 installation took place. The buildings replacing them have, in their turn, been ousted by expensive concrete structures, which convey an effect of solidness and stability but are much less pleasing to the eye than the old many-pillared houses with shingled tapering roofs.

Wednesday, the 25th April, 1934, was the date fixed for the Installation at the new *balai penghadapan*. All the preliminary arrangements were drawn up by Tengku Zakariah bin Tengku Mambang, the Private Secretary to His Highness the Yang di-Pertuan Besar. These involved preparations for the feeding of visitors, numbering many thousands, the erection of shelters, and a thousand small details, inseparable from such an occasion.

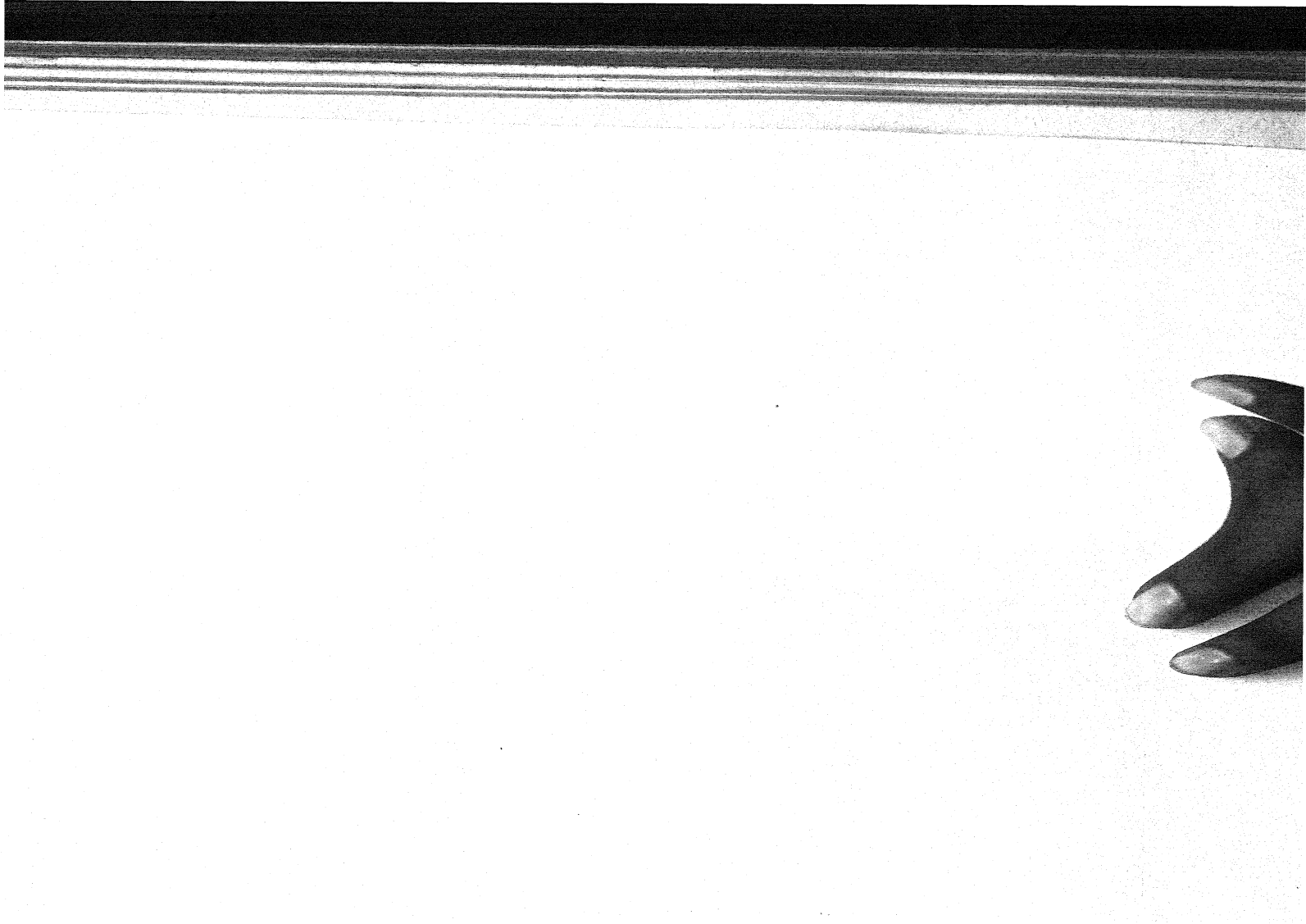


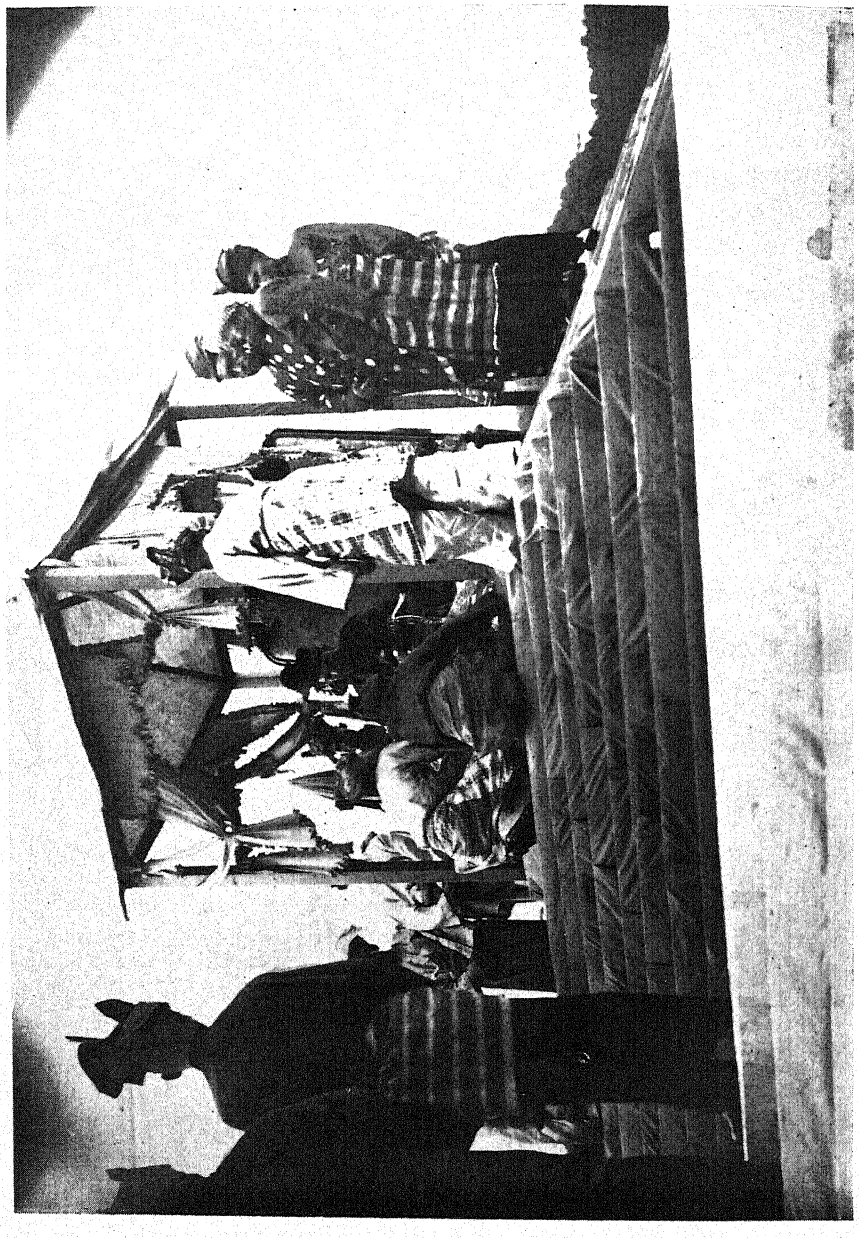
The procession of the Maharaja 'diraja.





The Mengadap Ceremony: the Dato' Klana making his obeisance.





Installation of Yang di-Pertuan Besar, Negri Sembilan.

Tengku Zakaria is to be congratulated upon his foresight, unfailing tact, and tireless energy which contributed so much to make a success of the Installation. The arrangements were approved in final form by the Council of the Yang di-Pertuan and Undang, and the 25th April was declared a Public holiday. For some days Malays had been making their way to Sri Menanti. The bicycle was the most popular mode of conveyance, and there was considerable congestion of traffic on the narrow and tortuous road from Tanjong Ipoh to the Istana. Following the time-honoured custom of Negri Sembilan, that the population attending on occasions of State shall be fed and housed by the Ruler, stores of rice had been laid in, buffaloes purchased, and houses and schools set aside for the accommodation of visitors. In anticipation of the arrival of a large crowd, a small village had been erected in the Istana grounds by enterprizing traders and owners of side shows.

These, however, were destined to fare badly, as heavy rainstorms fell each afternoon for some days before the Installation, in spite of the efforts of a *pawang* employed by Tengku Zakaria to control the winds and the clouds. Within a short time the ground around these shops was inches deep in mud, and, from the 24th April onwards, the village presented such an uninviting appearance that the most unsophisticated Malay could hardly be tempted to approach and risk the ruin of his best clothes. An open-air cinema, and the usual *ronggeng* and *wayang* had been set up at the expense of the Negri Sembilan Government.

Some thousands were already assembled at Sri Menanti on the day before the Installation, which was entirely devoted to field sports for school children, and competitions in *main silat* and *sepak raga* for their elders. From its room at the Istana the Regalia was removed with proper ceremony and the burning of incense, and the following parts of it were placed on the lawn :—

Umbrellas of yellow cloth	16
Kris	8
Swords	8
Tufted Spears	8
Flags of State	16

This is called *mendirikan adat*, and is always carried out as a preliminary on occasions of State. On this day, by tradition, the four Undang and their followers should arrive in the valley of Sri Menanti, and take up their residence at the houses (*telapakan*) reserved for them. Here a departure from custom occured. The Undang of Sungai Ujong, Jelebu and Rembau stayed at the Istana Lama during the Installation, although their followers occupied their *tĕlapakan*. The Undang of Johol took up his residence at Kampong Bukit, about two miles from Sri Menanti. Alone of the Undang he followed the old tradition. The morning of the 25th April was clear and very warm, and by 9 o'clock, about 10,000 Malays had gathered in the Astana grounds, their vividly-coloured costumes presenting a very picturesque effect in the

bright sunlight. Shortly afterwards, school children began to line the road on each side from the Astana to the Padang, a distance of some hundreds of yards. Here a platform (*Pancha Persada*) had been erected for the ceremonial lustration of the Yang di-Pertuan Besar and his consort. This ceremony (*bersiram*) although not mentioned by Birch or Wilkinson, is considered to form an essential part of the installation. In it the Undang take no part, and the whole is performed by the royal retainers and the Penghulu Tanah Mengandong.

At 9.30 a.m. His Excellency the High Commissioner and the British Resident arrived at the Istana and paid their respects to H. H. the Yang di-Pertuan.

Immediately afterwards, H. H. the Yang di-Pertuan and the Tengku Ampuan mounted a four-wheeled carriage, which had been drawn up in readiness outside. This carriage, called the Maharaja 'diraja, is reserved for ceremonial processions. A platform, with steps leading to a dais, had been built on the floor above the wheels. Upon the dais were placed two cushions of yellow cloth, and covering it was a canopy of the same colour. The platform and the remainder of the Maharaja 'diraja was also draped in yellow. As soon as the Yang di-Pertuan and the Tengku Ampuan had seated themselves upon the dais, the carriage was drawn in procession by the *Pegawai* 99 towards the *Pancha Persada*. In front walked the Court Officials, Penglima Sutan, Laxamana, and Andatar, bearing weapons from the Regalia covered in yellow cloth. Then came the Penghulu Tanah Mengandong, the Dato' Ulu Muar, Jempul, Terachi, and Gunong Pasir; musicians; more of the palace retainers with regalia; the Orang Empat Istana bearing a silver tray and bowl held conspicuously high. The Maharaja 'diraja was next, with the Court Officials To'Kanda and To' Gajah standing on either side of the dais and To' Manku behind. Following the carriage came the princess and ladies of the Royal Household, and finally the ordinary spectators. The procession slowly passed along the road through lines of cheering school children, and under triumphal arches erected by the Chinese and Indo-Ceylonese Communities of Kuala Pilah. On their arrival at the *padang*, H. H. the Yang di-Pertuan and the Tengku Ampuan descended from the Maharaja 'diraja, and took their seats on a dais on the *pancha persada*. The dais, the steps leading to it, and the whole of the *pancha persada* were covered with yellow cloth. The officials taking part in the ceremony now took up their allotted positions. Immediately behind the dais stood the Kanda and Royal Umbrella bearers. On the steps leading to the dais stood the Orang Empat Istana, the Dato' Akhir Zaman with the silver tray and bowl, and the Penghulu Tanah Mengandong. Below them, at platform level, were the Orang Enam Istana, and grouped around were twenty other retainers. Seated on the steps, separated from all the rest and dressed entirely in black was one of the Pegawai 99 of the Sri Melanggang tribe, who bore the title of Laxamana (not to be confused with the Orang Enam of the same title). Legend has it

that one of his ancestors was responsible for the first *bersiram* at Sri Menanti. So to this day the Laxamana plays an imporant part in the arrangement and conduct of the ceremony. The silver tray and bowl were now carried in procession round the dais seven times by the Orang Empat Istana. When the seventh circuit was completed they mounted the steps to the dais, accompanied by the Penghulu Tanah Mengandong.

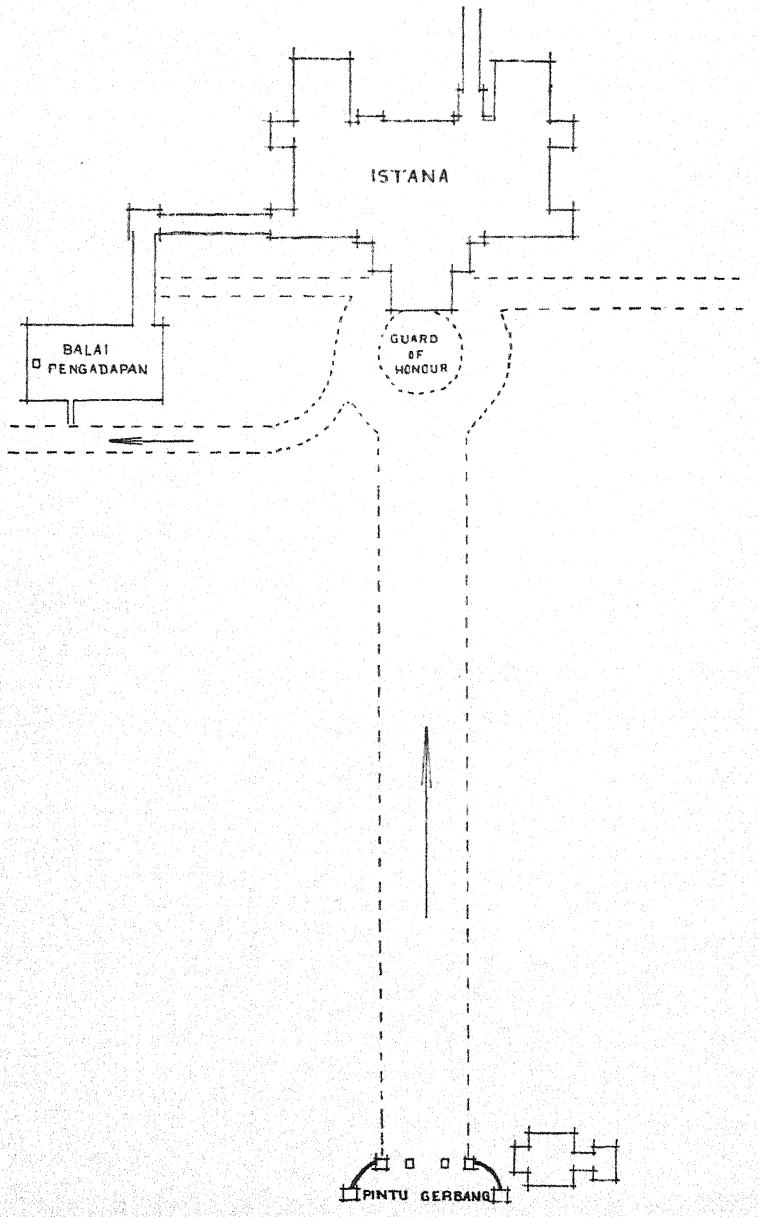
Here, each of the Orang Empat Astana knelt in turn before their Highnesses, and presented the bowl to them. The bowl contained powder and lime (*bedak limau*), and at each offering the Yang di-Pertuan and the Tengku Ampuan dipped their right hands into it.

At the conclusion of this part of the ceremony the Orang Empat Astana stood aside, and the Kathi took up his position in front of the spectators below the *Pancha Persada*, and recited a short Arabic prayer. Following him came a number of religious people (*ulama*), who chanted at great length a song in praise of Their Highnesses, and wished them a long and prosperous reign.

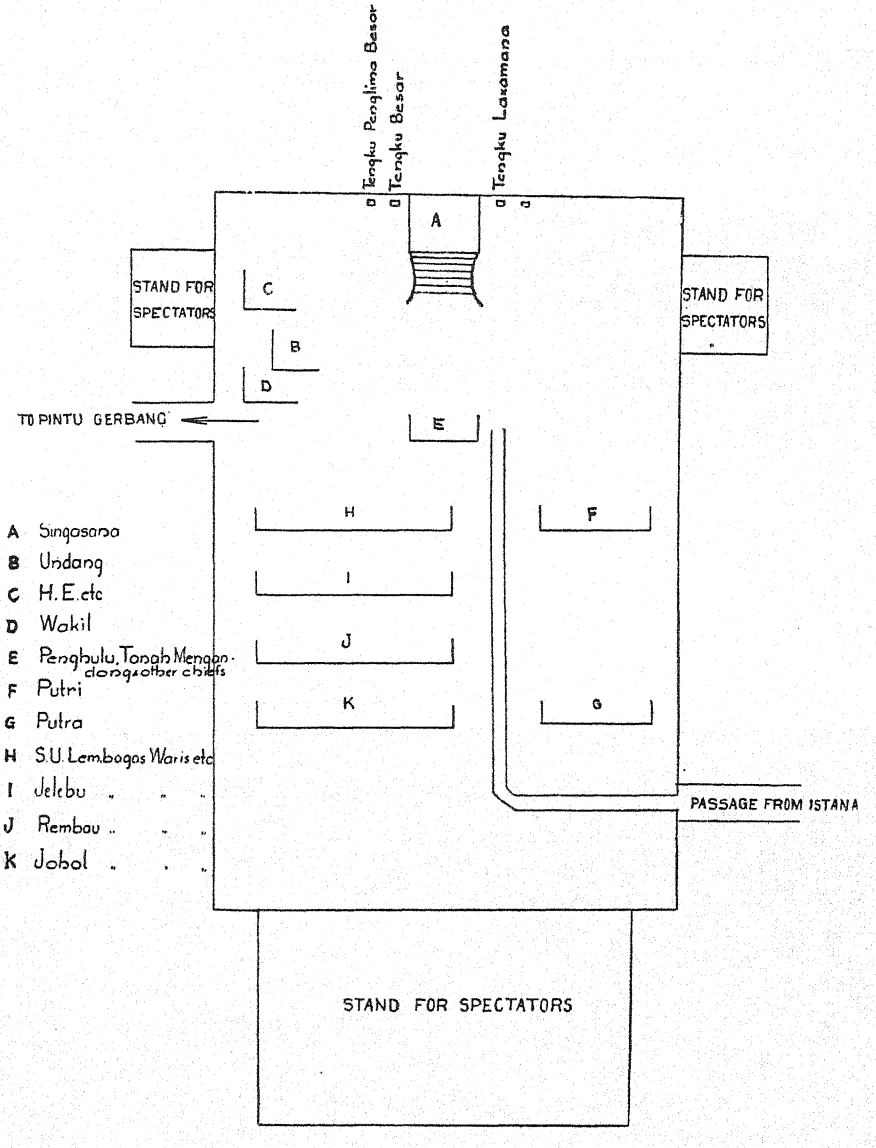
The whole ceremony finished about 11.30 a.m. when the Yang di-Pertuan and the Tengku Ampuan returned in procession in the Maharaja 'diraja to the Istana. The *tabal* ceremony, or Installation proper, was timed to commence shortly after 1 p.m. and visitors employed the interval in visiting the grounds and examining the Audience Hall (*Balai Penghadapan*). In front of the Istana is a circular grass lawn, which was destined for the Guard of Honour of men of the M.V.I. A straight road leads from it to the entrance gate, whence the Undang were to march in procession to the Audience Hall. The hall itself was connected with the Istana by a covered way, and at the end furthest from the Astana a richly decorated singgasana, with a canopy of yellow cloth, had been prepared. The steps leading to the singgasana were covered with a carpet overlaid in the centre by a strip of white muslin. A few yards from the bottom of the steps, and directly facing the singgasana, was a platform raised about a foot from the level of the floor, called the Raja 'dimuda, which was to be occupied by the Penghulu Tanah Mengandong and other Chiefs. On the right of the hall chairs had been placed for the members of of the royal household, and on the left accommodation had been prepared for the High Commissioner, the Undang, and other guests. The central position and rear had been reserved for the minor chiefs and lembagas from different districts. Outside the Hall *atap* sheds had been erected to allow visitors an opportunity of seeing the ceremony. A glance at plan B will show how the hall was filled when all had taken their allotted positions.

The opening ceremony was timed to commence at 1.40 p.m., and as the hour approached, invited guests took up their places in the stand outside the *Balai*, and thousands of Malays crowded the approaches to the Istana in the hope of seeing at least part of the Installation. As soon as the Guard of Honour of 100 M.V.I. under three officers had taken up its position on the lawn facing the Pintu Gerbang, all roads were closed.

"PLAN A"
Shewing route taken by the procession of Undang and their followers



"PLAN. B."



At the back of the hall were congregated various officials such as Kathis, Penghulu Mukims, Lembaga Tanah Mengandonget c. and all around the sides the Pegawai 99.

At the outset a departure from the arrangements of 1898 was inevitable. Then, the Undang and their followers occupied separate *balai* adjoining the audience hall, where the Yang di-Pertuan was already awaiting them. On the present occasion the Undang stayed in the Astana Lama, and the erection of *balai atap*, following the custom, would have been impracticable and unnecessary. It was decided instead that the Undang should make a ceremonial entrance with their followers from the Pintu Gerbang, distant about 200 yards from the Istana. Here, under a small *atap* shelter, they awaited the call to the Audience Hall.

At 1.40 p.m. the Orang Empat Istana requested the four lembagas of Ulu Muar (Dato' Paduka Besar, Dato' Sri Maharaja, Dato Senara Muda and Dato' Orang Kaya Bongsu) to convey a message from the Istana t the Undang that all was in readiness to receive them. On receipt of the message, and to the accompaniment of a Salute of 15 guns, the four Undang set out in separate procession at short intervals to the *Balai Penghadapan*, in the following order :—

Undang of Rembau and his followers ;
Undang of Johol and his followers ;
Undang of Jelebu and his followers ;
Undang of Sungai Unjong and his followers.

The number of followers of the Undang of Sungai Ujong, and the variety of their costumes, attracted particular attention. In front walked a number of spearsmen clothed in green, then the Undang alone, and behind him various chiefs and lembagas. At the entrance to the Balai the spearsmen lined the path on either side whilst the Undang and Chiefs made their entrance. When the four Undang had taken up their positions, the Orang Empat Astana were seen to enter from the Astana, bearing yellow cushions, which they placed on the singgasana, and then ceremoniously saluted them three times. Shortly afterwards came the Tangku Ampuan and the Ladies of Court, and took their seats, the Tengku Ampuan awaiting at the top of the passage way the arrival of His Highness the Yang di-Pertuan Besar. Next the guests, who were allotted seats of honour in the balai, came in procession from the Astana, in the following order :—

Representative of H. H. the Sultan of Pahang (Tengku Besar) and the British Resident, Pahang.

Representative of H. H. the Sultan of Selangor (Raja Muda) and the British Resident, Selangor.

Representative of H. H. the Sultan of Perak (Raja Muda) and the British Resident, Perak.

Judge, Negri Sembilan ; British Resident, Negri Sembilan ; and Chief Secretary to Government.

General Officer Commanding, Malayan Command and A.D.C.

Private Secretary and A.D.C. to His Excellency, the High Commissioner.

Finally the Yang di-Pertuan, preceded by the Orang Empat Astana, and the *Apit Lempang* Astana, bearing the ceremonial insignia of the Royal Household wrapped in yellow coverings. Following His Highness were the princes of the Household, and a representative of the Tengku Besar Tampin. As H. H. the Yang di-Pertuan came slowly along the passage to the singgasana all stood to do him honour. Then, he was joined by the Tengku Ampuan, and they seated themselves on the cushions on the singgasana. On the right of the singgasana, a short distance behind, were the Tengku Besar, Sri Menanti and the Tengku Penglima Besar, and on the left, the Tengku Laxamana and a vacant cushion, which should have been occupied by the Tengku Muda Serting—that post being vacant at the time, having been formerly held by His Highness.

When H. H. the Yang di-Pertuan Besar and the Tengku Ampuan had seated themselves, the Orang Empat Istana, the Orang Enam Istana, and other retainers took up their positions on either side of the singgasana, a number of them bearing the royal insignia. Near the singgasana was placed a copy of the Koraan and displayed in a prominent position on the right was the " Peti Kebesaran ". Close by stood the Bentara Kanan, and the Bentara Dalam.

In dead silence the Dato' Klana rose and spoke as follows to the Bentara Kanan :

> *" Hai Bentara Kanan, serukan kata kami Undang yang empat kapada sakalian ra'ayat tua muda kaya miskin hina dina dalam alam Negri Sembilan ini. Ada pun pada hari ini kami mengerjakan Tuanku Abdulrahman ibni al-Marhum Yang di-Pertuan Besar Muhammad Shah, naik di-atas takhta singgasana kerajaan Negeri Sembilan dan kita sakalian menjunjong duli dan ia-itu Tuanku Abdulrahman menggantikan Sri Paduka Ayahanda-nya yang telah mangkat dan telah di-Jadikan oleh Undang yang empat pada masa sa-belum di-makamkan Seri Paduka Ayahanda-nya kapada hari Khamis* 3 *hari bulan August* 1933."

Thereupon the Bentara Kanan adopted the attitude which has been prescribed for him by ancient custom. Standing on one leg, with the sole of right foot resting against his left knee, his right hand shading his eyes, and the tip of the fingers of his left hand pressed against his left cheek, he made the following proclamation :

> *Hai tuan-tuan sakalian mulia dan hina besar dan kechil tua dan muda ada-lah Undang yang empat dengan adat istiadat menabalkan yang di-Pertuan Besar Tuanku Abdul Rahman ibni al-Marhum Yang di-Pertuan Besar Tuanku Muhammad Shah naik di-atas takhta singgasana kerajaan Negeri Sembilan.*

All within the hall (except the guests) then exclaimed three times *Daulat Tuanku.*

In a praiseworthy attempt to give the spectators an opportunity of following the course of the proceedings, a loud speaker, connected to a microphone near the throne, was placed in the large shed at the end of the *balai*. Both the Dato' Klana and the Herald spoke into the microphone, and the sound of their voices, distorted but intelligible, was heard very distinctly in the hall. Afterwards the loud speaker failed, and the spectators were compelled to seek the aid of an excellent programme, by which they were enabled to follow the proceedings. Immediately the herald had made proclamation, he abandoned his curious attitude and did not resume it except to call upon the four Undang to make obeisance.

Now Sri Amar 'diraja, one of the Orang Empat Astana, burnt some incense (*kemenyan*), and read out an invocation to the spirits on high to approach God to favour the present installation, combined with a prayer to the four Archangels to confer protection on His Highness. The following is the text.

Bism'ilahil'r-Rahmani-r-Rahimi.

A's-salamu-alaikum malaikat Harijah dudok di-mata-hari hidup tolong pohonkan kapada Allah subhanahu wa-Taala hendak mentabalkan anak chuchu Adam Tuanku Abdul-Rahman ibni al-Marhum Tuanku Muhammad Shah turun bersama-sama, a's-salamu alaikum maliakat Arshik di-kiri langit tolong pohonkan kapada Allah Subhanahu wa-Taala hendak mentabalkan anak chuchu Adam Tuanku Abdul-Rahman ibni al-Marhum Tuanku Muhammad Shah turun bersama-sama, a's-salamu alaikum malaikat Arhut di-matahari mati tolong puhonkan kapada Allah Subhanahu wa-Taala hendak mentabalkan anak chuchu Adam Tuanku Abdu'l-Rahman ibni al-Marhum Tuanku Muhammad Shah, a's-salamu alaikum malaikat Katab tengah langit tolong pohonkan kapada Allah Subhanahu wa-Taala hendak mentabalkan anak chuchu Adam Tuanku Abdul-Rahman ibni al-Marhum Tuanku Muhammad Shah, a's-salamu alaikum malaikat Puteh Kurnaini dudok di-tengah bulan tolong peliharakan dengan baik-baik,

a's-salamu alaikum Jibrail tolong peliharakan dengan baik-nya, a's-salamu alaikum Mikail tolong peliharakan dengan baik-nya, a's-salamu alaikum Israfil tolong peliharakan dengan baik-nya, a's-salamu alaikum Izrail tolong peliharakan dengan baik-nya, Wali Allah nabi Muhammad, sallallahu alaihi wa's-salam.

After the prayer was finished, the Regalia was displayed, weapons being taken from their wrapping and unsheathed for a moment for all to see, and then recovered. Then the Herald called out *Hai, Dato Klana yang memerentah luak Sungai Ujong, titah di-panggil.* The Dato' Klana rose from his seat on the summons, replied *Daulat Tuanku*, and proceeded to the foot of the steps leading to the singgasana, seated himself cross-legged on the ground, and made obeisance by raising his hands to his forehead. He repeated the obeisance at each step—seven in all—as

he made his way to the singgasana, where the Yang di-Pertuan was seated. Arrived at the singgasana he kissed the Yang di-Pertuan's hand three times, and retired, without rising, down the steps, making obeisance five times as he went. When the last obeisance had been performed, the Dato' Klana rose and took his seat beside the other Undang. The remaining three Undang were called upon in similar terms, and made obeisiance in similar manner.

On the resumption of his seat by the Dato' Rembau, the Herald simply called "Dato Shahbandar." The Dato Shahbandar made obeisance nine times until the dais was reached, when he kissed the hand of the Yang di-Pertuan three times, and made seven obeisances on retiring. The Herald next called upon the following chiefs :—

Dato' Ulu Muar,
Dato' Jempol ;
Dato' Terachi ;
Dato' Gunong Pasir ;
Dato' Muda Linggi ;
Dato' Inas ;
Dato' Ayer Kuning ;

who were seated in the Raja 'dimuda, and all made obeisance nine times on the way to the singgasana, and seven times on retiring. The Dato' Gemencheh, who should have followed the Dato' Inas, was ill, and could not attend. When the territorial chiefs had finished paying homage, the following lembagas of Sungai Ujong knelt in a row at the foot of the steps :

Dato' Mendika,
Dato' Sri Maharaja 'diraja,
Dato' Akhir Zaman,
Dato' Amar Setia,

the Dato' Amar Setia a son of the Dato' Klana aged about seven, on the right. Here, they listened to a homily from the Dato' Klana on the correct method of raising their hands in homage, and then made obeisance three times in succession.

Next followed the following lembagas in groups of four :

From Jelebu	..	Dato' Mentri, Dato' Miang, Dato' Chinchang, Dato' Senara.
From Johol	..	Dato' Raja Balang, Dato' Mindika, Dato' Raja Senara, Dato' Baginda Raja.

From Rembau ..	Dato' Membangsa,	di-baroh.
	Dato' Gempa Maharaja,	
	Dato' Bangsa Balang,	
	Dato' Samsura Pahlawan,	
	Dato' Sri Maharaja,	di-darat.
	Dato' Sinda Maharaja,	
	Dato' Andika,	
	Dato' Mendelika,	

and finally the waris of the different luak :

Sungai Ujong ..	Dato' Laksamana,
	Dato' Penglima Besar,
	Dato' Johan,
	Dato' Lela,
	Dato' Penglima Muda.
Jelebu ..	Dato' Umbi,
	Dato' Raja Balang,
	Dato' Paduka,
	Dato' Majinda,
Johol ..	Dato' Baginda Tan Mas.
Rembau ..	Dato' Shabandar,
	Dato' Mangku Bumi,
	Dato' Mentri Lela Perkasa,
	Dato' Raja 'diraja,
	Dato' Perba.

While the Jelebu lembagas were making obeisance a heavy thunderstorm, which lasted over an hour, broke over Sri Menanti. The *pawang* had failed at the critical moment. His subsequent explanation was that the Police Saluting guns had counteracted his best endeavours, and brought the storm down with redoubled violence. Whatever the cause, the very heavy rains dispersed the crowd outside, and caused acute discomfort to the spectators within the stands.

Within the *balai* the ceremony continued to the accompaniment of flashes of lightning, followed by peals of thunder. When the waris from Rembau had returned to their positions, the Koraan was opened and incense burnt. Then Tuan Haji Mohammed of Jempol, wakil of the Kathi Sri Menanti, took up a position in front of the singgasana, and recited a previously prepared Arabic prayer, printed as an appendix, the full significance of which is explained in Wilkinson's Sri Menanti.

When the prayer was finished, H. H. descended from the singgasana, and received the congratulations of H. E. the High Commissioner. The ceremony of Installation was complete.

Subsequently addresses of loyalty were read from the various communities living in the State. The games and feasts continued, and the night was made picturesque by lantern processions of school children. On the following morning, H. H. was invested with the Insignia of the K.C.M.G. by H. E. the High Commissioner with all due solemnity. By now the crowd had commenced to disperse ; the village and side shows were taken down, and within a few days Sri Menanti had returned to its normal quietude.

APPENDIX.

Kita Mulaï Dengan Nama Alla Yang Maha Murah Lagi Yang Mengasehani.

Segala puji-pujian itu tertentu bagi Allah Tuhan yang memileki sakalian alam, dan rahmat dan kesejahteraan itu di-atas samulia-mulia Rasul ia-itu penghulu kita Nabi Muhammad dan di-atas keluarga-nya dan sahabat-sahabat-nya sakalian-nya. Ya Allah ! Ya Tuhan-ku ! Kita memohonkan ka-hadzerat Tuhan-ku akan taufik (persetujuan) dan hidayat (pertunjok) bagi kita dan tuan penghulu kita Tuanku Abdul-Rahman Yang di-Pertuan Besar Negri Sembilan. Hai Tuhan-ku ! jatohkan-lah perasaan chinta dan berkaseh sayang di-antara hati-nya dan hati sakalian hamba ra'ayat-nya ! Hai Tuhan-ku ! jadikan-lah kira-nya bersamuafakat di-antara-nya dengan Menteri Menteri dan Kadzi-Kadzi-nya atas mendirikan Ugama Islam ! Hai Tuhan-ku ! perkekekalkan-lah kira-nya pertolongan dan kemenangan serta kemuliaan bagi tuan penghulu kita Tuanku Abdul-Rahman Shah, dan tinggikan-lah sebutan-nya hingga terkenal, bahawa Allah subhanahu wa-taala telah mengangkatkan dia menjadi khalifah yang sempurna, dan kurniaï-lah akan dia taufik pada perkara mĕmpĕrelokkan negeri, ra'ayat dan pemerentahan dan jadikan-lah sakalian hamba ra'ayat-nya berhidup berlazat chita dengan chahaya kenaikan daulat-nya yang tinggi, dan bersedap-sedap dengan ketinggian yang nyata, sa-nya pada hari ini telah berhimpun-lah sakalian hamba raayat-nya dengan keadaan mengangkatkan tangan kerana tadzra (prayer) kapada Allah Tuhan yang maha murah dengan memohonkan barang di-kekalkan kira-nya daulat-nya yang berseh itu, dan sentiasa di-dalam pertolongan Allah. Hai Tuhanku ! Tuhan-ku-lah Tuhan yang maha mulia dan maka tinggi, yang berbuat barang yang Tuhan-ku kehendaki lagi yang mempunyai janji yang bersangatan ! kita memohon ka-hadzerat Tuhan-ku barang di-kabulkan kira-nya hajat kita. Hai Tuhan yang mengadakan yang hidup dari-pada yang mati dan mengadakan yang mati dari-pada yang hidup ! ada-lah segala pekerjaan Tuhan-ku di-antara Kap dan Nun Tuhan-ku berkata bagi sa-suatu, jadi-lah kamu. Maka jadi-lah ia ia-lah tuhan yang hidup lagi berdiri dengan sendiri-nya, ia mengadakan semua perkara dengan tiada chontoh dan bandingan dan ia pula yang mentadbirkan sakalian-nya itu, maha suchi-lah Tuhan-ku, tidak ada Tuhan melainkan

Tuhan-ku yang bersifat dengan berlemah lembut lagi mengetahui hikayat sa-genap perkara. Tuhan-ku-lah yang mengadakan sakalian yang ada dan yang maha mulia lagi maha tinggi! Kita memohun ka-hadzrat Tuhan-ku barang di-kekalkan kira-nya bagi-nya (Tuan-ku Abdul-Rahman) di-atas kebajikan pada ugama dan dunia dan akhirat, dan di-kurniai akan dia sa-elok-elok rezeki, hanya sa-nya Tuhan-ku itu ia-lah yang mengadakan sakalian yang ada. Hai Tuhan-ku! kita memohun barang di-kabulkan kira-nya hajat kita dan di-mudahkan bagi kita, malaikat-malaikat Jibra'il, Mika'il, Israfil dan Izra'il alaihi mu-salam! Hai Tuhan-ku kita memohun barang di-kurniai kira-nya bagi tuan penghulu kita imam ul-muadzam tuanku Abdul-Rahman K.C.M.G. Yang di-Pertuan Besar Negeri Sembilan akan rahsia-rahsia. Bismillahi'r-Rahmani'r-Rahimi, la'ilaha illallahu Muhammad Rasul-u'llah bagai-mana yang telah Tuhan-ku kurniakan kapada Nabi Allah Sulaiman anak Nabi Allah Daud alaihi mu-salam bahawa sa-nya Tuhan-ku yang maha berkuasa atas iap-tiap sa-suatu dan maha patut bagi memperkenankan dan rahmat Allah itu atas sa-baik-baik makhlok-nya penghulu kita Nabi Muhammad dan di-atas keluarga dan sahabat-sahabat-nya sakalian-nya. Maha suchi-lah Tuhan engkau itu (hai Muhammad!) Tuhan yang mepunyai kemulian dari-pada apa-apa yang di-sifatkan oleh mereka itu. Dan kasejahteraan itu di-atas sakalian Rasul-Rasul-nya dan segala puji-pujian itu tertentu bagi Allah Tuhan yang memileki sakalian 'alam.

INSTALLATION (*MELANTEK*) OF TENGKU KURSHIAH AS TENGKU AMPUAN, NEGRI SEMBILAN.

By J. J. SHEEHAN, M.C.S.

On Saturday, the 21st April, 1934, four days before the installation of H. H. Tuanku Abdul-Rahman as Yang di-Pertuan Besar, Negri Sembilan, his wife, Tengku Kurshiah was installed as Tengku Ampuan, Negri Sembilan. The ceremony took place at the Old Astana, Sri Menanti, and was probably the last of any importance to be held there. Tengku Kurshiah is the daughter of the Tengku Besar Burhanuddin, Sri Menanti, and first Cousin to the Yang di-Pertuan Besar. The last installation of a Tengku Ampuan—that of Tengku Halijah—was many years ago. No account of it exists, and it is impossible to say what ceremonies were observed on that and other previous occasions.

In Negri Sembilan the actual installation of a Tengku Ampuan is performed by the H.H. the Yang di-Pertuan Besar, but custom enjoins that the demand for the creation of a Tengku Ampuan shall come from the Penghulu Tanah Mengandong, who are, in order of precedence, the Dato' Ulu Muar, the Dato' Jempul, the Dato' Terachi and the Dato' Gunong Pasir. Having agreed it is desirable that a consort to H. H. the Yang di-Pertuan Besar should be installed, the four Penghulus interview the Orang Empat Istana, and ask them to select a suitable lady. The Orang Empat Istana are Court Officials, who hold the keys of the *peti benyian* [1] Note)—a mythical box within which, by a poetical fiction, are enclosed the members of the Royal Household. At the request of the four penghulus the Orang Empat Istana consult together, and inform them of the name of the most fitting candidate. Thereupon, the penghulus seek audience with H. H. the Yang di-Pertuan, and, kneeling before him, ask that this lady be installed as Tengku Ampuan. If the Yang di-Pertuan agrees a day is appointed for the ceremony. These preliminary formalities are in accordance with the custom and must be fulfilled. If the lady chosen is a commoner her title is *Enche Puan*,[2] and she is installed as such. The subsequent ceremonies would differ some what, but all agree that the initiative rests with the four Penghulu Tanah Mengandong, but, they, in their turn, being bound

(1). In Wilkinson's "Sri Menanti" the *peti benyian* is the box, jealously guarded, which is produced only at the installation of a Yang di-Pertuan or the triennial *mengadap*, and contains certain relics. This box, at the installation of the 25th April, 1934, was always referred to as the *peti Kebesaran*.

I am obliged to the Tengku Besar, Sri Menanti, for the following explanations.

> "Benyian- arti-nya di-dalam bahasa Arab anak-anak, ya'ani tujuan-nya kapada anak raja. Maka Orang Empat Astana mengatahui segala hal-ahwal anak-anak raja itu. Maka anak-anak raja di-dalam pelok ambian orang empat istana itu. Ma'ana pelok ambian ia-itu bela pelihara di-dalam adat istiadat."

(2). Inche' Puan di-jemput dari-pada suku-nya (tempat tinggal). Hal keadaan yang lain sa-rupa dengan keadaan melantek Tengku Ampuan jua.

by custom, cannot refuse to take action when the proper moment arrives. On the present occasion there is no doubt that it was suggested to them, and that they made their request, prompted by the knowledge that there would be some thing lacking in the installation of the Yang di-Pertuan, if he had no consort at the ceremony.

Early on the morning of the 21st April, a salute of sixteen guns was fired from Bukit Sri Indera, a hill above the Old Astana. Shortly afterwards, Tengku Kurshiah was escorted by a number of Court Officials to the house of her father, the Tengku Besar, Negri Sembilan, situate within the Istana Grounds, close to the entrance. At about 10.30 a.m., she left in procession for the old *Astana*, where the Yang di-Pertuan awaited her. A description of the procession may not be out of place, although it was not an essential part of the Installation, and was introduced as a picturesque addition. In front walked three of the Orang Enam Istana, Penglima Raja, Penglima Sutan, and one of the Laxamanas, each bearing the weapon from the Royal Insignia allotted to him by custom. Then followed fifteen musicians singing an Arabic song, and beating time on *rĕbana* and two brass gongs. The motor car containing Tengku Kurshiah came next, with the Bentara Perempuan seated beside the driver. Beside the car walked the Orang Empat Istana, Sri Amar Raja and Penghulu Dagang on the right, and Raja 'diwangsa and Akhir Zaman on the left. Behind the car came the princess and ladies of the Royal Household ; the remaining three of the Orang Enam Istana, Laxamana (ii) Johan and Andatar bearing insignia ; the *Apit Lempang Astana* ; the *Orang Besar Lingkongan* ; two *Waris* from each *Luak* of the *Tanah Mengandong* ; and finally the *Pegawai Sembilan-Puloh Sembilan.* Throughout the crowd at irregular intervals was borne part of the regalia, umbrellas of yellow cloth and pennants in the State Colours.

The ordinary Malay population, apart from a few scattered knots of spectators, took very little interest in the procession, although the usual weekly fair was being held in the village of Sri Menanti. On its arrival at the Old Astana the procession broke up, and a number of insignia were deposited outside. Tengku Kurshiah descended from the car, and proceeded to the verandah where the ceremony was to take place, followed by the officials who had taken part in the procession.

I have stated that this ceremony, while forming a picturesque detail, was not an essential part of the ceremony of installation. If, however, an Enche' Puan from the Ayer Kaki of the Batu Hampar tribe were to be installed, custom prescribes a procession of the members of the tribe, with part of the insignia, from the house of the lady to the Royal Palace.

When everything was prepared, the Yang di-Pertuan Besar, who was waiting in the adjoining room, proceeded to the verandah, followed by the invited guests, among whom were the British Resident, Negri Sembilan and the Undang of Sungai Ujong,

Johol and Rembau. At one end of the verandah, which is about 100 feet long and 15 feet wide, was placed a *singgasana* to be occupied by the Tengku Kurshiah. The other end, called the Raja 'dimuda, was occupied by the four Penghulu Tanah Mengandong, and other officials who were to pay homage. The space between was taken up by spectators except for a carpeted passage along the middle of the verandah was a large room filled with women and children, who took a great interest in the procedings. The *singgasana* had been placed in the centre of a raised platform with seven steps leading to it. Both platform and steps were covered with yellow cloth, overlaid in the centre with a narrow strip of white (*kain tapak-tapak*). The *singgasana* itself was a square wooden dais, with ornamented pillars at each end, and a canopy of yellow cloth over all. On the floor of the *singgasana* was placed a yellow cushion richly decorated, and two similar ones on either side. On his entry in to the verandah, the Yang di-Pertuan took up a position at the foot of the steps leading to the *singgasana* with the Tengku Kurshiah, and facing the spectators, spoke as follows :— *Mengikut peraturan adat istiadat Negeri Sembilan, dengan redza dan suka chita, Kami menjunjongkan pangkat gelaran Tengku Ampuan, Negeri Sembilan ka-atas Jemala steri Kami, Tengku Kurshiah.* Thereupon the Tengku Ampuan made obeisance three times by raising her hands to her forehead, and kissed the hand of the Yang di-Pertuan. She then walked up the steps and seated herself on the cushioned *singgasana*, followed by the Court ladies, the Tengku Putri, who sat on the right, and Tengku Dara, who occupied the left cushion. A step below the Orang Empat Istana took up their places, two on either side. Some steps below them, on the left hand side of the Tengku Ampuan, was the Kanda, among whose duties it is to perform certain ceremonies in connection with births and deaths in the Royal Household. At the level of the floor were the Orang Enam Istana, three on either side of the strip of white cloth, bearing weapons from the Royal Regalia. After the Yang di-Pertuan had taken his seat among the spectators, the Bentara Dalam stood near the foot of the stairs, and called out " Dato *Setia Lela, Ulu Muar, titah memanggil tampil-lah mengadap menjunjong duli.*

Thereupon the Dato Ulu Muar arose from his position at the other end of the verandah Raja 'dimuda, came slowly along the passage between the spectators stopped at the beginning of the strip of white cloth leading to the singgasana, seated himself cross legged on the ground, and raised his hands to his forehead, with the palms touching and the fingers extending outwards, in token ofhomage. He then crept on hands and knees towards the singgasana making a similar obeisance before reaching the bottom steps, and one at each step, nine in all. Arrived at the singgasana he kissed the Tengku Ampuan's right hand, extended to him, and again made obeisance. This was repeated twice more. Then, still, seated, he moved backwards, and descended the steps, all the time facing the singgasana, and making an obeisance at the top of each step, seven in number. After the last obeisance he rose,

walked backwards for a few yards, and turned and made his way to his place in the Raja di-Muda. These proceedings occupied nearly three minutes and were carried out in absolute silence. When the Dato Ulu Muar had completed his part of the ceremony, the herald called upon the Dato Jempol in similar terms. The Dato Jempol repeated the performance, and the following were called, each by his appropriate title, and came forward singly :

Dato' Terachi,
Dato' Gunong Pasir,
Dato' Muda Linggi,
Dato' Inas,
Dato' Ayer Kuning.

the lembagas from the luak Ulu Muar,

Dato' Baginda Maharaja,
Dato' Paduka Besar,
Dato' Sri Maharaja,
Dato' Senara Muda,
Dato' Orang Kaya Bongsu ;

from Jempol—

Dato' Lala Raja,
Dato' Amar Mentri ;

from Terachi—

Dato' Raja 'dimuda,
Dato' Mentri Maharaja ;

and finally from Gunong Pasir,

Dato' Paduka Sri Maharaja,
Dato' Stia Lela.

The Dato' Gemencheh should have followed after the Dato' Inas, but he was unable to come owing to illness.

When the last Lembaga had finished paying homage, the herald seated himself on the ground, made obeisance three times to the Tengku Ampuan, and once to the Yam Tuan. The Tengku Ampuan then descended from the singgasana, and followed by the retainers, came down to where the Yam Tuan was waiting to receive her. She made obeisance once, kissed hands to the Yam Tuan, and this act of homage concluded the ceremony of her installation as Tengku Ampuan, Negri Sembilan.

THE KANGCHU SYSTEM IN JOHORE.

By A. E. COOPE, M.C.S.

Any one studying a modern map of Johore will notice here and there a place with the prefix " Kangkar ", *e.g.*, Kangkar Kahang or sometimes simply called " Kangkar ". The word is not Malay and behind it lies a history which appears worthy of record. Johore, in spite of remarkable modern developments, is still largely a land of jungle and in the first part of 19th century it was inhabited very sparsely indeed. When a strong demand for pepper and gambir began and the supply failed to equal the demand, Chinese pioneers who could satisfy the authorities as to their means, were allowed to form settlements, each up some named river, for the planting of pepper and gambir and the titles which they received from the Ruler were called simply " surat sungei " (river documents).

Of course, not every land-owner in Johore held a surat sungei. The small holders, who formed the majority of the population, doubtless had as a rule no title other than ancient customary tenure, though some received " akuan " (acknowledgements) or " kebenaran menebang menebas " (permissions to fell and clear) —such documents still appear sometimes to the confusion of the local Collector who hitherto thought the land claimed under them (they contain a rough description of the land) State Land. But a capitalist would generally receive a " surat sungei "—a document granting him a vague area limited only by the watersheds of the next two rivers. It must be remembered that most of Johore (like most of Malaya generally) is broken country seamed with small rivers, each with its tributaries. The " surat sungei " almost always mentioned two rivers—" the A river that is the B river " *i.e.* the B river which is a tributary of the A river.

Records of issue are naturally scanty but the first surat sungei which I have traced is dated A.H. 1245 (A.D. 1833) and was issued in respect of the Scudai River.

The later surat sungei were on printed forms. I subjoin a translation of such a form. It will be noticed that it is not actually headed " river document " and in terms it authorises planting " in the District of....." but in the completed forms the name of a river is invariably inserted after " in the district of..... and the last clause speaks of " the area of the river which we have approved ". Other specimens speak specifically of " the river.....that is the river....." though also not headed " river document ".

" Done in Johore Bahru on.....the day of in the year 13.....

This authority is from H. H. The Sultan of Johore who owns the Kingdom of Johore together with all its provinces.

It is granted to.....and it is authorised that..... herein named may fell jungle and open.....plantations of gambir

and black pepper within the Government of Johore in the district of.....provided the lands do not belong to others.

It is requisite that.....and all others within this area in the district of.....abovementioned shall obey all Our orders and adhere to our customs already in force or which may hereafter be made by us or our Successors and it is requisite that.....pay revenue to Us or to Our Successors in accordance with the regulations as to payment which are in force in the Government of Johore. Further any of the forest which.....has been authorised (to fell) which has not been felled and made into a gambir and pepper plantation within one year from the date of this document, We may approve to others for the purpose of making plantations there and.....will not be allowed to hinder or forbid them. Further it is prohibited to.....to fell any valuable timbers such as tempinis, balau, kranji, daru-daru, krueng and such like unless (not to do so) would cause serious inconvenience to the plantations.

Further in case of the death of.....abovementioned or (in case) he should desire to sell this Authority or to add to his partnership or to hand over (the property) to others or to take similar action, it is imperative that he truly inform Us or Our Successors.

Further it is prohibited to.....to hinder or to impede or to interfere with any property or land or cultivation or village or hill clearing or padi land already occupied by Malays within the area of the river which we have approved to.....abovementioned or to the trade of such persons in eagle-wood, rubber, woodoil, resin, and such like which they have been accustomed to bring in and out.

In witness whereof We have set our chop on this document."

Armed with this document the " owner of the river " (tuan Sungei) set forthwith his relatives, dependants and employees and commenced to " open " his river.

It will be noticed that the river document was given primarily with a view to opening gambir and pepper plantations, there being a large export of both to Europe in the nineteenth century. Gambir (the " cutch " of commerce) was obtained by boiling the leaves of the gambir shrub in a cauldron and drying the substance exuded. which was then used by tanners ; there is still a small export trade in it. It is also used for chewing with betel.

It is of interest to notice that while some surat sungei merely granted a named river, others went on to specify the area which might be planted as *e.g.* " one cauldron, that is as much land as will supply one cauldron of the type customarily used by Chinese ". And a gambir holding was " one cauldron ", two holdings " two cauldrons " and so on. Malays say that " one cauldron meant 30 to 50 acres. An old gambir planter has informed me that it was about 250 acres. Anyway the area did not particularly matter inasmuch as the owner of "a cauldron" when he had worked out an area could, and doubtless did, move on unless the adjoining land was occupied !

No doubt, the system was suited to the times and encouraged development of the " great jungle-clad spaces " by pioneers. And one must take off one's hat to the Chinese pioneers, who though strangers in a strange land, made their way up the green tunnels of the little far off rivers and braving the dangers of their situation, which, if not really very great, did exist and were all the more horrific for being largely unknown, carved prosperity out of the jungle with the indomitable pertinacity and industry of their race. But the system had, from the agricultural point of view, its bad side. The abundance of land led to wasteful methods of cultivation and the eventual abandonment of large areas to scrub and lalang grass.

Meanwhile however the Settlements prospered. And the village headquarters around which the plantations centred was called by the Chinese " Kangkar ", literally " feet of the river ". The name originated, it seems, from the fact that the village was nearly always situated on the bank of the river; rivers were of course the best, if not, practically speaking, the only means of communication with the outer world. And a man on a plantation when going to the village would speak of going " down to the river" so that " Kangkar " might be translated " riverside ".

And the man who held the " surat sungei " was naturally called by the Chinese the " Kangchu " *i.e.* the owner or master of the river, just as the Malays called him the " tuan sungei ".

Now the Kangchu was naturally from the first regarded as the head of the settlement and enjoyed considerable de facto authority. Most of the inhabitants would be his employees, though, it should be noted, he did not, by custom at any rate, own all the land; any one within his area who planted land with the Kangchu's permission, was treated as having a freehold. Any way he was the father of the settlement and the link with Government and apparently he always in actual practice owned the junks in which imports and exports were made. Usually he owned a shop in Singapore from which supplies reached the kangkar, which depended on the outside world for its rice and many other necessaries.

In those days the arm of Government authority was not long and it was decided at a date which cannot be ascertained to give them Kangchus powers duties, and emoluments and each kangchu received a letter of authority (tauliah) of which I subjoin a translation, (a somewhat late example, as the Ruler is referred to as " Sultan.")

" Be it known to all men.

By Order of H. H. The Sultan of the State and territory of Johore .....is appointed to be Kangchu over all his people in .....
Be it known to you that you have been made Kangchu
Wherefor you are required to adhere to and conserve the orders in the following clauses.

FIRSTLY—You are required to comply with all Our instructions Orders and laws both those now in force and those which may hereafter be issued—to carry them out yourself, to see that others carry them out and to enforce them—Fail not in this.

SECONDLY—You are required to avoid and prevent any matters we may prohibit and to enforce such prohibitions.

THIRDLY—You are required to safeguard all your people, Our subjects, and instruct them correctly so that they may work to their own profit and the advantage of their cultivation of pepper and gambir—and make yourself acquainted with all matters concerning that cultivation.

FOURTHLY—You are required to promote settlement in and development of your area and to arrange and settle the affairs of every one according to the authority you hold with justice and equity.

FIFTHLY—Whenever you may receive our order to appear before us, you shall come forthwith.

SIXTHLY—You are required to assist the Police and other Officials and to give effect to the orders of Our Government officials whenever they are in difficulties or require your assistance.

SEVENTHLY—You are required to assist to the utmost of your power anyone suffering oppression.

EIGHTHLY—You and your people are required to arrest and hand over the Police in Johore any escaped convicts.

NINTHLY—Be it known to Kangchus and to whoever who has shares in this river and to others that this " Kangchu Authority " may not be sold, or mortgaged or charged for debt—Such action will be absolutely invalid.

TENTHLY—The Kangchu may not delegate his powers to anyone, even a partner and much less anyone else to act as a Kangchu unless with the approval of Government for the Government will take cognisance only of those whose names are in the register as Kangchus and look to them.

ELEVENTHLY—You are here reminded regarding opium and spirits in your river that you may not allow the supply to fail. The Government require you to daily maintain such supplies of those commodities as may be sufficient for the use of the agricultural labourers in your river and those from time to time living in the Kangkar.

In case of any failure of supplies the blame will rest with you.

TWELFTHLY—In case of the death or departure (of the Kangchu) and whenever it may be desired to ask for a change of the Kangchu who has been given this authority in his name, it is requisite that this authority be returned to a Government Official in order that it may be exchanged for another.

THIRTEENTHLY—It is requisite that the Kangchu shall enquire and ascertain and record in a proper register all happenings and events and the number of plantations on the river in his area

and the number of men on them in order to be able to render the information whenever the Government may require it.

FOURTEENTHLY—The Kangchu must always inspect the plantations and give orders to have them weeded and inform each Mortgagee in order that he may provide money to weed the mortgaged plantations. Do not be lax in this matter. If the weeding is delayed by owner's labourers and there is delay in the supply of money for weeding by the mortgagee, the Kangchu himself shall pay men, to do the weeding and call on the owner of the plantation to refund him such money as may be right—Should he not pay, take from the gambier and pepper exported from such plantation so much as may amount to the sum expended on the weeding and notify the mortgagee in writing of the matter.

FIFTEENTHLY—Receive and keep for yourself such profits as we have granted you all and divide them fairly amongst all who are partners.

SIXTEENTHLY—Those who do well will receive reward and those who do wrong will be held responsible for their faults and will receive punishment.

SEVENTEENTHLY—Be it known to you and to all men, no one may be called Kangchu unless he has been granted by us a letter so entitling him, in this form.

It is not incumbent on Us retain anyone in his position who acts contrary to our orders. This must be remembered.

May the Lord of All the Universe assist you.

Granted in on day 19 "

It should be noted however that with the introduction of this new system, the meaning of the word Kangchu underwent some modification. For the Kangchu who received the letter of authority was not necessarily the tuan sungei (owner of the river). The owner might well live in Singapore or, sometimes, own more than one Kangkar. A (Government) Kangchu naturally had to reside in the Kangkar and so in many cases the (Government) Kangchu was really the owner's Manager. Actually of course he would invariably be the nominee of the owner of the river and be responsible to him as well as to the Government.

It will be observed that the Kangchu's letter of authority does not set forth the emoluments of the Kangchu ; actually he had five rights, the monopoly of the right of (1) public gaming (2) pawnbroking (3) selling spirits (4) selling pork and (5) selling opium, as well as the right to take certain commission on the export of pepper and gambier and the import of rice. The position of a Kangchu is set forth more clearly in a Governmental document called "Kanun Kangchu" (Law of the Kangchus) which was written in A.D. 1290 (A.D. 1873). This document was never printed or published and I have been unable to obtain the original manuscript. I have however found a romanised copy, which may contain some slips—in one clause there is an obvious hiatus. I subjoin a translation :

" The law, that is the regulation, governing all Kangchus in Johore.

These regulations have been made with the approval of His Highness the Maharaja of Johore [1] and all Members of Council and come into force in the year 1290. They are to serve as information to all persons affected and to the people in the town of Johore Bahru and its environs and districts.

1. All persons who have been appointed Kangchus or who wish to become Kangchus or their deputies or attorneys must come forthwith to the State Police and enter their names in the register kept by the Proper Officer. The Officer in question may collect fees from them before entering their names in his register.
2. Any one appointed as Kangchu will receive from the Raja two canes [2] and a spear, to be called the Rotans and Spear of the Kangchu and they will be his insignia to be kept in his house and that house will be called the Kangchu's House.
3. A Kangchu cannot transfer his title even to one of his own family except with the authority of His Highness the Maharaja of Johore or his representative. [3]
4. If a Kangchu or his family die, the relatives must obtain the right to administer over the rights and all goods and chattels.
5. If a Kangchu wishes to pay a visit to China, he must appoint a a deputy and when making such an appointment he must give preference to members of his own family though he may appoint outside it if the family concur.
6. In cases in which there is a " river document " in respect of which no Kangchu has been appointed, the holder must go to the office of the Registrar in the Police Office of Johore and apply for a certificate appointing some member of his family as Kangchu and pay the fee for the Certificate of appointment prescribed by His Highness the Maharaja of Johore. The canes and spear will be given with the certificate.
7. Any one who becomes the deputy of a Kangchu must obtain a certificate from His Highness the Maharaja of Johore or his Representative and pay the prescribed fee. Such certificate shall be termed the certificate of a deputy Kangchu.
8. If any Kangchu delays in applying for or taking out his certificate, he may be punished or fined as prescribed by His Highness the Maharaja of Johore or his Representative and for such period as prescribed.

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(1) *i.e.* His Highness Sultan Abubakar ; he did not assume the title of Sultan however until 1885.

(2) Mr. Yap Ah Bai, an ex-Kangchu, tells me that actually he had one long cane, doubled with the ends fastened together. As a matter of fact, the word " dua lembar rotan ", which I have translated "two canes" might, not improperly be used of a long cane so doubled.

(3) The Representative who acted during the absence of the Ruler was then Ungku Abdulrahman.

9. Every Kangchu must carefully oversee all owners of gambir and pepper plantations within his jurisdiction and instruct them to cultivate in a proper manner and keep their plantations clean. They must visit and inspect the plantations once a week or once in two weeks.
10. A Kangchu must enter all plantations in a register with the names of their owners and their " Chops ".
11. A Kangchu is expressly forbidden to keep convicts and others in the stocks for more than three days or to inflict more than six strokes of the rotan or to fine in excess of $10.
12. When a Kangchu wishes to erect a Big House at his Kangkar and to use planks or timber as materials he must first obtain from the Police Officer at Johore Bahru a certificate showing the nature of the house to be built, its breadth and its length and the name of the river, and the officer will enter it in his register charging a fee for the certificate only without forest—royalty.
13. A Kangchu may not start any Society other than the Ngi Hin in accordance with the provisions of the Order issued in the time of the late Ruler.[1]
14. Every Kangchu must impress on all persons in his jurisdiction that when any of them wishes to open a new plantation and has contracted with a capitalist to advance the capital in return for a mortage over the plantation, they must before the money is paid over or the arrangement completed both go to the State Police and have their names and all details of the proposed contract recorded before the contract is executed; thus both parties will be safeguarded from trouble in the future.
15. Kangchus must watch and inspect all pepper plantations in their jurisdiction and forbid the captains of the river boats to accept inferior gambir or pepper.
16. Kangchus must inspect all land unfelled for gambir or pepper planting so that if any one wishes to open a new plantation they may show the boundaries and thus prevent future quarrels and disputes.
17. The Kangchus must order any coolies on a gambir or pepper plantation who are in debt to the owner of another plantation within their jurisdiction to return to their creditor, if such coolies go to another jurisdiction the Kangchu of that jurisdiction must send them back to their creditor upon request.
18. A Kangchu must allow the owners of all gambir and pepper plantations who have not mortgaged their holdings to sell their products where they please.

[1] As is well known, Chinese societies or lodges though starting as harmless " benevolent societies " are apt to tend to criminality and, in particular to inter-society " wars ". The Government aimed (successfully) at preventing such wars, (which were a scourge in Perak and Selangor) by fostering one society only. The site of the Ngi Hin Lodge in Johore Bahru is now occupied by a school which is actually called the Ngi Hin School.

19. It is important that Kangchus should be able to recognise gambir and pepper of good quality. Good gambir is dry, hard and free from all impurities and twenty five balls of wet gambir will be equivalent to a one kati ball of dry [1]; any gambir lacking the characteristics mentioned is inferior gambir.

20. When a Kangchu or his family wish to farm out the river dues they must inform the Proper Officer of the Johore Police in order that he may record the names as prescribed by His Highness the Maharaja of Johore or his Representative.

21. If a Kangchu or his family wish to sell their rights they must inform His Highness the Maharaja of Johore or his Representative and the purchaser must pay the prescribed fee for registering his name and also pay a duty of one per cent of the purchase price.

22. If a revenue officer or other officer from the opium Department brings a warrant of arrest and seeks the assistance of a Kangchu in cases of suspected possession of illicit opium or liquor within the Kangchu's area the Kangchu must assist him and arrest the man and seal the place in which the illicit opium or liquor is kept and open it before the Judge of Johore.

23. When a warrant is issued from the State Police Office for the arrest of anyone within the area of a Kangchu, he must show the wanted man and similarly in the case of sub poenas and other processes issued by the Police.

24. Any planter who has mortgaged his plantation and is pressed for money may pledge his gambir and pepper to a Kangchu at so much a pikul and when the product in question are exported the Kangchu may prove his claim against the pledged products in order that the mortgagee may pay him.

25. If a Kangchu has made an arrest in accordance with these regulations and cannot send the arrested man to Johore Bahru owing to the distance or the want of facilities he shall hand him over to the nearest police station to be sent in and shall hand over all the reports and complaints to the officer-in-charge to be sent with the man.

26. In cases of theft and homicide and wounding and in cases of homicide and arson and so on and in cases of mischief to gambir or pepper plantations, a Kangchu may arrest on his own warrant and have the offender placed in the stocks.

27. In cases in which a planter sells his estate and then mischievously damages the trees or the house or the (gambir) cauldron and its furnace or molests the new holder the Kangchu must arrest him and hand him over to the State Police.

28. In the case of the occurence within the jurisdiction of a Kangchu of any serious crime such as homicide or stabbing

[1] Either this is a mistake or, more probably, there is a copyist's slip. I am advised that a ball of wet gambir is about three times the sizes of a ball of dry gambir of equal weight.

or piracy or robbery the Kangchu must make the fullest investigation and record in his register in full the origin of the trouble and on such an occasion the Kangchu must not delay action for more than six hours and he must send the persons responsible together with the witnesses to the State Police.

29. As regards proceedings under section 19 (?) before passing sentence or ordering a fine a Kangchu must fully investigate and record in his register the name of the complainant and the accused and the names of all their witnesses and the offence proved, if any, and must record the fine or other punishment ordered.

30. Kangchus should take cognisance of all proposed marriages of Chinese in their jurisdiction and the parties or their agents and relatives should go to their Kangchu and report and answer truly all questions put by the Kangchu as to their intentions and the Kangchu must keep a record in his register. A similar procedure should be followed in the case of deaths and birth.

31. If there are any disputes or quarrels about the boundaries of estates or jungle lands and the Kangchu cannot settle them or, more especially, if the two parties are not willing to accept a decision from the Kangchu, he must at once go to Johore Bahru and see the Engineer-in-charge and may request him to go himself and settle the matter and decide the disputed point.

32. If a Kangchu has not time to go to Johore Bahru he must at once write a letter, placing his " chop " thereon and give it to the disputing parties and send them to the Engineer above-mentioned. Any costs incurred in the matter shall be payable by the party in default.

33. Kangchus should weigh all gambir and pepper exported whenever the boats sail, that is every month, and must give a certificate to the owner of the products and another to the person who has " farmed " the export duty and state in the certificate the amount sent in the specified boat and certify that it has been weighed with correct scales.

34. Kangchus should make in their registers copies of all certificates issued under section 33.

35. Kangchus must investigate all disputes and quarrels between owner of estates and their mortgagors as regards the weighing of gambir and pepper and rice and other goods or as regards their price and similarly with other goods in common use among planters.

36. Gambir and pepper vessels and boats in a Kangchus jurisdiction must be compelled to take out a certificate and allowed to carry it on their bows.

37. Owners of such vessels should be forbidden by the Kangchu to accept any gambir and pepper bearing a chop which has not been registered in the Proper Office.

38. Kangchus must instruct the owners of such vessels to keep a register and record the owner's name and the extent and the estate name or chop of all gambir and pepper estates and they must record the date of leaving the river and date of arrival at their destination.

39. Crews of gambir and pepper vessels may on no account buy any gambir or pepper except such as is required for their personal use.

40. Kangchus must carefully watch for cases of gambir or pepper being smuggled out of the river in unauthorised vessels and, if they discover any such case, they must assist the persons responsible and seize the gambir and pepper and hand them over forthwith to the State Police.

41. Kangchus must allow mortgagees of gambir and pepper plantations to charge the estate owners a commission of 30 cents a pikul of rice supplied by them and similarly the estate owners must pay an extra 5 katis on each pikul of gambir and pepper.

42. Kangchus must insist on estate-owners keeping a pass-book. In it they must record all goods received from or delivered to the mortgagees and the price per pikul.

43. Kangchus must inspect estates in their jurisdiction and if they find any estate without coolies or short of coolies they must inform the mortgagee and instruct him to replenish the labour-force in order that the estate may be kept in good condition.

44. If any one in a Kangchu's jurisdiction wishes to open a gambir or pepper estate or to sell or transfer an estate or charge it for debt or mortgage it, the Kangchu must instruct both parties to enter the transaction in the register of the Proper Officer at Johore Bahru. The parties must produce the transfer or other instrument and set their hands to it in the presence of the Proper Officer, who will then record it in his register.

45. When, in the case of an estate held in partnership, any one wishes to sell his share, he must first inform the Kangchu and obtain his permission and the Kangchu shall impress his chop on the transfer.

46. If an estate-owner owes money to a kangchu and dies or absconds, abandoning his estate, or otherwise disappears, the Kangchu must inform the Head of the Treasury and the Head of the Treasury shall value the estate. If it has been sold and the price paid, then if there is any unsatisfied judgment against the estate-owner, the Kangchu shall pay the amount into Court and similarly if there is a suit and an attorney has been appointed.

And as regards coolies employed on the estate, the Kangchu may receive $50 towards the debt if they are in debt, and similarly must pay the mortgagee and if there is

any balance and there are other debts, the Kangchu must distribute the balance as far as it will go, and the Kangchu may receive his own debt and if there is still a balance the Kangchu must hand it over to the Treasury for safe-keeping or payment to any genuine claimant.

(*N.B.*—I have made what I can of Section 46 but the text is evidently corrupt. Essentially it is clear that when an estate was insolvent, the Kangchu was to act as a sort of Official Receiver.)

47. If any estate owner has contracted for consideration received to mortgage his estate and fails to execute the mortgage, the Kangchu must investigate and send the parties to the State Police for a decision and similarly if the party paying money fails to have the agreement put into writing the Kangchu must report at once in order that the State Police may decide what is fair to both parties.

48. When a Kangchu buys opium or liquor from the State Opium Office or from any opium shop he must enter details of the transaction in his register, similarly in the case of sales by him to persons in his jurisdiction.

49. A Kangchu must inspect in every case when people receive passes to cut timber or saw planks and so on in his jurisdiction.

50. When any one in a Kangchu's jurisdiction takes up jungle land and opens a new plantation or extends an existing one, he must first report to the Kangchu in writing in order that his name may be entered in the register.

51. Kangchu must watch persons holding passes such as are mentioned in section 49 and see that they work not more than 50 fathoms from the boundary of the estate. If any one infringes this regulation the Kangchu must detain him pending receipt of instructions from Johore Bahru whither he must send a report.

52. Persons such as are mentioned in section 50 may be restrained by the Kangchu if their plans will involve a breach of these regulations. No one may be restrained from cutting timber in jungle which is surrounded by gambir and pepper plantations or fruit orchards.

53. If timber cutters or plank surveyors have no way by which to bring out their timber or planks without traversing a plantation or orchard in a Kangchu's jurisdiction, the Kangchu shall grant them passage. He must first inform the owner of the land in order that the owner may let them through.

54. When woodcutters or plank surveyors such as are mentioned in section 49 wish to buy opium or liquor, the Kangchu must sell to them at a lower price than to planters and others in his jurisdiction in accordance with rules prescribed by His Highness Maharaja of Johore for each bowl of liquor in section 49 and each kati of pork (?).

55. Timber cutters and sawyers may not be arrested for gambling among themselves in their own camp. An offence will only be committed if they admit outsiders or planters.

56. There must be a Malay policeman in every kangkar and he shall obey all proper orders of the Kangchu but policeman must be a man of good character and reliability and intelligence to be appointed on request by the Commissioner; a Kangchu may not select his policeman himself.

57. A Kangchu must pay the wages of the policeman mentioned in section 56 and supply his necessary expenses and food each month at the usual rates in force among Kangchus in Johore.

58. The Kangchu must obtain the policeman's uniform from the Commissioner and apply for a new uniform every six months and must pay the cost in accordance with the rates prescribed by His Highness the Maharaja of Johore.

59. Once in every four months a Kangchu must send a report to the Mayor of Johore.[1]

60. If a Kangchu wishes to have a theatrical performance in his Kangkar he must obtain a licence from the State Police, such licence will hold good for 15 days only. Fees will be payable as prescribed by His Highness the Maharaja of Johore or his Representative.

61. Kangchus with a large or a small kangkar must.....as prescribed by His Highness the Maharaja of Johore or his Representative.

62. All revenue such as is mentioned in section 61 must be handed over to the Mayor of Johore once in four months.

63. Kangchus must pay fees for each registration—certificate and number plate and flag of a gambir and pepper vessel once a year as prescribed by His Highness the Maharaja of Johore or his Representative.

64. Kangchus must pay yearly fees for each opium or liquor licence and for each notice board for an opium or liquor or pork shop and also dues for gambling saloons and pork shops as prescribed by His Highness the Maharaja of Johore or his Representative.

65. Kangchus must instruct owners of fishing boats in their jurisdiction to take out yearly licences and number plates and pay for them such fees as prescribed by His Highness the Maharaja of Johore or his Representative.

66. Kangchus must instruct all owners of gambir and pepper estates to allow their mortgagees 20% profit on all goods supplied by them, the percentage to be calculated on the prices of importing houses or the prices telegraphed to them weekly.

[1] The Mayor or Major was the recognised Head of the Chinese community in Johore. Local Heads were called "captain."

67. If there is a dispute or quarrel between the owners of gambir and pepper estates and their mortgages as regards the correctness of the scales of the mortgagees, the Kangchu must fully investigate the matter and send the goods to the Kongkek [1] to be weighed on the Government scales provided for the Kongkek and if either party is dissatisfied with the weighing of the Kongkek the gambir and pepper must be sent to the person who farms the duty on gambir and pepper to be weighed in the Government scales provided for him and when the matter has been decided whichever party, whether the estate owner or mortgagee or Kongkek is found to be in the wrong, a fine or other punishment may be inflicted on him in accordance with the regulations of His Highness the Maharaja of Johore or his Representative.

68. When an estate owner sends gambir or pepper to his mortgagee he should ask the mortgagee to deduct the price from his debt and the Kangchu must so inform the mortgagee in order that he may fulfil the request of the estate owner so far as may be just.

69. A Kangchu must keep clean his Kangkar and the roads and boat-sheds and Big House and forbid pig-rearers to allow their pigs to roam about instead of being kept in a pen and must keep in repair all bridges in the Kangkar and so on.

70. Kangchus must be cognisant of all valuable articles exported from their jurisdiction such as tin ore and minerals or gold and so on and similarly with all useful and fruitful agricultural products which may be profitable to the Raja.

71. Kangchus must look after any occasional Malays or Chinese who live temporarily in his area, seeking their living and see that they do not suffer any mischief or oppression.

72. Kangchus must arrest any convicts who have escaped from Johore or Singapore prisons and forthwith hand them over to the State Police.

73. Kangchus must look after persons suffering from want or hunger and if they have no means to go to their destination or wish to return home, Kangchus must assist them in attaining their purpose.

74. A Kangchu must know the fees payable by him monthly and yearly as shown below.

75. A Kangchu is allowed to sell opium, liquor and pork and to run gambling saloons and hold the pawnshop monopoly within his jurisdiction.

76. A Kangchu may receive as revenue, fees on account of the vessels exporting gambir and pepper at the rate of 12 cents a pikul and at the same rate on rice imported.

[1] The Kongkek was a business association which might fairly be described as a Chamber of Commerce. Its interests chiefly lay in gambir and pepper. The house in which it met still exists in Johore Bahru—near the market.

77. Instead of the fees payable on account of vessels, a Kangchu may when gambir or pepper is taken out of his jurisdiction by land charge a fee of 6 cents a pikul.

78. Fees collected in accordance with sections 76 and 77 must be shared with the men of the vessels in accordance with the custom prevailing.

Authorised fees.

1. One suit of policeman's uniform *i.e.* trousers, coat and cap, as mentioned in section 58—$6.00.
2. Theatre—licence as mentioned in section 60—$12.00.
3. Fee payable to the raja on each large Kangkar as mentioned in section 61—$3.00.
4. Fee payable on each small Kangkar—$1.50.
5. For each registration and number plate of a gambir and pepper vessel as mentioned in section 65—$2.00.
6. For each flag on such vessel—$3.00.
7. For each opium licence as mentioned in section 64—50 cents.
8. For each notice board for opium shop—$1.00.
9. For each liquor licence as mentioned in section 64—50 cents.
10. For each notice board for liquor shop—$1.00.
11. For each pawn shop licence—$1.00.
12. For each pawn shop notice board—$1.00.
13. For each licence for gambling saloon—50 cents.
14. For each board containing a list of royalties on gambling—$1.00.
15. For each licence and number plate for a fishing boat as mentioned in section 65—$2.00.

79. Any Johore Kangchu who transgresses against or disobeys the regulations hereby enacted shall be fined for a first offence up to $100.00, for a second offence up to $500.00 and a third offence up to $1,000.00 and for a fourth offence may be dismissed or degraded as may appear right in accordance with the view and decision of His Highness the Maharaja of Johore or his Representative and the nobles and members of Council.

(*N.B.*—The figures $100.00, $500.00 and $1,000.00 in the above section are written in pencil in my copy with a query mark against each. One gathers that they represent blanks in the original).

80. A Kangchu subject to these regulations, in carrying out his duties must behave himself correctly and show courtesy and justice and if any of them breaks the laws of the land by conspiring to do mischief or injustice or malicious acts and so on or does any act injurious to the State or its denizens or

subjects—on proof of such acts, they shall inevitably be treated as an offence by His Highness the Maharaja of Johore or his Representative and all the nobles and members of Council and justice shall be done to the offender.

81. When any estate-owner has been arrested by the police for any offence, his Kangchu may wait for two weeks and, if by that time he does not return or his case is not settled, the Kangchu must forthwith give written notice to the mortgagee of the Estate."

This "law" no doubt sets forth the principles on which Government understood Kangchus to hold their rights though it appears very doubtful indeed whether the Kangchus generally fulfilled their obligations meticulously. As regards the internal economy of the settlements it will be noticed that "mortgagees" (the nearest word to express the meaning in the context of the Malay word "pajak") were recognised and their registration provided for. The system was that a man without capital who wished to open an estate would receive capital and, later, supplies from a capitalist who obtained a sort of floating charge over the estate or its products, though he could not sell the land without an Order of Court. As a matter of fact, there were two Malay forms of "mortgage" prescribed by the Government, one a "mortgage of gambir and pepper" and one a "mortgage of land". In the former case the mortgagee covenanted not to sell his products to any but the mortgagee and in the second case he charged his land with his debt; they were not of course worded with great precision.

The interests of both parties were supposed to be watched by the Kangchu.

So with all his rights and duties a Kangchu became a semi-feudal chief and his powers were doubtless enhanced de facto owing to the circumstances—small alien communities, living in isolated places and immediately subject to the principle local land owner (or his nominee) whose responsibility to the Ruler, his overlord was in the nature of things likely to be neglected.

Such a system was not consonant with administrative development and in 1917 the situation was seriously reviewed, more particularly in view of the fact that the Government intended to abolish public gaming, thus aiming a deadly blow at one of the most valuable Kangchu rights. Decay had already set in the Kangchu system. Exports of pepper and gambir (on which the system was ultimately based) had declined. The value of the exports of both products had sunk by nearly 60% within the preceding five years, each year showing a substantial fall. And many Kangchus were not doing their duty. As an official wrote when the question of the abolition of their rights was being considered. "Doubly blessed with a profitable office and a well-groomed conscience, one would have expected the Kangchu to have been meticulously careful to follow the instructions prescribed for his guidance. Perhaps in China he would have been, but here the goad was absent. In the absence of effective supervision he more

and more neglected his duties and offended openly against the express provisions of both his " surat " and the Kanun. "

Now it was highly arguable, and indeed was argued, that a Kangchu was merely a Government official whose remuneration took the form not of a fixed salary but of the right to receive certain taxes and profits and that therefor he could be simply dismissed. In view, however, of the fact that such a course would have the appearance of being harsh and arbitrary it was ultimately decided to treat Kangchu rights as a customary element in the tenure of land under "surat sungei" and therefore as vested rights.

So an Enactment styled " The Kangchu Rights (abolition) Enactment " was passed in 1917 providing that " all Kangchu rights throughout the State shall cease and utterly determine upon the 31st day of December 1917 and compensation therefore shall be paid out of the revenues of the State ". The Enactment fixed the amount of compensation in every case as a sum equivalent to five times the annual net profits directly derived from the exercise of the rights during the period of three years immediately preceding the 31st day of December 1917.

Provision was made for hearing and deciding claims. Such records as there were showed 66 Kangkars in existence, though some had probably ceased to function and in some cases the " surat sungei " without which, it appears, there could be by custom no Kangchu rights, had been exchanged for a Grant under the Land Enactment. At any rate I can trace only 40 claims, a few of which were conflicting, though again a few referred to more than one " surat sungei ". In all nearly a million dollars was paid in compensation and the day of the Kangchu was over and the new land system prevailed.

The Kangkar of Kambau.

As a tail piece to this paper some account of one of the most prosperous and (originally) most isolated of the Kangkars, that of Kambau, may be of interest. The Sedili Besar River which flows into the China Sea has for one of its tributaries the little river of Kambau.

About 1887 (I cannot find the exact date) one Yeoh Hee Siang started a colony high up the Kambau and became its Kangchu. The Kangkar passed through various hands until its abolition in 1917 when it belonged to the father of a now well known Chinese business man. After some preliminary difficulties owing to the insufficient capital of the founder the colony flourished and as the holdings spread, it was eventually decided (about 1898) to move the Kangkar about 2 miles upstream to a more central position. It was believed that a different crocodile held each tributary as his ward and on the evening of the departure the spectacle of a fight between a large black crocodile and a young yellow one, resulting in the discomfiture and retirement of the large crocodile, was hailed as a good omen for the success of the new settlement, which spread to over 2,000 acres, mostly owned by the Kangchu himself.

It was a purely Chinese community, the only Malays being the policeman (kept under Government regulations) and his family—and they spoke Chinese fluently—a very rare talent among Malays.

The community was always (and still is) troubled by periodical ravages of tigers. Tigers are not so common a feature of the Malayan landscape as would be believed by those who gape credulously at the " scenes of jungle savagery " obtained for film faking purposes by buying animals from a dealer and dumping them out of their cages into an enclosure. But, of course, they do exist and an island of cultivation with its consequent " easy meat " in the midst of a trackless jungle, naturally attracts their attention. Indeed at one time it was thought desirable to have a man beating a gong in attendance on working gangs. This plan however was perforce abandoned when the tigers began to treat the gong as a dinner gong and the gongster as the joint.

In the early days, the normal method of egress to the outer world was by junk down the Kambau River, down the Sedili River and by sea to Singapore (and even now it entails a journey of several hours by boat if a Kambau man wishes to reach the Government road starting at Mawai).

Still the community prospered and so valuable were the Kangkar rights that over a sum of over $90,000 was paid as compensation when they were abolished in 1917—the largest sum paid in respect of any one " river."

The plantations (now nearly all under rubber) are still in existence as is the village which is still called the Kangkar of Kambau—tenure now being under the Land Enactment.

The Big House, the official seat of the Kangchu is now rented by Government as a police station, in it can be seen the old stocks, But essentially it remains a Chinese " island ". The people, who seem healthy and happy, " stay put ". Many of them have, it is said, never seen a motor car.

And they still use their own " currency notes ", as the tokens used in local transactions may fairly be described.

Kambau is said to have been the only kangkar with its own private currency. The system started apparently about 1908 on the advice of the Chief Minister and the Kangchu paid his men in tokens redeemable in Government notes. They became, and still are, the only currency in use in the local shops. The older notes were probably somewhat crude but the latest issue (of 1927) was printed by Waterlows. There are only two denominations —equivalent to $1 and 10 cents respectively. The reason for the original issue lay in the nervousness of the inhabitants who might well in their isolation have been plundered by foot pads from the outerworld ; the possession of nothing but " Kambau notes " gave them a feeling of security far greater than could have been obtained by any attempt at elaborate policing. And I understand that the people still prefer to keep to their " Kambau notes ". So they are safe from outsiders and, as a matter of fact, the community itself, apart from occasional chicken thefts, appears to be an Eden free from real crime.

NOTE ON THE ARMENIAN TOMBSTONES AT MALACCA.

By J. V. MILLS, M.C.S.

In 1919, that distinguished scholar, Mons. F. Macler, read to the Société Asiatique in Paris a paper entitled " Note sur quelques inscriptions funéraires Arméniennes de Malacca ".

The paper was published in the *Journal Asiatique*, Tome xiii, 1919, page 560 *et seq.*

Mons. F. Macler has graciously given permission (for which the present writer expresses his grateful thanks) for the publication of an English translation in this Journal.

The following version, one hopes, accurately reproduces the sense of the original.

" Note
on certain Armenian funerary inscriptions at Malacca ".

" Our colleague, M. Gabriel Ferrand, was pleased, some weeks ago, to draw my attention to some collected notes on tombstones, mostly Portuguese and Dutch, preserved at Malacca.

The publication is entitled *Historical tombstones of Malacca, mostly of Portuguese origin*, with the inscriptions in detail and illustrated by numerous photographs, by Robert Norman Bland (London. Elliot Stock), 1905, in-4°, 75 pages.

Nothing in the title or in the ' introductory notes ' leads one to suspect the presence, in the body of the work, of funerary steles or flagstones and Armenian inscriptions. Yet, as soon as one opens the volume, the first inscription which meets the reader's eye (p. 7) concerns an Armenian.

R. N. Bland, the author of the publication in question, gives, p. 6, the ' translation of Armenian inscription ', taken from " History of the Armenians in India."

This English translation gives the following rendering :

" Hail ! thou that readest the tablet of my tomb wherein
I now do sleep.
Give me the news, the freedom of my countrymen, for them
I did much weep.
If there arose among them one good guardian to govern and
to keep.
Vainly I expected in the world to see a good shepherd come
to look after the scattered sheep.
I, Jacob, grandson of Shameer, an Armenian of a respectable
family whose name I keep,
Was born in a foreign town in Persia, new Inefa (*sic*), where
my parents now for ever sleep.
Fortune brought me to this distant Malacca, which my
remains in bondage doth keep.

Separated from the world on the 7th July, in the year of our Lord 1774,
at the age of 29.

My mortal remains were deposited in this spot in the Ground which I had purchased ".

That is to say, in literary style :

[*Mons. Macler here gives a French translation.*]

R. N. Bland, the author, gives, on the same page 6, the ' Dutch Inscription ', that is to say, the English translation of the Dutch inscription engraved underneath the Armenian inscription.

Here is the English rendering :

" Here lie the remains of Heer JACOB SHAMIER,
the Armenian Merchant,

who was buried on the 7th July, in the year of Our Lord 1774, in the 29th year of his age."

An observation of a bibliographical nature first occurs to one's mind. Bland cites the " History of the Armenians in India " without indicating the author's name. But this history is not anonymous ; its author is Mesrob J. Seth and it was published at Calcutta, in 1895.

Further, Bland makes Jacob Chamir say that he was born in Persia, at ' new Inefa '. No such place-name exists in the topography either of Armenia or Persia.

The reference, there can be no doubt, is to ' Nor Djougha ', or ' New Djoulfa ' (Julfa), that Armenian colony which Chah Abbas, at the beginning of the 17th century, caused to migrate from Djoulfa, on the banks of the Araxes, to the neighbourhood of Ispahan. Cf. G. v. Chahnazarian, *Esquisse de l'histoire de l'Arménie.* (Paris. 1856), in-16, p. 95.

Besides, one has only to refer to the text of Seth to establish the need for this correction, and the necessity of reading *Djoulfa* (Julfa) and not *Inefa.*

Cf. Mesrovb J. Seth, *History of the Armenians in India,* from the earliest times to the present day. (Calcutta, 1895), in-16, p. 30, note*.

We now come to the examination of the monument itself. Bland indicates neither the dimensions nor the material employed.

One can infer that it must be of stone and not of marble, judging by the subscription appearing, p. 7, below the photographic reproduction of the monument :

" STONE NOW IN CHRIST'S CHURCH, MALACCA.
(*It has probably been removed thither from an older Dutch Cemetry*) ".

Fig. 1.—Within a border composed of three lines of dots, the surface of the monument is covered, from top to bottom, by funerary ornaments and emblems, beneath which one reads the

Armenian Inscription. Then comes the Dutch Inscription, and lastly a plain surface, without any lettering.

At the top, on the right and on the left, are two rectangles; in the middle of each, two shin-bones are crossed in such a manner as to form acute angles above and below, and obtuse angles on the right and on the left of, the point of intersection. Above the shin-bones, are two death-masks to remind one that the monument is a funerary one.

The centre of this upper portion is occupied by a surround borrowed from the vegetable kingdom, and representing clusters of grapes and foliage interposed. The actual heart of the relief shows a kind of escutcheon on which is represented a pair of scissors crossed with an object which is perhaps the symbol of some standard of measurement. Underneath is a balance, of which the beam is horizontal. Between the pans of the balance are three objects, of which that on the left seems to be a goose-quill steeped in an ink-well; that on the right is perhaps a pyramid of weights, indicating the weights used by the merchant Jacob Chamir. Between these two objects, is another, larger, one, representing a vase on which appears a mortar, or perhaps, more probably, a vessel for sand. The Armenian inscription runs to ten lines; it is engraved in capital letters called *erkathagir*; I would transcribe it as follows:

[*Mons. Macler here gives the Armenian transcription*]; of which the literal translation is:

1. Hail to thee who readest the epitaph on my tomb!
2. Give me the news of my nation's freedom, for which I have passionately longed.
3. [Tell me] if someone has arisen among *us*, as deliverer and leader;
4. which, while on earth, I earnestly desired.
5. I Yakobos, scion of respectable ancestors among the Armenians,
6. being their son, I received the name of Chamrchamian.
7. I was born in a foreign land, at Nor Tjoula, village of the Persians.
8. On attaining twenty-nine years of age, I came into my inheritance,
9. in this Malala (Malacca); the seventh of July, I ended my life,
10. in the year of the Saviour 1774, I laid myself down to rest in this grave, which I myself, acquired.

Line 3.—The text clearly reads §§ (*a*) "among *us*", and not "among *them*", as is indicated in the English translation above cited.

Line 6.—The family name, on the Dutch inscription, is *Shamier*, which the English version renders as *Shameer*. The Armenian has §§ "Chamrchaments" or "Chamrchamian".

(*a*) The Armenian script is not reproduced in this paper.

On page 27 of his publication, R. N. Bland reproduces a sepulchral stone, bearing an Armenian inscription and a Portuguese inscription.

Below the photographic reproduction is this note :

" This stone lies in the ruined church by the River at Bunga Raya in Malacca (S. Lourenço)."

Opposite, that is to say on page 26, Bland gives the transcription of the Portuguese inscription :

Aquy esta sepultura TARCAN
Filho de Ovanjan,
que falleceo em 8 de Janeiro,
1746 ;

then, below, the English translation :

Here is buried TARKAN
son of Ovanjan,
who died on the 8th January, 1746 ;

and, underneath, a photographic view of San Lourenço. He offers neither transcription nor translation of the Armenian inscription,

It consists of four lines, in capital lettering or *erkathagir*. which I propose to transcribe thus :

[*Mons. Macler here gives the Armenian transcription.*] that is to say :

1. This is the tomb of Tharkan,
2. son of Yovantchan Chouqourents (?),
3. who died peacefully in the Lord, the Y[ear] of Ch[rist]
4. 1746, the 8th of Aram.

The reading of the family name is doubtful : it might also read *Chrqronts*, which represents no known Armenian name. The family name *Chouqourents* appears to be of Arab origin and probably passed into Armenian through the medium of Persian.

This word does not appear on the Portuguese inscription. The 8th of Aram (§§) corresponds to the 4th of January. The month of Aram is the tenth month of the Little era or calendar of Azaria. The name of this month is that of the seventh descendant of Haïk, the founder of the Armenian nation, according to tradition.

The era of Azaria commences in the year 1616 A.D.

In this era, more particularly in use among the Armenians of Persia and the Indies, the year begins at the vernal equinox, the 21st of March in the Julian calendar, corresponding actually to the 2nd of April in the Gregoirian calendar.

(cf. Edouard DULAURIER, *Recherches sur la chronologie arménienne*, technique et historique. (Paris, 1859), in-4°, p. 115-117.)

The third document reproduced by R. N. Bland is on page 29 of his work, with this note under the photograph :

" in the portuguese church of St. Peter, Malacca ".

This tombstone has a floral margin on the lateral and upper borders : but not at the bottom.

The field of the stone is divided into three parts : at the top, a floral ornamentation, recalling the Persian faïence in different tones of blue ; in the middle, an Armenian inscription ; at the bottom, a Portuguese inscription, commencing with the Latin words : '*hic jacet*'.

The Portuguese inscription is translated into English by Bland, on page 28, in the following manner :

JOHANNES DONACO (*sic*).
an Armenian of Erevan, in Ispahan, in Persia,
who died at the age of 30,
on the 31st December,
1736.

And, underneath, on the same page 28, the author gives a view of the church of St. Peter, at Malacca.

The Armenian inscription, of which the editor offers neither transcription nor translation, is engraved in capital lettering or *erkathagir* : it occupies five lines of text :

[*Mons. Macler here gives the Armenian transcription.*] that is to say

1. In this tomb[1] is enclosed the body of the young Yovanès
2. who came originally from Erivan. He was one of the sons (?) of Sargis, mer-
3. chant most esteemed. He died at 30 years of age,
4. the year of the Saviour 1736 ; and in the little era [of Azaria] 121, the 5th of Aram ;[2]
5. May he rest in peace in this Ho[ll] and land, which [is] Malala.

Line 1.—The Armenian word §§ is used sometimes as a proper name " Manouk ", sometimes as a common name, meaning " infant ", " young man."

Line 2.—The material reading....*ordi êr sa i sargs*....is certain, but it is not clear.

Either the letter *i* belongs to *Sargs* to form the genitive *Sargsi*, and it would then be a matter of a simple error on the

(1) The Armenian word §§ (tapan) means "large chest" "tomb", "(Noah's) ark ", while §§ (damban) [supra,' first inscription] means "tomb", "sepulchre", " mausoleum ".

(2) Exact reference. The date given in the era of Azaria (§§=121) corresponds exactly to the date given in the so-called Christian era: 1616+121—1=1736. The 5th of Aram corresponds to the 1st of January. Cf. *supra*. Moreover the date indicated (1736) falls well within the period of Dutch rule at Malacca : 1640-1795.

part of the engraver : or else *i* is the its right place, and it ought to be understood in the sense of " from among " " from amid " : " son was he of the number [of the sons] of Sargis ".

Line 3.—The word §§ ought to be considered as a dialect form of the word §§ meaning " age ".

Line 4 of the Portuguese inscription contains the word *Meliian*, which seems to be the family name. It does not appear in the Armenian inscription.—

The Portuguese DECOIA ought probably to read *de khodja*, and corresponds to the Armenian §§ " esteemed."

I will end by drawing attention to a piece of stone without any lettering, which Bland reproduces on page 23, with no commentary. He simply contents himself with making under the photographic reproduction, the following English note " Stone, probably Dutch, without inscription, in nave of Christ's Church, Malacca. "

It is possible that this slab comes from a Dutch tomb. But I think not. The ornamental designs, which constitute the only point of interest in this stone, recall in a striking manner those of the inscription of Jacob Chamir [*supra* : first inscription]. There are the same shin-bones, crossed in the same manner, surmounted by the same type of funerary mask.

The field, ovoid in shape, is divided into two compartments. In the upper compartment, one has a figure which is very difficult to identify : one might say it was the emblem of a peacock, with tail spread and wings wide apart.

In this case there could be no question of a heraldic figure.

On the other hand, after further examination of this drawing, one might be able, at a stretch, to see in it a casque with mantlings, surmounted by a plume of peacock's feathers ; and this casque would in that case have below it the gorget, at the place where the representation of the front of the peacock would be seen.

If this design in the upper compartment is a heraldic figure, it ought to be described :—an escutcheon with a casque, decorated with its mantlings surcharged upon it, and surmounted by a plume.

As regards the lower compartment, it very clearly represents a spread eagle (with two heads), the escutcheon being flanked, on each side, with ornaments suggestive of mantlings.

These epigraphic documents do not date back to any remote antiquity. Nevertheless, it was of interest to draw attention to them.

They confirm what one knows from tradition of the Armenian diaspora in the seventeenth century, following the persecution of Chah Abbas (1604).

After the downfall of the Armenian kingdom, at the end of the fourteenth century, the territory of Great Armenia was

pillaged and devasted successively by the Egyptians, the Persians, the Kurds, and the Turcomans.

It was, moreover, the rivalry between Turkey and Persia that spread desolation on Armenian soil ; which became, for long years, an apple of discord between the two States.

In 1604, Chah Abbas decided, in order to arrest the Turkish progress towards Aderbeidjan, to transform the valley and the plain of the Araxes into a vast desert. The flourishing cities of Djoulfa, Nakhitjevan and Erivan, with their villages and dependencies, were burnt ; the vineyards, plantations and cultivated fields were destroyed by order of the Chah ; finally, 25,000 Armenian families were violently torn from their homes and forcibly banished to Persia, where they established colonies at Chiraz, Hamadan and Ispahan. One of the most flourishing colonies was that of Nor Tjoula or New Djoulfa, situated in the outskirts of Ispahan.

By proceeding in this manner, Chah Abbas attained a double object. He arrested the Turkish invasion ; and he introduced into his kingdom a vigorous element of industry and an unexpected source of wealth.

These new Armenian colonies contributed greatly to the commercial and industrial development of Persia (cf. MONTESQUIEU, *Lettres persanes* (Lettre LXXXVI)).

But this state of things was not to endure for long. The immediate successors of Chah Abbas persecuted the Armenians, who had become, in their eyes, too rich and too powerful. The Armenian colonists continued their migration towards the East and South-east, and spread to China, the East Indies, Sumatra, Java, and lastly Malacca.

The three epigraphic documents to which I have just drawn your attention, emanate from the Armenian colonists established at Malacca.

Under the liberal rule of Holland (1640-1795), this Colony became very rich and very flourishing. In spite of that, these Armenians never ceased to yearn for their lost fatherland, and the lament of Jacob Chamir, which I read to you at the beginning of this discourse, attests once more the ardent patriotism of the Armenians and their invincible faith in the deliverance of their country ".

The writer makes bold to add a few notes.

Not the least interesting point arises in connection with Bland's suggestion that the tombstones in question may have been brought from Holland by the Dutch. A fragment from the tombstone of " Tarkan " was submitted to Dr. F. T. Ingham, Mining Geologist, Federated Malay States, who has been kind enough to write the following note for publication :—

> " The specimen submitted is of charnockite, a rock which is characterised by the presence of hypersthense. In addition to this mineral much acid felspar and garnet, together with

quartz and accessory iron ores, are shown in the sections examined. It could thus, owing to its acid composition, be called a hypersthene granite.

No rocks of this nature are known in Malaya. Rocks of the Charnockite series are, however, well developed in the southern part of India in the Madras Presidency, and extend also into Ceylon. Although similar rocks have also been found in Africa, *i.e.* Uganda, Gaboon and Sierra Leone, as far as I am aware no charnockite has been found in Europe. It would thus appear highly probable that the tombstone has been brought from either India or Ceylon. Quarries working very similar rock occur at Saint Thomas Mount about 8 miles south of Madras, and small workings are also situated near Galle in Colombo. At the former place Sir Thomas Holland states that in 1891 " large quantites of rock (Charnockite) have been obtained for building and ornamental purposes in Madras " and it thus appears possible that the tombstone was brought from this port."

The other tombstones appear to be made of similar black rock.

The dimensions of the tombstones are as follows:—

" Shamir " , p. 7 : $94\frac{1}{2}''$ × 47″ :
" Tarkan " , p. 27 : 50″ × $23\frac{1}{2}''$:
" Donaco " , p. 29 : $74\frac{1}{2}''$ × 35″ :
Anonymous, p. 23 : $94\frac{1}{2}''$ × 46″.

The word " *e‹kathagir* ", the writer is informed, means literally "writing by metal type."

The date now generally accepted for the capture of Malacca by the Dutch is 1641, not 1640 as given by Bland.

It is stated in the latest edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. II, p. 379, that after 1605 when Shah Abbas transfered thousands of Armenians to New Julfa near Ispahan, Armenian colonies expanded to India and the Far East long before any European was allowed to trade.

In Julfa, Ispahan, Persia, the Armenian Archbishop of Persia and India has his ecclesiastical see : he has jurisdiction over all the Armenian Churches in India and the regions beyond : the Armenian Chnrch at Singapore, consecrated in 1836, is the oldest ecclesiastical building in the city (*One hundred Years of Singapore*. (1921) Vol. II. p. 259).

At the present day there are few, if any, Armenians at Malacca, it is believed.

Record of the ceremonial followed at the death and funeral of Yang Di-pertuan Besar, Tuanku Muhammad, G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., ibni al-Marhum Yam Tuan Antah, and at the proclamation of his son Tunku Abdu'l-Rahman as his successor. August the 1st and 3rd, 1933.

Compiled by
H. P. BRYSON, M.C.S., and I. W. BLELLOCH, M.C.S.

The death.

Tuanku Muhammad died in the Astana Besar, Sri Menanti, shortly before 3 p.m. on Tuesday, 1 August, 1933, after an illness lasting only a few days.

Immediately after life had left the body, the Tunku Besar Burhanuddin, eldest brother of the late Ruler, summoned the four Penghulus of the *Tanah Mengandong*, namely the Datos of Ulu Muar, Jempul, Terachi and Gunong Pasir,[1] and informed them of the death of the Yang Di-pertuan Besar.

A salute of 22 guns was fired, and outside the Astana the Royal umbrellas (*payong kuning*), the tufted spears (*tombak benderang*) and pennons of alternately red and yellow were set up.

On receipt of the tidings by the Penghulus, the four principal Lembagas of Ulu Muar were summoned and instructed to convey the news to the four Undangs.[2]

Muar would be the natural representative of Johol, but there seems to be no reason why Terachi, ranking third in the *Tanah Mengandong*, should represent the senior Undang, Dato' Klana.

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[1]The Penghulus were actually present in the Astana, but Tunku Besar followed the recognised custom.

It has been suggested that, strictly speaking, only the Dato' Muar should have been called, and that the others are included by courtesy. (*N.B.*—This view is not shared by Wilkinson, see " Sri Menanti ", p. 37). In support of that there is the fact that although the boundaries of each *luak* are not defined, and probably could not now be defined, Sri Menanti is generally within the sphere of influence of Muar. On the other hand it is also held that the four Penghulus of the *Tanah Mengandong* are representatives of the four Undang (c.f. Wilkinson *Serambi Undang*). It is certainly prescribed to which Undang the representative of each Penghulu accompanying a *lembaga* of Muar shall go (*ib.* p. 37). The Dato' Muar is recognised as the senior Penghulu.

[2]The messengers, as decreed by custom are :

Dato' Paduka Besar, Ulu Muar, a Lembaga of Terachi.	to Dato' Klana of Sungai Ujong.
Dato' Orang Kaya Bongsu, by representative, a Lembaga of Jempul.	to Dato' Jelebu.
Dato' Sri Maharaja, a Lembaga of Johol.	to Dato' Johol.
Dato' Senara Muda, a Lembaga of Gunong Pasir.	to Dato' Rembau.

It is possible that the three of the Muar Lembagas are accompanied by a Lembaga from Terachi, Gunong Pasir and Jempul, not because their Penghulu is representative of the particular Undang to whom the corresponding Muar Lembaga may be bound, but for another simple reason. In former days, when travelling was slower, Terachi would be the normal stopping place for the Dato' Paduka Besar on his way to Sungai Ujong, as would Kuala Jempul for the Orang Kaya Bongsu going to Jelebu, and Gunong Pasir for the Dato' Sri Maharaja on his way by bridle path to Rembau. Ulu Muar being under the direct protection of Johol, the Dato' Sri Maharaja would be accompanied by a *Lembaga* of Johol. This theory is supported by the traditional way in which the Undang used to make the journey from their own districts to Sri Menanti (*ib.* p. 38-39).

On this occasion the four Muar Lembagas (Dato' Paduka Besar, a son of Dato' Senara Muda Lateh as the representative of the Dato' Orang Kaya Bongsu, Dato' Sri Maharaja, and the Dato' Senara Muda) travelled alone, and performed the return journey easily in one day. Dato' Klana, Dato' Johol and Dato' Rembau arrived at the Astana shortly after His Highness' death, but nevertheless the messengers went formally to Seremban[1], Johol and Rembau to convey the news. The Dato' Jelebu, who had been suffering from illness for some months left the Astana about mid-day and had gone back to Kuala Klawang. He was informed of the occurrence at Jelebu by the Dato' Orang Kaya Bongsu's representative.

The ceremonial lustration of the body took place about twenty four hours after death : the body was then placed in the coffin, which lay in state in a ground floor room, where a ceremonial awning (*khemah*) of yellow silk had been constructed. The coffin, which was resting on seven tiers of mattresses, was of the usual pentagonal shape. Its dimensions were not prescribed by custom, and the only point insisted upon was that no iron, by way of nails or fastenings, should be used. Accordingly it was in part morticed, and in part fastened by brass and copper screws. The coffin was completely closed, religious requirements being met by covering the bottom to a depth of about nine inches with earth taken from the grave. Rice (*beras kunyet*) and herbs were also enclosed.

The funeral.

The burial took place on the third day after the death. The coffin, which, according to custom, was not removed from the Astana until the successor to the throne had been proclaimed, was borne on a specially adapted lorry, drawn by officers of the Court (the *Pegawai Sembilan-puloh sembilan*), accompanied by

[1]The news of the death was first given to Dato' Klana by the Acting Resident, (Mr. G. E. London), who had received it by telephone from Sri Menanti. The Dato' Klana had been invited to the Residency for a conference a few minutes previously, he having returned from the Astana at about 2 p.m.

minor Court officials (*Orang Ampat Astana*) and the religious leaders (*Ulama*). The traditional ceremonial carriage (known as the *Maharaja di-raja*) was inadequate for the heavy coffin[1], but it preceded the lorry, carrying the Treasurer (*Khazanah*), and the dispensers of the doles (*sĕdĕkah*). The cortege was followed by the mourners in this order : the newly proclaimed Yang Di-pertuan Besar : the senior members of the royal family ; other relatives (*anak putra* and *anak putri*) with the chiefs and representatives of other Rulers and of high Government officials : other mourners, and subjects (*raiat*) of the late Ruler. A salute of 68 guns, corresponding to the years of Tuanku Muhammad's life, was fired.

From the entrance porch of the Astana to the main gate was stretched an awning of white cloth ; near the grave-yard more white cloth (*kain tapak* ;) was laid from the main road to the grave side. This latter was marked off in strips, roughly equal to the amount required for a man's bathing sarong.

It is customary for the *kain tapak* to be taken up and divided by the mourners following the coffin.

The doles (*sedekah*) were distributed in the cemetery, shares being calculated in *suku* equivalent to 25 cents[2].

On the death of persons of royal blood, it is the custom that all in the precincts of the Astana should go uncovered until the burial is completed. On the day of the funeral, however, this custom was not strictly adhered to, though by far the largest majority of mourners was bareheaded[3].

There was nothing in the ceremonial at the graveside which was peculiar to Negri Sembilan.

The Proclamation of the successor.

The four Undang had met, according to custom, after the death and had elected Tunku Abdulrahman to succeed his father. No announcement of the successor's name was made before the proclamation, which took place in the audience hall (*balai penghadapan*) of the Astana.

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[1]The coffin was made under the supervision of Mr. E. F. T. Elbury, Executive Engineer, Kuala Pilah, and weighed, it was reckoned, between 3—3½ tons.

[2]The shares are divided thus :
to each *anak raja*, or important chief—6 *suku*.
to persons of less importance—4 or less *suku*.
to *Orang Ampat Astana*—1 *bahara timah* (=$14).
to *raiat* generally—copper coins, distibuted more or less at random.

[3]Of the chief mourners, the new Yang Di-pertuan Besar and Tunku Nasir, sons of Tuanku Muhammad, Tunku Laksmana Abubakar, A.D.C. to His Highness, and Tunku Zakariah, Private Secretary, were bareheaded ; Tunku Besar Burhanuddin, Tunku Panglima Besar Kahar and Tunku Sulaiman, brothers of the deceased, wore their *songkok* with the white mourning band (*berkabong*).

The throne stood on a dais, set on a platform which occupied one end of the hall, and was approached by seven steps. The four principal court officials (*Anak Putra Yang Ampat*') viz. Tunku Besar, Tunku Muda Serting, Tunku Panglima Besar, Tunku Lakasmana, together with Tunku Sulaiman, were seated to the left of the throne, with other near relatives of the deceased Ruler behind them, and on the same side of the hall, but off the platform, other more distant relatives (*anak putra and putri*). Tunku Nasir stood on the platform to the left of the *Anak Putra Yang Ampat.*

On the right side of the throne sat the Chief Secretary to Government, the British Resident of Negri Sembilan, the Dato' Klana of Sungai Ujong, Dato' Jelebu, Dato' Johol and Dato' Rembau, in that order. Below them were the representatives of: His Excellency the High Commissioner, Their Highnesses the Sultans of Perak, Selangor, Johore, the British Resident of Perak, and the Raja Muda of Perak, with the Raja Muda of Selangor in person.[1]

In line across the *balai*, facing the throne, sat the Dato' Shah Bandar of Sungai Ujong, Dato' Ulu Muar, Dato' Jempul, Dato' Terachi, Dato' Gunong Pasir, Dato' Muda Linggi, Dato' Inas, Dato' Gemencheh.

The general arrangement of the *Balai* is shewn on the sketch plan—Appendix A.

The Dato' Bentara Dalam[2] advanced to the front of the platform and called for silence. The Dato' Klana, standing on the right below the throne, addressed the princes of the blood announcing that the four Undang had unanimously chosen Tunku Abdulrahman, the Tunku Muda Serting, to be Yang di-pertuan Besar. This speech is given in Appendix B.

The Tunku Laksamana communicated this decision to Tunku Abdulrahman, who, after his shoes had been removed by the Laksamana, ascended the dais, and took his seat upon the throne.

The four Undang[3] in their order of precedence, made obeisance to the new Yang Di-pertuan Besar, bowing from each of the seven steps leading to the throne, and from five only on retiral. Following the Undang came, in this order, the Dato' Shah Bandar

[1]His Highness the Sultan of Pahang had asked that Tunku Laksamana Abubakar should represent him: he could not, of course, take his position with the other representatives.

His Highness the Sultan of Selangor, attending the funeral as an old friend, and the British Resident of Selangor, were in the Astana, but did not attend the Proclamation.

[2]At such functions there are normally two heralds, Dato' Bentara Dalam and Dato' Bentara Kanan. The latter post was vacant at the time of the proclamation.

[3]The Dato' Jelebu, being through illness almost unable to walk, did not mount the seven steps, but performed a much curtailed *menghadap*.

of Sungai Ujong[1], Dato' Ulu Muar, Dato' Jempul, Dato' Terachi, Dato' Gunong Pasir, Dato' Muda Linggi[2], Dato' Inas and Dato' Gemencheh. They all, however, made obeisance nine times advancing and seven times on retiring.

There was some doubt whether the princes (*anak putera'*) should make obeisance on this occasion, and if so, at what point they should come in the order of precedence. Possibly, inability to reach a satisfactory decision on the latter point was responsible for the decision to omit them.

On completion of the *menghadap* the Dato' Klana made the ceremonial presentation of *sireh*, contained in a box wrapped in gold cloth, from which His Highness extracted and ate, a shoot. Next he proffered a packet, similarly wrapped, containing the *mas manah*, the offerings of the four Undang. This money amounted to $384, being four *bahara* from each Undang.

The Dato' Bentara Dalam, making full obeisance to His Highness, then proffered a document on his head, and His Highness read a short address. Appendix C.

After that, His Highness shook hands with the various officers, chiefs, and representatives and the more senior of the *anak putra* and *anak putri*.

Election of a successor.

The four Undang met in conclave in Seremban on the morning of the 2nd August. On conclusion of their deliberations the Dato' Klana informed the British Resident, through the Secretary to Resident that the Undang awaited his presence. The Resident entered the Council Chamber, and, as a preliminary, read to the Undang section 6 of the Agreement of 1898, and enquired whether they had reached unanimity.

The Dato' Klana announced that they had in conference unanimously agreed on the election of Tunku Abdulrahman, eldest son of the deceased Tuanku Muhammad.

This decision was, with the consent of the Undang, conveyed by the Resident to His Excellency the High Commissioner, and to the Chief Secretary to Government.

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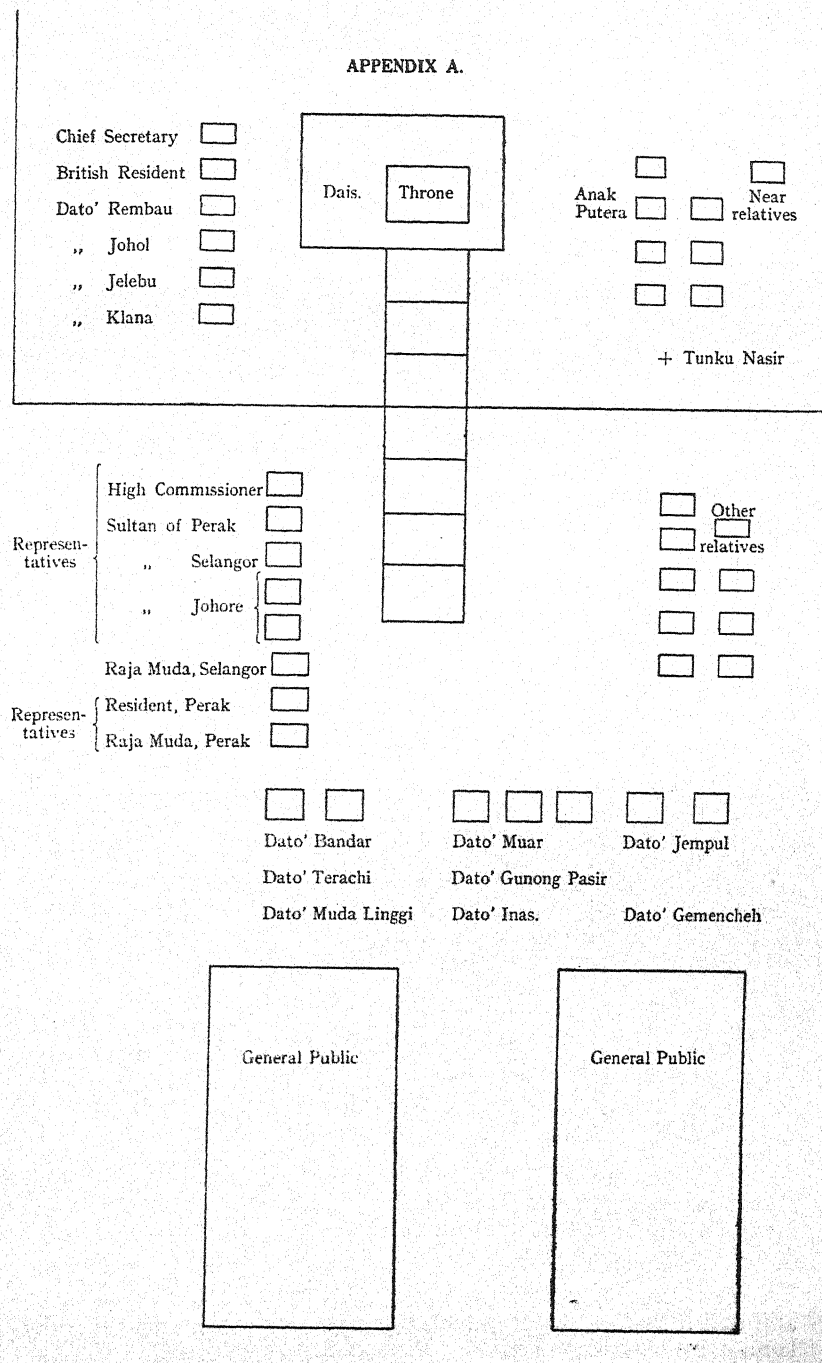
[1] There would appear to be no customary authority for the high position of the Dato' Bandar in the order of precedence, nor even for his inclusion. It is said that the place was given to him at the express wish of the Dato' Klana. Another incident worthy of note was that the Bandar hesitated on retiral on the fifth step, and was ordered (by sign) by the Dato' Klana to complete the seven. It is relevant to record that his predecessor in office, the late Haji Ahmad, had acted as Klana for a number of years during the minority of the present Dato' Klana Ma'amor, and was so acting when Tuanku Muhammad was made Yang Di-pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan in 1898. By virtue of his age, and undoubted strength of character, Haji Ahmad had arrogated to himself a position well nigh co-equal with Dato' Klana.

[2] According to tradition, the Dato' Muda Linggi should come in the order of precedence after Dato' Gemencheh (*ib.* p. 43), and this was arranged for, but again at the express wish of the Dato' Klana he was raised above Dato' Inas.

APPENDIX A.


Chief Secretary
British Resident
Dato' Rembau
„ Johol
„ Jelebu
„ Klana
Dais.
Throne
Anak Putera
Near relatives
+ Tunku Nasir
Other relatives
Representatives
High Commissioner
Sultan of Perak
„ Selangor
„ Johore
Raja Muda, Selangor
Representatives
Resident, Perak
Raja Muda, Perak
Dato' Bandar
Dato' Terachi
Dato' Muda Linggi
Dato' Muar
Dato' Gunong Pasir
Dato' Inas.
Dato' Jempul
Dato' Gemencheh
General Public
General Public

APPENDIX B.

Kapada 3 hari-bulan August, 1933.

1. Anak Putera yang mempesakakan Yang di-pertuan Besar, Negri Sembilan dan anak putera yang tidak mempesaka Yang di-Pertuan Besar.

2. Maka yang di-katakan sa-kechik-kechil Anak Putera sama besar dengan Undang ia-lah Anak Putera yang mempesaka-kan Yang di-Pertuan Besar, itu pun tentang adat istiadat alat jamu dan tidak tentang memerentah negerri.

Penghulu Tanah Mengandong dan pada masa ini di-pakaikan perkataan Undang Tanah Mengandong sa-panjang kata adat dengan pesaka menduakan pedang memanchong dalam alam menduakan keris menyalang dalam luak pantang adat dengan pesaka.

Ada-lah dari hal ka-bawah duli Yang di-Pertuan Besar Muhammad Shah telah mangkat karahmatu'llah ta'ala sudah tiga hari maka dalam tiga hari ini ia-lah Undang yang memerentah Negeri Sembilan ini.

Maka pada hari ini Undang yang Ampat sudah berkelulatana memileh menjadikan Tunku Muda Abdu'l-Rahman menjadi Yang di-Pertuan Besar, Negeri Sembilan.

2. Sembah di-ampun ka-bawah duli Tuanku ! Patek mengadap tiga tentang mana yang patek sembahkan, 'alam beraja, luak berpengdhulu, suku bertua, anak, beribu bapak, bagitu-lah kata adat dengan pesaka. Maka dalam tiga hari ini patek sakalian untong mĕlambong malang mĕnimpa ia-lah ka-bawah duli Yang di-Pertuan Besar Muhammad Shah mangkat kembali karahmatu'llah ta'ala.

Maka ini-lah persembahan patek Undang yang Ampat wang mas manah pada sa-orang empat bara, sa-bara dua-puloh empat ringgit ($24.00) ia-lah kata adat dengan pesaka, hidup berbelanja, mati bekarajat, maka persembahan patek ini mati bekerajat Tuanku Muhammad Shah.

APPENDIX C.

Uchapan duli yang maha mulia Tuanku Abdu'l-Rahman Yang di-Pertuan Besar, Negeri Sembilan, pada masa naik takhta kapada 3 hari-bulan August, 1933.

1. Besar-nya kedukaan dan kemashghulan kami pada masa ini kerana kemangkatan seri paduka yang maha mulia ayahanda kami Tuanku Muhammad Shah G.C.M.G. dan K.C.V.O., tiada-lah dapat kami lafadzkan.

Yang ia telah memerentah sa-lama 45 tahun dengan beberapa adil dan murah-nya, nyata-lah ka-pada kita sakalian-nya kerana kemajuan yang telah berlaku di-dalam negeri ini.

2. Pada hari ini telah di-angkat kami menjadi Raja Negeri Sembilan dan sedia maalum kami besar-nya dan berat-nya kewajiban tanggongan kami itu, perchaya kami yang keadilan al-Marhum itu tiada-lah dapat kami menurut dengan sa-lengkap-nya, tetapi yakin-lah Undang sakalian-nya dan anak-anak raja dan yang behormat penasihat-penasihat bahawa kami dengan beberapa daya upaya menjalankan keadilan bagi keamanan dan keselamatan sakalian hamba raayat serta mereka-mereka yang dudok sa-luroh alam Negeri Sembilan ini.

3. Perchaya-lah kami yang kemeseraan persahabatan di-antara Great Britain dengan Negeri Sembilan ini tiada-lah berubah-ubah.

4. Dan perchaya kami pernaungan negeri ini di-bawah Great Britain tiada ia bertukar sa-dikit jua pun.

Tertulis ka-pada 3 August, 1933.

NOTES ON MALAYAN ANTIQUITIES.

By IVOR H. N. EVANS.

A few notes on two papers which have recently appeared in this *Journal* (Vol XII, Part II, 1934) may not be amiss. One of these is that on the " Pallava " seal by Roland Braddell (pp. 173-174) ; the other that on " Human Remains from Rock-shelters and Caves " by Dr. Duckworth. In regard to the latter I confine myself to annotating Dr. Duckworth's remarks with regard to material from Kuala Selinsing, Perak.

In regard to the Pallava seal I have, of course, had to rely, both with regard to its date and the inscription upon it, upon the pronouncements of experts in such matters. It is interesting to note that opinion now seems to be tending to give it a date very much later than was suggested at one time (400 A.D.). Such an early date caused me a good deal of embarrassment in dealing with this object, for, as far as one could judge, the Selinsing remains in general were of a much later time, ending presumably, from the occurrence of Chinese pottery of the Sung dynasty not far below the surface, at some time during that period. Both Dr. C. O. Blagden and Dr. L. D. Barnett[1] helped me to put the seal a good deal later and to make it, in all probability, contemporaneous with the other material from the site while further confirmation now appears to be provided by Professor Nilakanta, as quoted in Mr. Braddell's paper.

With reference to Dr. Duckworth's paper and his notes on material from Kuala Selinsing I may state here that his contribution, unfortunately long delayed in publication, was received by me shortly before I left Malaya and the intention was that it should appear in the *Journal of the F.M.S. Museums* early in 1933, but, for some reason, my programme was not carried into effect. Had I been in Malaya when the paper was published I should, almost certainly have added a note with regard to the human remains from this place. These comprise bones collected by Malay Forest Officers at the site of the settlement. They were in Dr. Duckworth's hands before excavations were undertaken by me and, consequently, before the skeletal naterial obtained by me in this manner was sent to Dr. Harrower and by him described in this *Journal* (Vol. XI, Part II, pp. 194-210).

Dr. Duckworth remarks with regard to the bones that he has to remember that " there is no guidance in literature as to the durability of bone in such circumstances in such a climate " and that various reason seems to him " definitely to limit the antiquity of these individuals, perhaps even to a matter of a few decades."

First of all there is, of course, no intention of demanding for the Selinsing remains, human or other, an age in any way comparable to the skeletons from caves with which Dr. Duckworth chiefly

(1). *Journal of the F.M.S. Museums*, 1932, Vol. XV, Part 3, pp. 89-90.

concerns himself in his paper. This matter I discuss further in a later paragraph.

As to the persistence of bones buried in the open under ordinary conditions in Malaya, I believe, though I have no definite proof, that, even if not destroyed by termites, decay is very rapid. In caves, in the dry floors, or with sometimes the penetration of lime, presumably in solution, when the bones become highly mineralized (as at Lenggong), preservation may be for an indefinite period. On the other hand in several iron age graves that I have opened—these being all in the open and of a much later date—though excavation was conducted with extreme care, not even a slight discolouration of the soil was found to bear witness to the former presence of a body. It does certainly appear, however, that the blackish mud from which the skeletons at Kuala Selinsing were excavated—presumably the remains sent to Dr. Duckworth had been washed out of this too—acts as a preservative. The mud is full of molluscan shells and one might have suspected lime from them, in solution, of having had a petrifying action, but if there has been anything of the kind, it is not very obvious. Had the mud[1] had no preservative tendency, I do not believe that the excavated bones would have existed even twenty years, whereas there is quite sufficient cumulative cultural evidence that they are not later than the end of the Sung dynasty in China.

Another point in Dr. Duckworth's paper is, perhaps, worth noting as having a possible bearing on a suggestion that I have made previously. He says that, of the remains of fifteen persons sent, only two were those of the aged (two immature, six comparatively young, five middle-aged, two aged). My suggestion (*Journ. F.M.S. Mus.*, 1932, Vol. XV, Part III, p. 86), based on the way in which such " valuable " articles as polished agate and cornelian beads seem to be strewn everywhere, was that the Kuala Selinsing settlement may have come to a violent end and that the manner in which these beads occur may be due to careless sacking by an enemy. As I have stated above, the human remains that I sent to Dr. Duckworth were not obtained by excavation. They presumably came from the beach (having been washed out of the top part of the deposit) or some may have been found on the land surface (exposed by rain action or by extra high tides). I have picked up one skull on the surface myself. In either case the rarity of skeletons of the aged tends to support my belief that the settlement was eventually sacked, many of its inhabitants being killed by their enemies.

(1). Plus, perhaps, percolating sea water, for most of the buried remains are below water level at high tide and the water enters pretty freely.

A NOTE ON AN INSCRIBED SEAL FROM PERAK.

By Professor K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

In the Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums Vol. XV part 3 (1932), Mr. Ivor H. N. Evans, Ethnographer, F.M.S. Museums, reported the discovery of an inscribed Cornelian seal which he described as follows: 'It is a small seal of red Cornelian of good colour and somewhat translucent, chamfered at the edges on the face and there engraved with an inscription running the length of the seal in the middle. The dimensions of the piece are 1.4 cms. × 1 cm. × .4 cm. The back is a flat.' The inscription reads *Sri Visnuvarmmasya* and the script is clearly of the class to which the earliest Sanskrit inscriptions of Campa, Borneo and W. Java belong. The letters are 'box-headed', and remarkably like those in the inscriptions of Bhadravarman of Campa. This script is usually called Pallava script after Vogel's well-known paper on the Yupa inscriptions of King Mulavarman. In spite of Professor R. C. Majumdar's attempt to fix a northern or central Indian origin for the early Campa script*, I think the case is still strong for our continuing to use the designation brought into vogue by Vogel's careful examination of the whole question.[1]

But while calling the script Pallava, we should be on our guard against postulating any direct connection, particularly of a political nature, between the areas where the script was in vogue and the line of South Indian rulers after whom the script is named. Mr. Evans writes: "Dr. Callenfels remarks, in answer to a letter of mine in which I had pointed out that this name was borne by several Pallava kings, 'It is not necessary that the Visnuvarman is a Pallava king. All kings and nobles in that time liked to have names ending in Varma, *i.e.* the kings of Indo-China, Borneo, Java and Sri-Vijaya. I think, however, that the *Sri* certainly points to a king or a prince.' I had wondered, too, whether it might not be the ring of some commoner bearing an inscription with a talismanic significance". There is no one among the known kings of South India or the Malay Archipelago and Indo-China with the name Visnu-Varma. And the faulty grammatical form of the name, Visnuvarmmasya in the place of Visnuvarmmanah, may be taken to support the last surmise of Mr. Evans, that it is the seal of a commoner, possibly a merchant. There is no lack of evidence to show that the artisans and traders of ancient times often affected the Sanskrit idiom and were not very mindful of classical grammar in the dialect they employed. One wonders why Mr. Evans suggests a talismanic significance for the inscription on the stone? Is it because of the *Sri* at the commencement? But *Sri* is at once an honorific prefix and a symbol of prosperity and is generally employed as a prefix to personal names. I am inclined to suggest that the ring which bore this incribed Cornelian was just the signet ring of a merchant called Visnuvarmma. The

[1]BEFEO XXXII. pp. 135 ft.

best opinion regarding the age of the seal puts it nearer the sixth century A.D. than the fourth, though the earlier date is not an impossibility.[1]

I have had occasion elsewhere to draw attention to other evidence on trade relations between South India and the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal.[2] But such relations were by no means the monopoly of South India, and it may be doubted if a South Indian merchant would have used a signet engraved in these characters as we have so far not come across another instance of this kind. It is perhaps worth noting in this connection that among some ancient gems and seals noticed by Cunningham in 1841, we find a Chaceldonic agate from Ujjain inscribed in characters very similar to those of our seal.[3] The inscription was read by Prinsep as *Sri Vati-Khuddasya*, Seal of Sri Vati-Khudd. That reading is open to doubt at more than one point ; I am inclined to read *Sri Va(tikhu)ndasya*. But the forms of the letters *Sri*, *Va*, and *sya* bear the closest possible resemblances to those of the same letters in our seal. Visnuvarmma then, if as we suppose he was a merchant, might have come from Central India, or he might have been one of the Colonists belonging to the Hindu settlement of Kuala Selinsing in Perak whose long history from about 600 A.D., if not earlier, is attested by the remains brought to light by Mr. Evans.

[1] JFMS ibid pp. 90.
[2] JOR. VI. pp. 299.
[3] JASB 1841. plete opp. pp. 148. No. 19.

THE KELANTAN SHADOW-PLAY.
(Wayang Kulit).

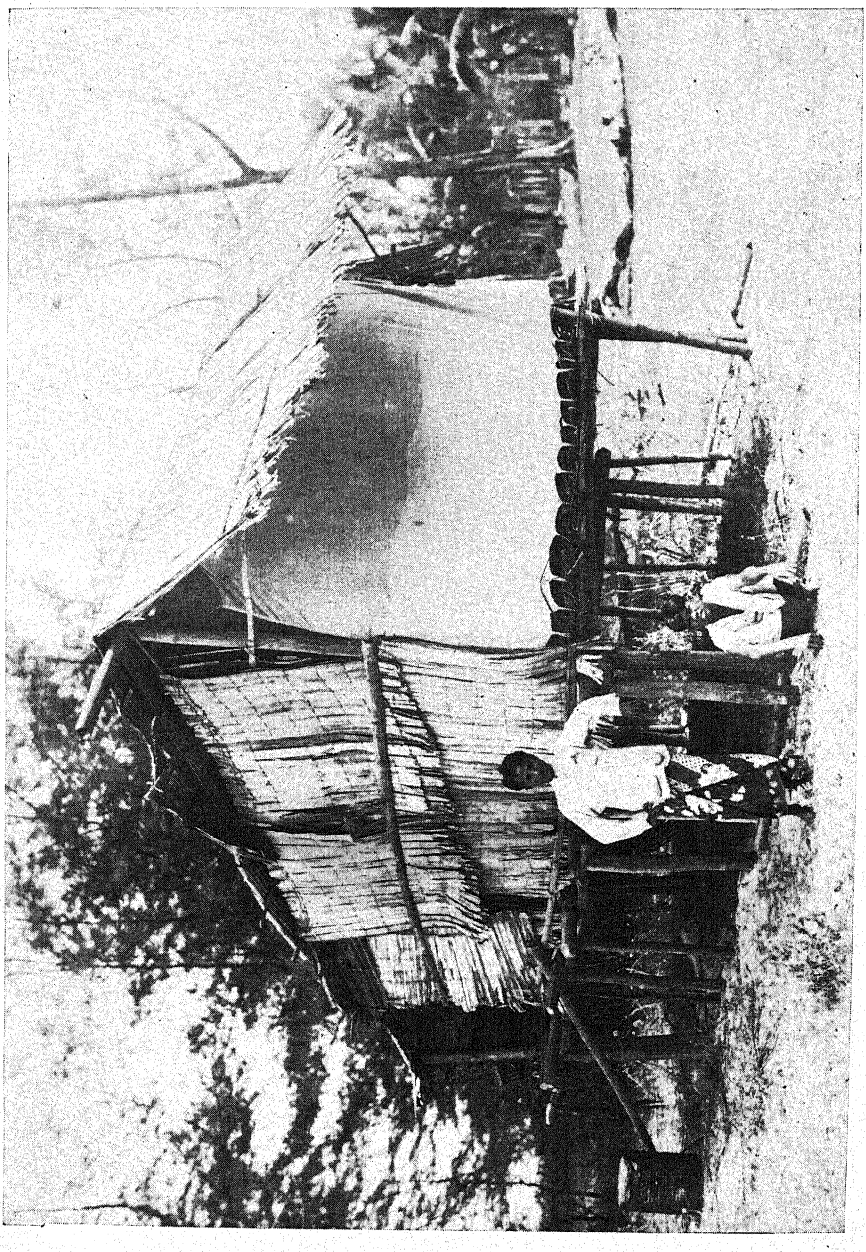
By ANKER RENTSE.

Plates IX—XV.

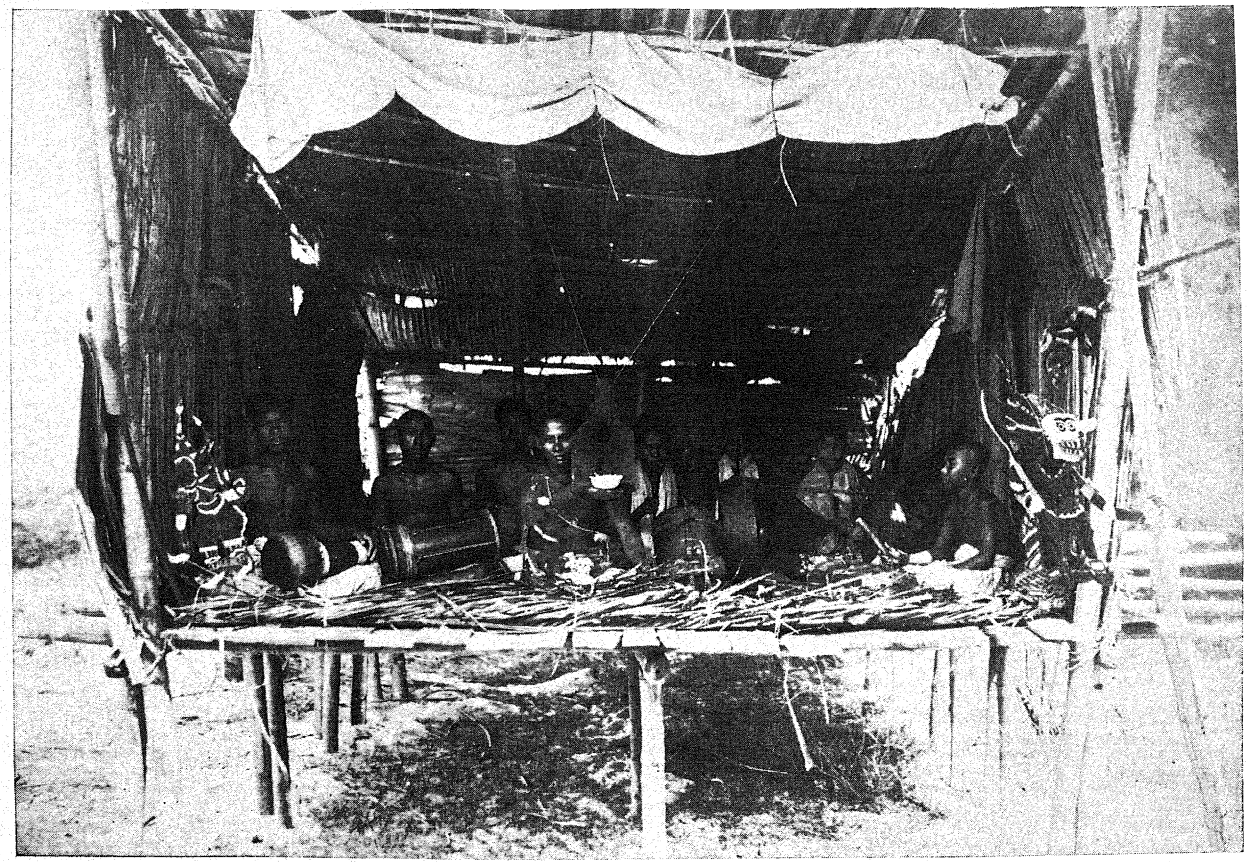
The shadow play as found in Malaysia is a very ancient form of entertainment. Originally it may have been displayed by the priests both for religious and entertainment purposes. In the primitive community religion and art were working hand in hand, developed through the influence of the priests. The oldest known shadow play originated in Java before Hinduism came in ; but later on the shadow play developed to a very fine art under the influence of Hinduism, and spread from Java to other parts of southern Asia, where it is still to be found, but in a style different from the original one, somewhat adapted to local traditions in religion and lore, and, as regards the puppets, with a very strong influence from local ornaments in religious art.

In Kelantan we find two kinds of *Wayang kulit*, the Javanese and the Siamese. The first one is not common, and tradition says that it was brought to Kelantan from Java only about one hundred years ago. Munshi Abdullah, the Secretary of Sir Stamford Raffles, in his description "*Pelayaran Abdullah*" of his visit to Kelantan during its civil war in 1838 mentions certain old manuscripts he saw in the possession of *Raja Bendahara*, one of which he mentions as *Cherita dewa-dewa, dan mambang indera dan jin.* This I think may have been a key book to the javanese *wayang kulit.* Some of these old manuscripts, written on bark cloth, were until recently still in the possession of local Rajas, but are now to be found in various Museums. I have never found any old records of the *Ramayana*, which came to Kelantan from Siam ; but I have in my possession a handwritten copy of 1896 (484 pages), the origin of which is unknown. The Siamese shadow play is common all over Kelantan and is undoubtedly very old here. It differs so much from the present Siamese shadow play in legend and appearance that I prefer to call it the *Kelantan Wayang-kulit.* According to Dr. van Stein Callenfels the *Ramayana* shadow play was taken to Siam and Cambodia from Java ; but its present appearance as regards the puppets signifies a strong *Mon Khmer* influence. Only the *Ramayana* cycle is played in the *Kelantan Wayang-kulit*, but with an intermixture of local folklore in which traces of ancient Indonesian beliefs are found. Mohamedanism has never influenced the Kelantan shadow play except for the incantations, where one may find, occasionally, the names of the four archangels and some of the prophets, replacing names of ancient divinities. The incantations in use for the *Ramayana* play show a strong Javanese influence.

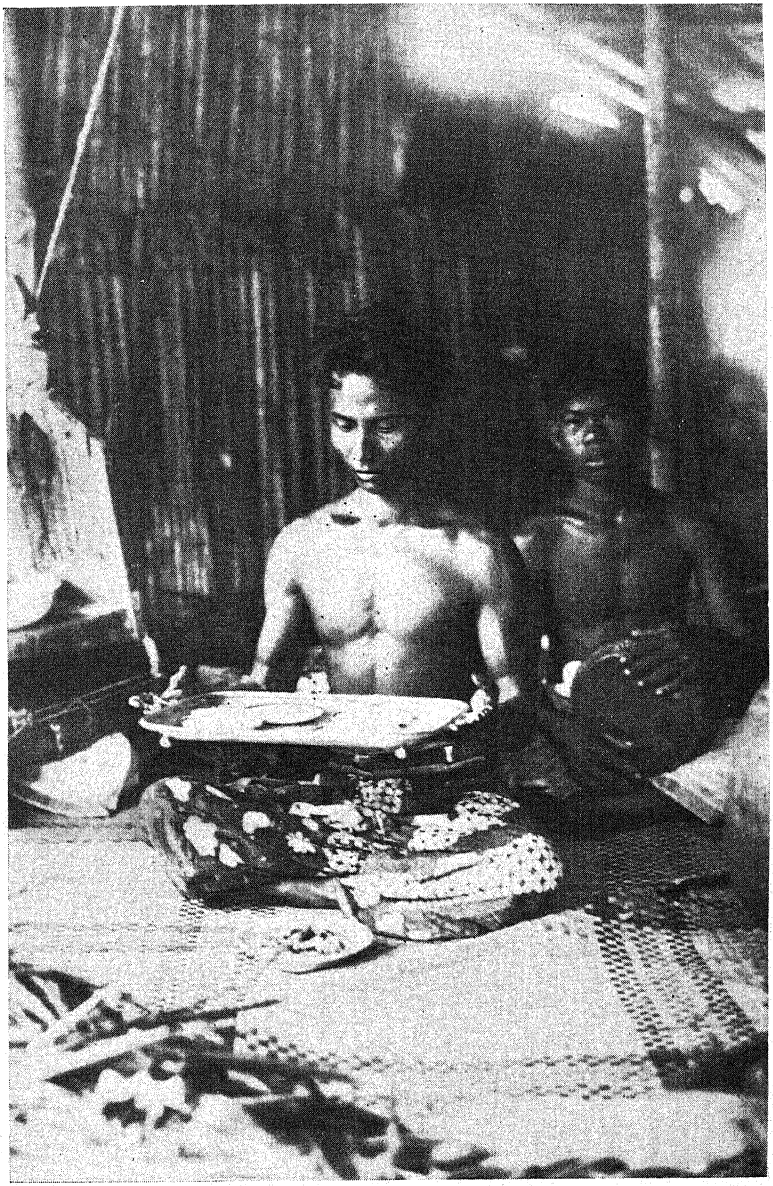
The *Wayang-kulit* is played on all occasions. A *panggong* (stage) is erected on a suitable place, the necessary magical ceremonies are performed just before the play commences, and the



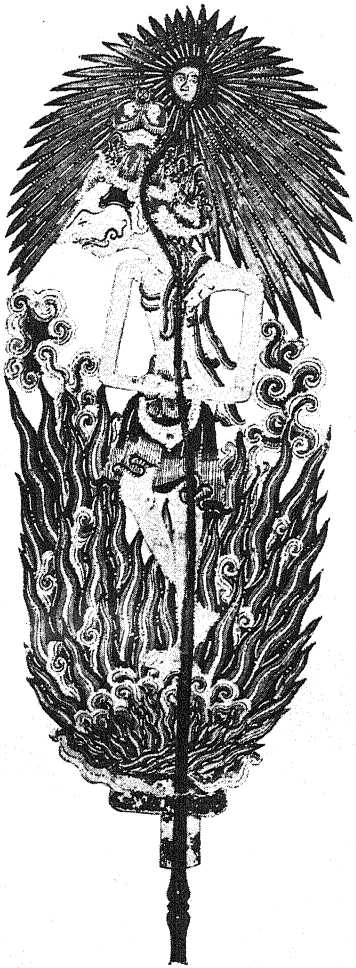
A typical Wayang Kulit Stage as seen in Kelantan villages.



The Kelantan Wayang Kulit Stage, showing To' Dalang (behind the lamp) and the orchestra.



To' Dalang offering his prayers at the opening ceremony.



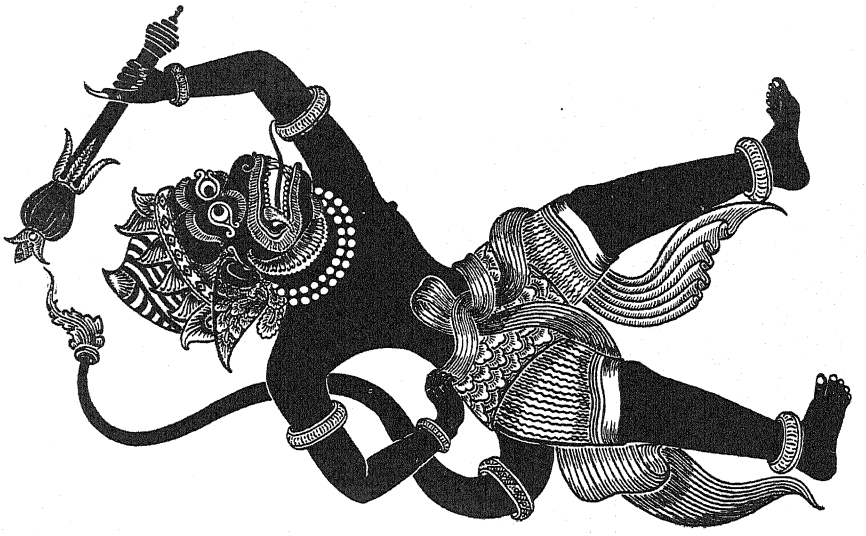
Dewa Sangyang Tunggal.

Raja Sĕri Rama.

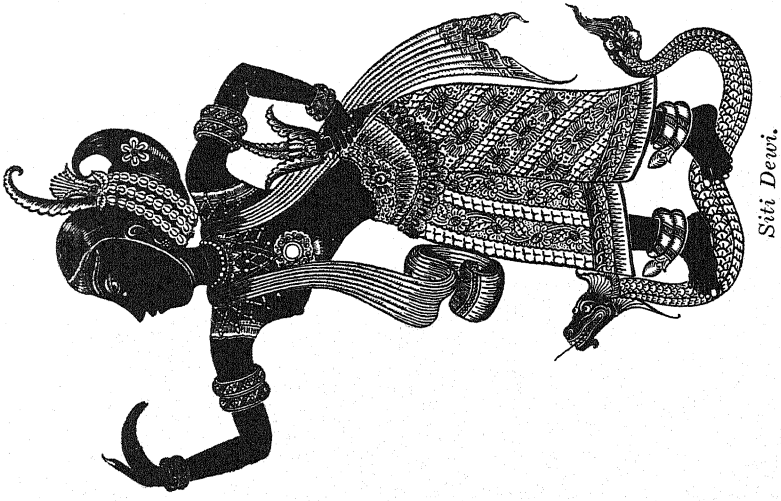
To' Maha Siku.

Wak Long.

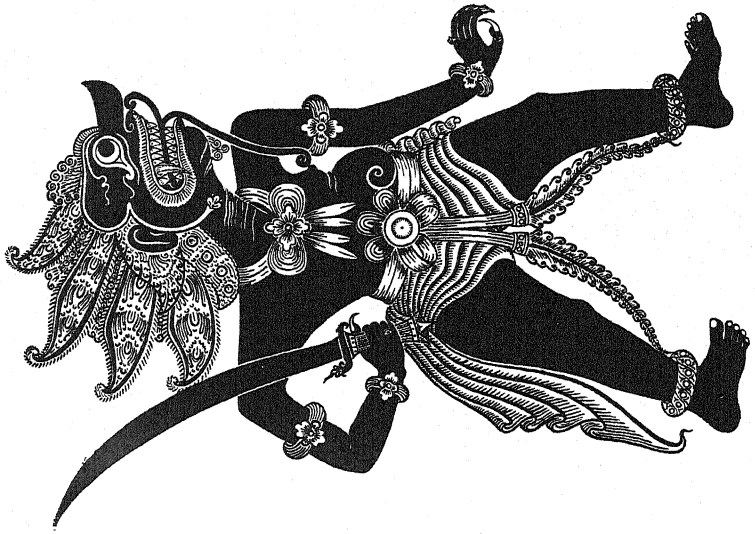
Pak Dogah.



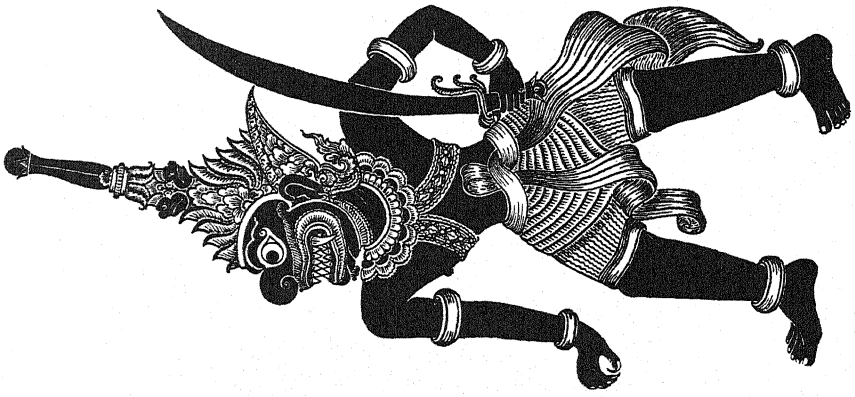
Hanuman.



Siti Dewi.



Jin Pentra (Batara) Kala.



Rawana.

performance lasts generally for seven nights. During this period only one play is staged, the *Ramayana*, which is of such an extensive character, that it cannot possibly be completed in less time. Thus the seven nights performance is a continuation from one part to another of the same play, and the audience will have to attend all seven nights to be able to follow the proceedings. The performance commences generally about 9 p.m. and stops at midnight ; but on the last night it is carried on till the next morning, when the ceremonial closing of the stage is performed.

The *Ramayana*, as it is generally played in Kelantan, is different from its original form. For centuries it has been handed down verbally only, from the one generation to another, and it has therefore been somewhat corrupted, and furthermore intermixed with a certain amount of Indonesian lore ; generally speaking the play follows the lines of the original *Ramayana*.

Kelantan Ritual for opening a Shadow-play.

The opening ceremony (*buka panggong*).

When a stage for a *wayang-kulit* performance has been erected it is necessary to start by honouring the powerful spirits of good and evil before the play can be commenced. This ceremony, called *buka panggong*, is a most important and elaborate business, respect being paid to the mighty powers of the universe, earth, air, fire and water, in order to assure them of the performers' friendly intentions towards them. The *To' Dalang's* task is, indeed, a most fearsome venture, as during the performance on the stage, he has to mention the names of ancient gods and their thousands of followers, deities of religions before mosques were known. It would be madness to omit this opening ceremony. Even now-a-days, when the ancient gods have been dethroned by Islam, one dare not be confident that they are so far away that they will be unaware of human transactions. The sound of the gong alone would suffice to awaken them and bring an army of angry powers to the stage to spread harm, disease, lunacy, and perhaps death, among performers and spectators. So the old gods must be honoured and pacified. Many a tale of horror and sadness is told of *To' Dalangs*, who omitted the opening ceremony. As a satisfied stomach produces peace and comfort, the *To' Dalang* prepares a comprehensive, propitiatory offering, a feast to which he invites all the spirits of land, sea, and universe of whom he has ever heard, thus protecting himself, his assistants and the audience by offering a " dinner-party " to the most motley collection of guests imaginable. Respectable Archangels may be found in company with vampires and devils of all descriptions ; Prophets mingled with fearful monsters like dragons, jungle ghosts, fabulous giants and ancient gods of the Indian heaven degraded to being ushers of local ghosts. The rank and degree of the different spirits seem to be ignored, though this may be in conformity with old Malay notions of communal equality. So *To' Dalang* groups his supernatural powers according to locality

under their patriarches, though single spirits may be found astray in any locality. As a rule some of the Prophets and the ancient Hindu gods are placed in charge of malignant ghosts and local demons, but a fabulous old dragon rules sea monsters. Although Islam has been the faith of the Malays for hundreds of years, ancient Indonesian beliefs, Shamanism and Hinduism still play a most important part in Malay daily life in the more remote corners of the Malay Peninsula. Where Islam plays a predominant part in social life, the medicine-man has been forced to disguise the ancient deities under Muhamedan names:—thus the names of the four Archangels often replace the four ancient Indonesian gods that guard the four corners of the world. The proper names of these have been lost, but their importance can still be traced. They represented the supreme powers of soil, air, fire and water. These four powers were, however, minor deities. To an old Indonesian divinity, *Sĕmar*, the medicine-man pays the greatest respect of all, in the name of Allah, his creator. In the shadow play *Sĕmar* is sheltered under the name *Pa' Dogah*, the famous clown at *Sĕri Rama's* court; but at the same time he represents *Sang Yang Tunggal*, the supreme one God of Shiwa's heaven. *Sĕmar* is the most important puppet of all. He is not kept in the bamboo file as with all the other figures of the *Wayang kulit* (supreme Hindu deities, demons, etc.), but is respectfully placed on the wall of the stage with a cotton necklace (*bĕnang kapok*), a symbol of purity, and scented Jasmine flowers round his neck. His figure is *kĕramat* (sacred) and offerings are commonly made to him, in order to get a desire of some kind or other fulfilled.

The Stage (*panggong*) for the Shadow-play.

The stage is a primitive hut erected on an open space a short distance from dwellings in order to keep the spirits away from human habitations. It is raised about 3-4 feet from the ground and is about 10 by 12 feet in size and about 9 feet high in front from the floor to the roof, which slopes down at the back to about 3-4 feet above the floor. The front of the hut is open; the three sides are covered with bamboo (or *atap*) walls and the roof is thatched with *atap*. When the performance takes place the front is covered with a sheet of white cloth. Below the cloth are two stems of the banana plant placed close together from one end of the front stage to the other. *To' Dalang* sits in the middle of the front stage. To his right are the Hindu divinities and their followers stuck close together, upright, in the banana stem; to the left the demons and their followers. Midway stand the more important figures such as *To' Mahasiku* (forerunner of all medicine-men), *Pohon Bĕringin* (the Banyan, Tree of Life), *Sĕmar* (here *Pa' Dogah*) and *Raja Sĕri Rama* (namely *Vishnu* incarnate as the champion of Good against Evil on earth), together with some of their followers. In the corner, on top of the demons, hangs a figure of the *Garuda* (or the *Jentayu*) (a fabulous bird, *Vishnu's* steed). Between *To' Dalang* and the screen hangs a lamp, lighting up the white sheet or screen, but covered at the back. During the per-

formance *To' Dalang* works the figures between the lamp and the screen, so that they are seen by the audience as shadows on the white sheet.

The Orchestra (*Panjak dan Pengantin*).

To the left of To' Dalang sits the orchestra, now-a-days consisting of two big gongs, two small gongs (*chanang*) in wooden frames, one clarionet (*sĕrunai*) and six drums. The drums are of three different kinds, two of each : the *gĕndang* or the ordinary oblong Malay drum played with the hands, in two sizes (*adek-abang* or *ibu-bapak*) ; the *gĕduk*, a drum standing on the floor, kept sloping by two small sticks attached to the farther side of the drummer, and played with two sticks ; the *gĕdombok*, a curious vase-shaped drum, with a hide head at the broad end and open at the narrow end ; it is played with the hands, one hand opening and closing the narrow end alternately, which produces high and dull sounds. The *Wayang-kulit* orchestra is possibly the only Malay orchestra that has still avoided foreign influence. No modern instruments, such as the viola or others, have been introduced, and they would indeed produce a strange foreign note in this primitive orchestra. A well trained shadow play orchestra can be very effective and not without beauty. European votaries of the dance, who admire the primitive, would no doubt be delighted with the rhythm from a band of yelling, laughing, lissom Malays handling their instruments with superior indifference, but hammering for all they are worth.

During the ceremony of opening the theatre (*buka panggong*) the orchestra is quiet ; though a native viola (*rĕbab pĕtri*) may be used by the *To' Dalang* (or by the medicine-man, *To' Bomor*, if he is performing) during the incantations, except for the prayer (do 'a Ar.), during which perfect silence must prevail.

The Offering (*Kanduri*).

At the opening ceremony the white screen is rolled up, and the stage revealed to the audience. A yellow cloth, the royal colour, is, in honour of *Sĕri Rama*, fixed along the screen ; another across the stage on top of the figures ; and around the shoulders to *To' Dalang* a third, indicating that he is the representative of *Vishnu* (*Sĕri Rama*). *To' Dalang* sits crosslegged with his back turned to the audience, facing the offerings that are placed in small plates on a big tray (*pahar*). This offering consists of (1) rice (*nasi*) and turmeric (*kunyit*), boiled together to produce yellow rice ; (2) *dada*(r) or cakes consisting of flour, eggs and the brown sugar produced from the coconut palm (*gula Mĕlaka*) ; (3) parched rice (*bĕrĕteh*) ; (4) consecrated water (*ayer tawar*) scented with jasmine flowers ; and (5) betel-nut, *sireh* leaves, chalk, gambir and tobacco. Furthermore a cotton band (*bĕnang kapok*), a symbol of purity, is placed around the foot of the censer. In a plate on a smaller brass tray (*anak kasa*) is placed a special offering of unboiled rice with a raw egg erect in the middle and

surrounded by *bĕnang kapok* (also called *bĕnang mĕntah*, because it must be raw thread, not yet used for any other purpose). An offering of old Kelantan tin coins valued at 10 *kĕnĕri* (33 cents) is put on the rice ; this offering is called *pĕngan guru* and is intended for the Hindu deity, *Dewa Bĕntara (Batara) Guru*, Shiva the supreme teacher, in his role of *Nataraja* lord of dancers and king of actors. The hut is illuminated by candles set on the offerings, in front of the Hindu deities, above the demons and on the instruments. Between *To' Dalang* and the offerings stands a censer (*bĕkas bara*) with glowing charcoal ; from it incense (*Kĕmĕnyan*) emits an exotic scented bouquet, its smoke going in a straight line to the roof, and descending on the stage to produce an atmosphere of sublime solemnity. For some reason unknown a big banana leaf is erected in front of the demons, screening the *To' Dalang* and the offerings.

Commencement of the Ceremony.

To' Dalang leans forward preparing himself for his task by bathing his body in the smoke of the incense. Then he lifts the big brass tray and passing it several times through the smoke he commences, invoking the powers to partake of the feast prepared for them and commanding them to keep away all evil. He tells them that it is not he, *To' Dalang*, who adjures them, but the great *Vishnu* (*Maha Bĕsnu*).

The *To' Dalang* first invokes the spirits of the four quarters of the world. Crying *Om*, the Sanskrit word of power, he summons to his feast the spirits of the east, namely *Nur* or Light of Muhamad, *Ganesha* guardian of the sun in eclipse, the son of *Sang Bima* a hero of the *Mahabharata*, all the host of fairies, the spirits of rainbow and moon. His next invocation is for the Indian spirits of the west : *Rawana*, *Sĕri Rama* and *Indrajit*, with *Shiva* the great Magician. Then he calls on the spirits of the North and of the Ocean, including the king of Dragons at the navel of the Ocean. Next he invites the spirits that inhabit the forests of the South, with separate incantations for black and white genies of earth and for such miscellaneous demons of the soil as *Bibisenam* and *Indrajit* (both from the *Ramayana*), (?) the elephant god *Kumbakarna*, the Muslim *Iblis* and the Hindu *Bhuta's* of earth, air, fire and wind. Then he cries upon *Sĕmar*, that mysterious figure who in Javanese mythology is at once *Si-Dogah* the clown and *Sangyang Tunggal*, the One Supreme God (perhaps *Brahma*) : all-pervasive, *Sĕmar* is in the black earth, the white sky, the red fire and the yellow sunset glow. Finally *To' Dalang* invites the village godlings, a motley company that includes *Ganesha*, *Arjuna*, *Bima*, the Spectre Huntsman, *Awang* and the *Hantu Raya*.

The *To' Dalang* now divides the offerings on the *pahar* up among the different kinds of spirits. In the incantations he invoked the spirits according to locality, but when they have arrived to partake in the feast, they are placed according to

species, *jins*, ghosts, *dewas* and demons. The offerings are divided thus :—

(*a*) for the *jins* a banana leaf in a hole dug in soil below the stage :—part of the incantation is repeated.

(*b*) at the edge of the jungle (or *bĕlukar*, or river) for the ghosts :—no incantation is repeated.

(*c*) for the *dewas* (Hindu deities) at the right end of the banana stem.

(*d*) for the demons at the left end of the banana stem :—no incantations are repeated for *dewas* and demons.

(*e*) for *Bĕntara* (*Batara*) *Guru* (the Supreme teacher) the *pĕngan guru* is placed hanging under the roof just on top of the lamp or a little to the right.

(*f*) a little *nasi kunyit* and *tĕpong tawar* (flour and consecrated water) are smeared on to the drums and gongs, and *ayer tawar* into the gongs. (Very often the big gong is regarded as *kĕramat*).

To' Dalang then recites to his guests the Muslim story of the creation of the universe and tells how at its creation *Sang Yang Tunggal*, the One God, of an older faith, ascended to heaven where he and his followers practice austerities. Boasting that he himself is an incarnation of Vishnu, the *To' Dalang* calls for aid upon *Sĕmar*, who is the One God, *Sang Yang Tunggal*, and has had many avatars including that of being the first pilgrim to Mecca (Haji) ! He reminds *Sĕmar* that he is lord of all godlings (*dewa*) and of all *genies* and becomes incarnate in the *dalang*.

The *To' Dalang* turns and faces his audience. Between him and the screen for the shadowplay stands a bowl of incense. In his right hand he takes *Sĕmar* in the form of *Pa' Dogah*, *Vishnu* in his incarnation as *Sĕri Rama*, and *Shiva* as *To' Maha Siku*, bows before them and censing them in the smoke commences to pray. Not a sound is made by all the listeners, while this prayer ascends to *Sĕmar*, reminding him of his visits to *Daha*, *Kuripan*, *Gagelang*, *Singosari*, four famous districts in Java, the home of the shadowplay. " I ", the reciter continues, " am the first of actors, the original *dalang*. Stay not far from me, you who stand erect on one leg with crossed arms on a black moss-green rock under the rose-red umbrella of the sun and on white earth "—white perhaps with Himalayan snow :—so a Javanese puppet of *Sang Yang Tunggal*, now in the National museum in Copenhagen, represents him. " Drive away evil *genies*, *shaitans*, the accursed *Iblis*, spirits and gnomes of the soil, spirits of the water. Ha ! Avaunt ye powers of evil ! "

At the conclusion of the prayer, uttering after " Spirits of the Water ", *To' Dalang* suddenly lifts his head. As swift as lightning he faces the sky, shouts out an exclamation, " Ha !" and throws a handful of rice on the floor with all his force, making the rice grain crash all over the stage. " Ha ! Cha ' ! " he shouts, and at the very same moment a crash splits the air, the orchestra

breaks into a most exciting, thunderous rhythm. The audience sits almost paralyzed for a few seconds. The *To' Dalang* throws rice all over the stage, the figures, the orchestra and over the audience. After a minute or two the orchestra suddenly ceases, and a peaceful feeling of confidence and anticipation settles down over the assembled audience. The ceremony is finished, the white screen is rolled down the front of the stage, and the play will be commenced immediately afterwards.

The *Buka Panggong* ceremony is only carried out when a performance commences on a new spot, on a newly erected stage. But every night before the play starts the *To' Dalang* invokes the supreme divinities and asks them to guard him. The first incantation is corrupt Siamese. Both incantations have been published (JRASMB, LX, pt. I).

The Closing Ceremony (*Lĕpas Permainan*).

When the last performance has been concluded, a ceremony called *lĕpas permainan* takes place. The white screen is rolled up immediately after the play has been concluded. The drums and gongs are smeared with rice-paste (*tĕpong tawar*) and placed at rest. The drummers and all other attendants leave the stage and take seats among the audience. *To' Dalang* faces the audience. In front of him is placed a bowl in which incense (*kĕmĕnyan*) smokes. In his hands he holds a fan (*kĕmĕra* or *kĕmĕrak*) made of leaves frome either *pinang* or *pinang kĕmatu*. In front stands a small bowl with rice corn (*beras*).

Then *To' Dalang* bids farewell to his ghosty troupe :—

" Om ! I salute you.

" Gentle rain is falling to refresh the nymphs of *Shiva's* heaven after the heat. Dust is flying up into the air, a sign that by virtue of our devotions the gods are mounting to *Suralaya*, their heaven.

" Open the big gates. For *Shiva* the Destroyer is descending from the summit of heaven to expel all evil powers, all spirits of disease.

" Before earth was of the size of a foot or the vault of heaven was framed ; when only the throne of *Allah* and the tablet of fate and the Kuran existed, I was the original magician, uttering the original incantation to disperse spirits of evil. I bid them disperse to their masters, King Solomon, Shiva, the Spectre Huntsman, Vishnu and the great Dragon at the navel of the sea. It is not I who bid them go but the original primal salutation (*tabek*) that bids them ; not I but the first of actors (*i.e. Shiva*), not I but the first of teachers (again *Shiva*). And my magic has the power of that teacher's magic. One ! Three ! Five ! Seven ! Avaunt ! Avaunt ! "

In the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie* (2nd ed. 1921, sub Tooneel) Dr. H. H. Juynboll summarizes the history of the shadow-play. Its technical terms are Javanese. So far from its being borrowed from elsewhere, the Indian and Siamese shadow-

plays seem to have come from Java. As in Greece, so in Java the preliminary offerings and the burning of incense show that the play had a religious significance, being an act of worship to gods or deified ancestors, sometimes enacted to dispel calamity. The puppets were spirits invoked to give advice in trouble. Originally it may have been the head of the family who invoked the ancestral spirits; later it became the duty of priests or *shamans*:—some Javanese *dalang*, before a performance, seek inspiration from the spirits by creeping into a covered cage full of incense. The shadow-play therefore would antedate Brahmanism and Buddhism, though some scholars ascribe it to the era when Shivaism was the religion of Java. The oldest Javanese shadow-play (*wayang purwa*) chose plots from old Javanese or Malayo-Polynesian myths and from the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. The later (*wayang gedog*), probably of *Majapahit* orgin, chose its repertoire from the *Panji* tales—and its figures, unlike those of the older *wayang*, wear the *kris*. In the *Kelantan Wayang-kulit* none of the figures is seen with a *kris*.

Kelantan Ritual (incantations) for opening a shadow play.

1. (Puak-puak sĕbĕlah sinar naik.)
   Om!
   As salamu alaikum!
   Aku kirim salam kepada puak-puak budak nenek sinar naik,
   Angkatan azal yang lalu champin yang datang,
   Angkatan dewa nur,
   Dan arba'ana hulubalang Shah api,
   Hulubalang Shaman,
   Dan hulubalang Shaikh Haman, Sang Pĕriya Ganu, Sang Pĕriya Gana,
   Hulubalang Maharaja Katut Kacha Wong Agong Pĕrangbahya,
   Serta mengangkati nenek jin pahlawan tujoh,
   Yang pertama Raja Hantu,
   Yang kedua Raja Pari,
   Yang ketiga Raja Mambang,
   Yang keampat Raja Chendera,
   Yang kelima Raja Iblis.
   Yang keanam pangliima Pa'il,
   Yang ketujoh nenek bujang jura;
   Aku 'nak minta muk mari terima jamuan, makan nasi, kunyit, dada, bĕrĕteh, ayer tawar, sireh pinang,
   Kerna aku 'nak main wayang bersuka-suka,
   Aku 'nak minta muk jangan usek sĕkalian panjak aku yang duabĕlas, pengantin aku yang lima,
   Muk ingat-ingat pesan-pesanan aku!
2. (Puak-puak sĕbĕlah sinar rundok.)
   As salamu alaikum!
   Aku kirim salam kepada budak-budak nenek sĕbĕlah sinar rundok,

Puak-puak dewa rosak,
Ya'itu Maharaja Rawana,
Dan nenek Maharaja Sĕri Rama,
Yang dudok betapa di pantai Bali,
Didalam negri Lakarkatyin,
Siapa yang empunya ending, ending suak, ending jahrum,
Siapa yang menjadi nenek,
Ya'itu To' Maha Risi Kala yang bermatakan api,
Yang dudok bertapa didalam wat tujoh kĕdi Brahma,
Bersama-sama dengan berhala ampatpuloh hulubalang-nya,
Bernama Ratu Pangnira,
Dan Ratu Bandu Rawati, Serta Indra Jit, Raja udara bongsu sakti dewa kembangan seru dewa nisa Ka-indera'an,
Kerna muk-lah dudok menunggu baris-baris Laksmana,
Jangankan manusia langkah,
Jikalau lalat langau sekali pun melangkah berisan itu,
Neschaya muntahkan darah ;
Aku 'nak minta muk mari,
Aku 'nak beri jamuan kepada muk, makan nasi, kunyit, dada, bĕrĕteh, ayer tawar, sireh pinang,
Kerna aku 'nak buka panggong wayang pada malam ini,
Aku 'nak main wayang bersuka-suka sahaja,
Jaga-lah muk jangan beri rosak binasa kepada bapak To' Dalang,
Aku 'nak minta muk jangan usek sĕkalian panjak aku yang duabĕlas, pengantin aku yang lima,
Muk ingat-ingat pesan-pesanan aku,
Sĕlamat sempurna mana yang hantar didalam panggong wayang ini.

3. (Puak-puak sĕbĕlah hilir besawan (or bangsawan).)
As salamu alaikum !
Aku kirim salam kepada puak-puak nenek sĕbĕlah hilir besawan,
Puak-puak Tun Teja Kuda Puala,
Budak-budak kalang bungkam,
Panglima hitam,
Panglima Batin,
Bidong di laut bidong di darat,
Baching di laut baching di darat,
Aku 'nak minta muk mari terima jamuan, makan nasi, kunyit, dada, bĕrĕteh, ayer tawar, sireh pinang.
Aku 'nak main wayang bersuka-suka,
Aku 'nak minta muk jangan usek sĕkalian panjak aku yang duabĕlas, pengantin aku yang lima,
Muk ingat-ingat pesan-pesanan aku !

4. (Puak-puak sĕbĕlah hulu bani.)
As salamu alaikum !
Aku kirim salam kepada budak-budak nenek sĕbĕlah hulu bani,
Puak-puak Ratu kembang kuning,
Anak jin selakas tunggal,

Serta ular chemara,
Dan badak sala gondi surin,
Dan gemala bahrin, Yong akas mong Indra rupoh,
Jin Sejabat muka ;
Aku 'nak minta ular jangan menguraikan lengkar,
Yang tiga lengkar,
Dan aku 'nak minta mu berajak mari segala puak-puak juwak mu,
Aku 'nak bĕri jamuan, makan nasi, kunyit, dada, bĕrĕteh, ayer tawar, sireh pinang,
Kerna aku 'nak buka wayang pada malam ini,
Aku 'nak main wayang bersuka-suka sahaja,
Jaga-lah mu jangan beri rosak binasa kepada bapak dalang,
Aku 'nak minta mu jangan usek sĕkalian panjak aku yang duabĕlas, pengantin aku yang lima,
Mu ingat-ingat pesan-pesanan aku,
Sĕlamat sempurna mana yang hantar didalam panggong wayang ini.

5. (Jin Tanah.)
Hai !
Jin Tanah,
Jembalang Tanah,
Jin Bumi,
Jembalang Bumi,
Sang Perba di kulit bumi,
Sang Bima didalam bumi ;
Hai !
Jin Hitam selenggang bumi,
Jin Hitam sakapuwan bumi ;
Hai !
Jin sagempa 'alam bĕrĕtek sendi,
Panglima jabbar,
Mu-lah Shaikh dari bumi ;
Aku 'nak minta mu bĕrajak mari sĕgala puak-puak juwak mu,
Aku 'nak bĕri jamuan, nasi, kunyit, dada, bĕrĕteh, ayer tawar, sireh pinang,
Kerna aku 'nak buka wayang pada malam ini,
Aku 'nak main wayang bersuka-suka sahaja,
Jaga-lah mu jangan bĕri rosak binasa kepada aku,
Aku 'nak minta mu jangan usek sĕkalian panjak aku yang duabĕlas, pengantin yang lima,
Mu ingat-ingat pesan-pesanan aku !
Hai !
Hitam Tunggal,
Mu-lah Sĕri Penaloh dari bumi,
Juwak-juwak anak tangan nenek balong bala saribu,
Jin Puteh,
Jisi budak nenek Jin bala Daha,
Di jebak puyoh permatang tiga,
Di hujong lidah tanah Gagelang,
Sĕgala jisi nenek mu saribu-ampatpuloh-ampat ;

Aku 'nak minta mu mari,
Aku 'nak bĕri jamuan kepada mu, kunyit, dada, bĕrĕteh, ayer tawar, sireh pinang,
Kerna aku 'nak buka panggong wayang pada malam ini,
Aku 'nak main wayang bersuka-suka sahaja,
Jaga-lah mu jangan bĕri rosak binasa kepada aku,
Aku 'nak minta mu jangan usek sĕkalian panjak aku yang duabĕlas, pengantin aku yang lima,
Mu ingat-ingat pesan-pesanan aku !
Hai !
Abang Ma' Baibusanam,
Ma' Gumba Kernong (? Kumbakarna),
Indra Jit,
Raja Jibilis Mata Api,
Dan sĕgala anak buta tujoh,
Yang pertama Buta Tanah,
Yang kedua Buta Ayer,
Yang ketiga Buta Api,
Yang keampat Buta Angin,
Yang kelima Buta Selakas Tunggal,
Yang keanam Buta Naga Sino,
Yang ketujoh Buta Lang Johor ;
Aku minta mu jangan kausek balik permainan aku pada malam ini,
Mu ingat-ingat pesan-pesanan aku,
Jikalau ta' ingat derhaka-lah mu kepada Raja mu.
Hai !
Sĕmar Hitam sa-gulong bumi,
Sĕmar Puteh sa-gulong langit,
Sĕmar Merah berlipat kijang,
Sĕmar Kuning sa-hirau-hirau,
Aku 'nak minta mu berajak mari sĕgala puak-puak juwak mu,
Aku 'nak bĕri jamuan kepada mu, nasi, kunyit, dada, bĕrĕteh, ayer tawar, sireh pinang,
Kerna aku 'nak buka panggong wayang pada malam ini,
Aku 'nak main wayang bersuka-suka sahaja,
Jaga-lah mu jangan bĕri rosak binasa kepada aku,
Aku 'nak minta mu jangan usek sĕkalian panjak aku yang duabĕlas, pengantin aku yang lima,
Mu ingat-ingat pesan-pesanan aku,
Sĕlamat sempurna mana yang hantar didalam panggong wayang ini.

6. (Puak-puak di kampong.)
Hai !
Puak-puak juwak di kampong,
Chik Malik,
Penghulu Sang Gana di kampong,
Dewa Nur nama satengah antara,
Sang Arjuna nama di rimba,
Sang Bima nama di padang,
Mu bĕrajak mari sĕkalian puak-puak juwak mu,

Aku 'nak minta mu mari
Aku 'nak bĕri jamuan kepada mu, nasi, kunyit, dada, bĕrĕteh, ayer tawar, sireh pinang,
Kerna aku 'nak buka panggong wayang pada malam ini,
Aku 'nak main wayang bersuka-suka sahaja,
Jaga-lah mu jangan bĕri rosak binasa kepada aku,
Aku 'nak minta mu jangan usek sĕkalian panjak aku yang duabĕlas, pengantin yang lima,
Mu ingat-ingat pesan-pesanan aku !
Hai !
Awang Dalik, Awang Dabik, Awang Sĕri Dilik,
Chik bsar di tengah dusun,
Awang Si Lempai Lepas, Si Langkah Panjang, Si Dada Bidang, Si Gigi Renik, Si Mata Merah, Si Rambut Akar ;
Hai !
Hantu Raya,
Jua raya, tambong raya,sali raya,
Budak kĕchil Malim Uno nama mu ;
Hai !
Mak Sang Raya Hitam,
Mak Sang Raya Bujang,
Mak Si Gĕrĕbang Rambut, Si Kĕrising Gigi, Si Mata Merah, Mak Kopek Susu Lanjut,
Tuan Kĕchil nama Raja mu,
Sang Bogo nama bapak mu,
Mak Sang Kĕlambai nama ibu mu,
Jika mu jatoh pada pusu,
Mak Sang Chongkok, Mak Sang Chatok, Mak Sang Guling nama mu,
Jika mu jatoh pada chĕrang,
Awang Kĕliling Bĕhana nama mu,
Awang Tunjang Bĕlukar nama mu,
Tok Juru Pĕmikat nama mu,
Tok Pĕrang Hutan nama mu,
Dan Hantu Kayu pun nama mu,
Puak-puak jisi mu,
Dan anak kakoh muka ampat,
Anak saperling jantan Si Mata Merah,
Mu mari sĕgala puak-puak juwak mu,
Mu jangan tinggal,
Aku tahukan baik di atas mu,
Aku 'nak beri jamuan kepada mu, makan nasi, kunyit, dada, bĕrĕteh, ayer tawar, sireh pinang,
Kerna aku 'nak buka panggong wayang pada malam ini,
Aku 'nak main wayang bersuka-suka sahaja,
Jaga-lah mu jangan bĕri rosak binasa kepada aku,
Aku 'nak minta mu jangan usek sakalian panjak aku yang duabĕlas, pengantin aku yang lima,
Mu ingat-ingat pesan-pesanan aku !

(After these invocations the offerings are brought to the different places, as described before.)

7. (Kejadian Bumi).
Hai !
Rat ta' pĕrnanta',
Bĕlum lagi sengawang-sengawong,
Bĕlum lagi kĕblat withan,
Bĕlum lagi kĕblat kolong,
Bĕlum lagi kĕblat lor,
Bĕlum lagi kĕblat kidol,
Sudah ada di sana tempat perjalanan jin,
Dan tempat perjalanan dewa,
Pintu ampat menjadi satu,
Pintu satu menjadi ampat,
Pintu kanan,
Pintu kiri,
Pintu hadapan,
Pintu bĕlakang,
Maka hilang-lah dani dzat, timbul dani sipat,
Hilang sipat, timbul-lah dĕbu,
Hilang dĕbu, timbul-lah kabut,
Hilang kabut, timbul-lah chahaya ;
Maka apa-lah chahaya di dalam kĕlam itu ?
Ya'itu-lah chahaya Jin ibni Jan,
Yang kĕluar didalam chahaya itu ;
Apa-kah sĕbab dahulu laut kmdian bharu ada darat ?
Kĕrna anak Dewa Sangyang Tunggal dudok di dalam laut Tohan,
Yang menjadikan alam ini ;
Maka timbul-lah bumi sa-bsar buah gumak,
Lalu di sangkut pĕrut oleh Dewa Sangyang Tunggal ;
Maka tiada-lah tertanggong oleh bumi
Kerna sangat berat penat along muwai lugar, pening ngilu,
Lalu ia pun menusil tĕrbang,
Naik kepada nanggara ka Kayangan,
Serta mengambat Jĕmĕtra kepada pohon tualang kudong,
Lalu bertapa-lah Dewa Sangyang Tunggal,
Maka sĕkalian jin pĕnuntut,
Dan sĕkalian mambang perda'awa.
Pun bertapa-lah bersama-sama dengan Dewa Sangyang Tunggal.

8. (Sĕmar.)
Hai !
Ya'yi Sĕmar,
Ya'yi sambong,
Ya'yi Sĕmar,
Ya'yi gelembong,
Ya'yi tatak keraya Sĕmar,
Ya'yi Sĕmar mu-lah Agong Senohong Dewa Bentara Sangyang Tunggal,
Hilang Dewa Bentara (Batara) Sangyang Tunggal, timbul Dewa Agong,

Hilang Dewa Agong, timbul Dewa Sangyang Wanang,
Hilang Dewa Sangyang Wanang, timbul Dewa Sangyang Mengunang,
Hilang Dewa Sangyang Menguang, timbul Haji Mula,
Hilang Haji Mula, timbul Pandita Haji,
Hilang Pandita Haji, timbul Shaikh Bertalak Marabhaya,
Hilang Shaikh Bertalak Marabhaya, timbul Danu Ghaib,
Hilang Danu Ghaib, timbul Raja Barshah,
Hilang Raja Barshah, timbul Dato' Si Bujang Jura,
Hilang Dato' Si Bujang Jura, timbul Si Mata Luroh,
Hilang Si Mata Luroh, timbul Dato' Si Gedong Ilmu,
Mu-lah sa-bĕnar-bĕnar Dewa Sangyang Tunggal,
Kerna mu-lah menanggong titah Tohan,
Yang menjadikan sĕkalian alam ini,
Mu-lah menjadi Dalang pada kutika ini,
Mu naik ka Kayangan menjadi kepala sĕkalian Dewa-Dewa,
Mu turun ka alam dunia tanah yang rata,
Di hujong lidah tanah Gagelang,
Mu menjadi ketua sĕkalian Jin,
Telah aku harap-lah kepada mu,
Kĕrna aku-lah bapak Dalang yang titih-bertitih,
Turun-menurun,
Aku-lah Dewa Bentara (Batara) Yang Maha Bisnu.

9. (Do'a-an Sĕmar.)
Hai !
Ya'yi Sĕmar,
Ya' Daha,
Ya' Kuripan,
Ya' Gagelang,
Ya' Singosari,
Kebabat wong di uchap-uchap oleh Dalang nangara ampat,
Menjadi satu nenggara,
Yang satu telah di uchap menjadi ampat,
Ia-lah nenggara satu di pichakkan ampat,
Tapak nenggara ka Kayangan ;
Aku-lah Dalang berusol,
Dalang berasal,
Dalang titih-bertitih pada maring kesokma,
Dalang, yuda ismara ningrat,
Panji ismara gunong yang berpayongkan kertas wilis, pinaran mas,
Siapa pulang-berpulang suatu anglok pulang-berpulang,
Siapa titih-bertitih suatu anglok titih-bertitih,
Pananik piyala titih yang menanggong Dalang,
Perkuasa ono-ono anak kĕbĕlat nadi,
Anak kĕbĕlat withan ;
Hilang tersebut Dewa Angghawi, timbul tersebut Dewa Si Angnila,
Hilang tersebut Dewa Si Angnila, timbul tersebut Ikiya Winam,

Hilang tersebut Ikiya Winam, timbul tersebut Ikiya Nono,
Hilang jin dari sini, timbul jin dari sana,
Timbul tersebut kakak Sĕmar,
Roh Sĕmar,
Sĕmar roh sambong,
Guru pati maya teruna,
Sĕmar gomok tambun,
Sĕmar chengih-ngih,
Sĕmar hitam lumus,
Mu nanti pada laut darah,
Aku 'nak jemrang pada laut api,
Ingat-ingat mu jangan lupa pada aku,
Jangan-lah mu meninggal jauh daripada aku,
Kalau datang marabhaya di sĕbĕlah kanan,
Mu sipak buang sĕbĕlah kanan,
Kalau datang marabhaya di sĕbĕlah kiri,
Mu sipak buang sĕbĕlah kiri,
Kalau datang marabhaya di sĕbĕlah bĕlakang,
Mu sipak buang sĕbĕlah bĕlakang,
Kalau datang marabhya di sĕbĕlah hadapan,
Mu tendang terajang buang ka hadapan tetkala,
Mu berdiri di atas batu yang hitam berlumutkan hijau,
Pada bumi yang puteh,
Mu bergantong pada tali yang puteh,
Mu berpayongkan kertas dadu,
Mu bersandarkan siku serta berdiri kaki tunggal,
Dan mu membacha akan ilmu yang kĕramat,
Tutop pintu hati serta mu memautkan chawat,
Mengadap kebawah sinar naik,
Mu menjadikan panglima jabbar,
Dan mu menyuroh sĕgala kidayang, penggawa, hulubalang,
Mengambat mengburu sĕgala yang chileng,
Dan Shaitan yang jahat,
Jiblis yang chilika,
Serta mu suroh hambat sĕgala puak juwak Jin Tanah,
Jembalang dari tanah,
Dan Hantu Ayer,
Jembalang dari ayer,
Ha !
Cha !

RITUAL FOR THE CLOSING CEREMONY (*Lepas Permainan*).

10. (Selamat balik Dewa-Dewa.)
Om !
Derkon tigorpati Danu Kileng,
Sang Kileng sanggara withan,
Bah salah musim,
Angin salah kutika,
Hujan salah pĕriang,
Kutok Kangor minta hujan kilat,
Sabong-menyabong pada awan yang kuning,
Maka hujan pun turun rennyai-rennyai,

Basah sĕkalian bidadari kepanasan,
Dan dĕbu duli berbangkit naik ka udara,
Alamat sĕkalian dewa-dewa hndak naik,
Pada nanggara ka Kayangan Suralaya,
Bĕrkat tapa masing-masing pertapa'an-nya.

11. Kong ! Kong !
Tigor Pati,
Uchap-uchap silau mari,
Batak wong, batak weng gĕlap gulita,
Hujan salah kutika,
Bah salah musim,
Angin salah Pĕriang,
Along meniti-iti di tepi sanggara kidol,
Apa-lah merchu balai kembang widong, kembang wida, kembang wadi,
Ya'itu ia-lah Sang Kaki Bentara (Batara) Kala,
Turun dari puchak shurga loga,
Ka alam dunia yang rata,
Maka terbuka-lah pintu bsar sa-kutika ini,
Ia memuleh membuangkan sĕkalian kuwong, badi,
Yang saratus-sembilan-puloh,
(Rat !)
(The word *Rat* indicates the cracking sound of rice thrown on the floor.)
Bukan aku melepaskan bala pastaka,
Anak dewa kembong kuning melayang turun dari awan yang kuning,
Apa-kah anak dewa kembong kuning melayang turun dari awan yang kuning ?
Kerna bersifat yang kuning itu ;
Jauh-jauh anta raja punchak duabelas,
Yang turun melepaskan bala pastaka-nya (Rat !)

12. Hiyang !
Hona jematu'n,
Na'im kurrasah di bumi
Bumi bĕlum lagi setapak kaki,
Langit bĕlum lagi ada jemala,
Aras kursi sudah terdiri,
Loh kalam sudah tersurat,
Kĕluar hadith berdiri dalil,
Berdiri sĕkali menengar Dalang tabek,
Aku-lah tabek yang usol,
Tabek yang asal,
Tabek aku 'nak melepas segala charai, chending, badi, kuwong, bhaya, selaka,
Asal charai aku 'nak minta pulang balek,
Kepada Raja Suleiman,
Yang empunyai melepaskan charai,
Asal badi aku 'nak minta pulang balek,
Kepada Maha Risi,
Yang empunyai melepaskan badi,

Asal kuwong aku 'nak minta pulang balek,
Kepada To' Pĕrang Hutan,
Yang empunyai melepaskan kuwong,
Asal chinding aku 'nak minta pulang balek,
Kepada Maha Bisnu,
Yang empunyai melepaskan chinding,
Asal bhaya aku 'nak minta pulang balek,
Kapada Naga Puteh,
Yang dudok bertapa di Pusat Tasek Pauh Janggi,
Yang empunyai melepaskan bhaya,
Asal gĕrak selaka aku 'nak minta pulang balek,
Kepada laut yang tiada berikan,
Kepada chĕrang yang tiada berburong,
Kepada padang yang tiada berumput,
Kepada gunong yang tiada berbatu ;
Bukan aku empunya melepas,
Tabek yang usol,
Tabek yang asal empunya melepas,
Bukan aku empunya melepas,
Dalang yang usol,
Dalang yang asal empunya melepas,
Bukan aku empunya melepas,
Guru yang usol,
Guru yang asal empunya melepas,
Sidi guru sidi-lah aku,
Sa ! Tiga ! Lima ! Tujoh !
Lepas ! Lepas !

The incantations were for the most part given to me verbally by illiterate people, who speak a dialect different from the Malay known in other parts of the Peninsula. I experienced extreme difficulty in putting the text down in an intelligible manner, and my thanks are due to many Malay friends, who have been taking great pain in assisting me, especially Tengku Khalid bin Tengku Bendahara and the late Che' Ahmad. I am indebted to Sir Richard Winstedt for looking through the incantations,and for his corrections in the preceeding text, and to Mr. Th. Thomsen, the National Museum, Copenhagen, for the photograph of *Dewa Sangyang Tunggal*. The drawings of *Seri Rama, Siti Dewi, Hanuman, To' Maha Siku, Rawana* and *Jin Pentra Kala* were done by a local Kampong Malay, Awang Chicha, who is an ordinary padi planter, but who takes, the same as lots of other local peasants, as extreme interest in the *Wayang kulit*, and I think these drawings stand as a good example of the spirit of artistic capability found in so many of the Kelantan Malays. It should be pointed out, however, that Awang has made two mistakes in his drawings. He has figured *Rawana* with three heads instead of ten. His excuse was, that " there wasn't space for ten heads " ; and Jin Pentra Kala should have five *gulongan* instead of four.

The *Wayang kulit* is dying, killed by western ideas and, especially, by the Cinemas. The late Tengku Temenggong took

a keen interest in the play, and had, almost to the time of his departure, a *panggong* open all year round. It is seldom seen in Kota Bahru now, except on special occasions such as the Sultan's birthday celebrations. In most of the villages the *Wayang kulit* is, however, still played on occasions such as harvest, marriage and circumcision festivals.

A complete *Kelantan Wayang kulit* theatre has now been placed in Raffles Museum in Singapore.

MAJAPAHIT AMULETS IN KELANTAN.

By ANKER RENTSE.

Plates XVI—XVII.

The so called *Pitis Jawa* (or *Pitis Sĕmar*) found in Kelantan as a treasure among medicine-men shows a strong Majapahit influence, which dates far back into history. The *Pitis Jawa* is a coin-like amulet with a hole in the centre, and with pictures representing ancient Indonesian and Hindu divinities. As a rule the amulet is made of brass or bronze, but copper ones appear too. The coin was never used in currency, but purely for magical purposes, and it is regarded as *kĕramat*, brought out to assist when a *main berbagih* performance is carried out by the medicine-man with the object of curing a sick person, recovering lost property, or driving out an evil influence. The *main berbagih* has been described by Dr. Gimlette in his book "Malay Poisons and Charm Cures" (Churchhill, London, 1929). Dr. Gimlette does not, however, mention *Pitis Jawa*, but gives a detailed description of how certain important puppets from the shadowplay are borrowed for the occasion of *main berbagih*. The idea is that the deities those puppets represent are induced to descend and assist the medicine-man in his undertakings.

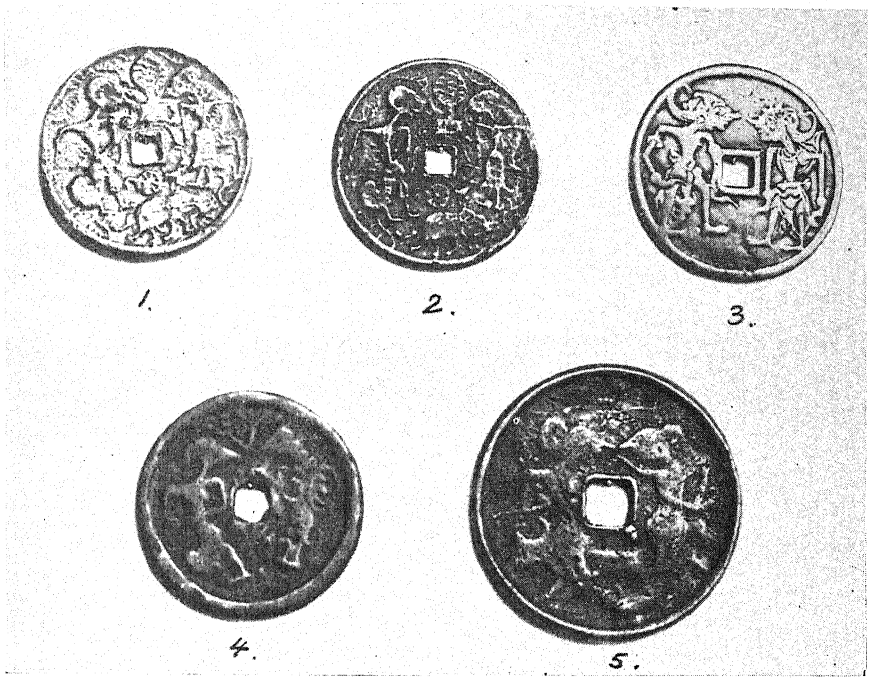
There is, however, another kind of *main berbagih* in which the puppets are replaced by the *Pitis Jawa*, which represents the same ancient deities as the puppets of the Javanese shadowplay. During this performance the medicine-man holds the amulet in a string about one foot long, and made of *bĕnang mĕntah* (or *bĕnang kapok*, the purification cord) dyed in *Kunyit* (turmeric). He sits upright in front of the burning incense, holds out his arm, so that the amulet is covered in the sacred smoke down through which the divine powers are supposed to descend, and he invokes these powers by chanting incantations, requesting them to come down to earth and assist him.

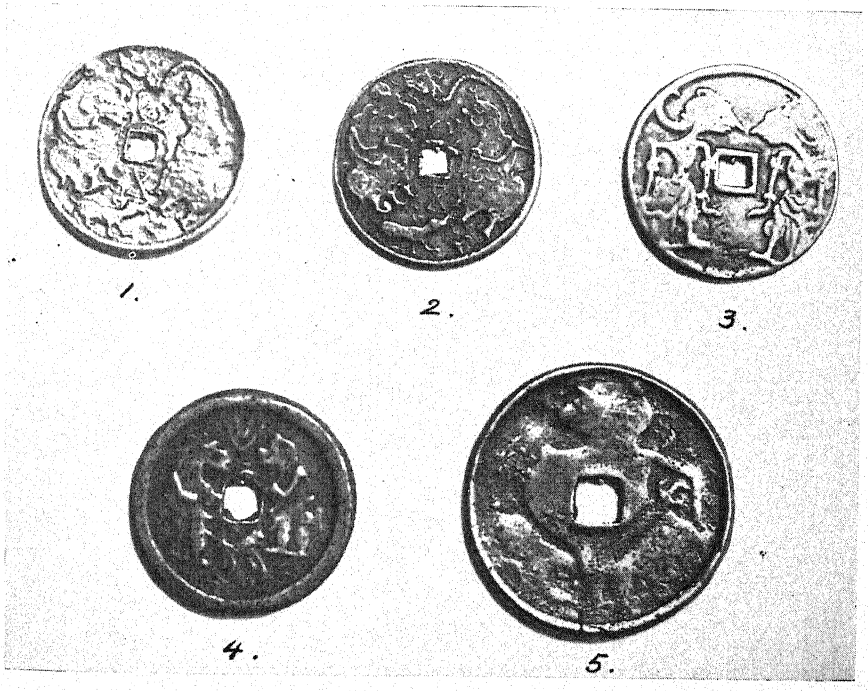
I had an opportunity to witness such a performance some years ago. A member of a Raja's household was possessed by a *hantu* and had to be cured. What actually had happened was that a centipede had used the man's face as a playing ground the previous night without stinging him; but the effect, when he woke up and discovered the unwelcome guest, was temporary mental disorder. I found him half-conscious and rolling about on the mat, when I arrived. He was placed in a lying position on a mat close to the burning incense. After some lengthy invocations by the medicine-man the *Pitis Jawa* suddenly commenced moving. To all present it appeared that the medicine-man's arm and hand, holding the amulet, was quite motionless. First the amulet was swinging slowly backwards and forwards, then round in circles, and finally it quivered up and down, slacking the string in a somewhat mysterious way, which seems to indicate that the medicine-man performing was a clever actor. This was the sign that the deity invoked (one of those pictured on the amulet in use) had

6

6

Majapahit Amulets in Kelantan.





Majapahit Amulets in Kelantan.

descended. The medicine-man fell into a trance, and the *To' Mindok* (the helper) began to cross-examine the deity, which had now taken possession of the medicine-man's body. When the nature of the *hantu* possessing the patient was ascertained the deity agreed to accept the feast proffered and to drive out the evil. The medicine-man crawled on all fours round the patient, holding the amulet high above him, chanting incantations in a whisper. His face was all the time almost in close contact with the patient's body. Suddenly the patient gave a scream, jumped straight off the mat, and ran like one possessed by the very devil round the *balai*, and upstairs with a crowd of excited followers at his heels, all yelling and screaming. Down they came again and disappeared like a host of flying ghosts out into the dark night, where the performance ended in the patient collapsing with a most terrific scream. The *hantu* had left him, and the performance was over. He came back, walking through the *balai*, quite normal without any sign of recent excitement, just as if nothing at all had happened. The offerings were brought down to the river-bank and left there.

The *Pitis Jawa* amulet is in Kelantan regarded with great respect and cannot be played about with by people, who do not know how to charm it.

I am indebted to Dr. P. van Stein Callenfels for the explanation of the figures shewn on the different amulets, as given below.

No. 1 and 2. (Plate XVII). Brass amulets found in Kelantan. No. 1 in my possession, and No. 2 now in Raffles Museum. The amulets appear to have been cast from the same mould. On the left a picture, which in Kelantan is believed to be *Sĕmar*, and on the right *Truas* (*Jĕmuras*). Dr. Callenfels explains, however, that the figure on the left is *Bagong*, and on the right *Sĕmar*. These two figures represent ancient Indonesian deities worshipped as supreme powers before Hinduism came to Java. On top of the amulet is seen a dragon and below an animal (a dog ?) The sign on top of the animal's head is possibly of magic significance.

The reverse of these two amulets (Plate XVII) shows to the left a figure, which in Kelantan is believed to be *Radin Inoh*, and to the right *Galus* (*Galoh*). Dr. van Stein Callenfels feels, however, inclined to think that the figure to the left is *Judhishthira*, and the other one his consort *Dropadi*, as the hairdresses resemble the *gĕlung keling* of *Judhishthira* and his consort. However, the same two figures are found on No. 4 (Plate XVII) and here the headdress reminds one more of the *tĕkes* of *Panji* (a special headdress made of horsehair). The hair of the princess hanging loose would perhaps point more to *Sekartaji* than to *Dropadi*. The last one in the modern Javanese Wayang is generally wearing the same *gĕlung keling* as her husband ; but as it is generally stated in the Wayang that *Dropadi* vowed that she would not bind up her hair in a knot before she had washed it in the blood of *Dursasana* (Het Javaansche Tooneel, door J. Kats, Weltevreden 1923, p. 433), she

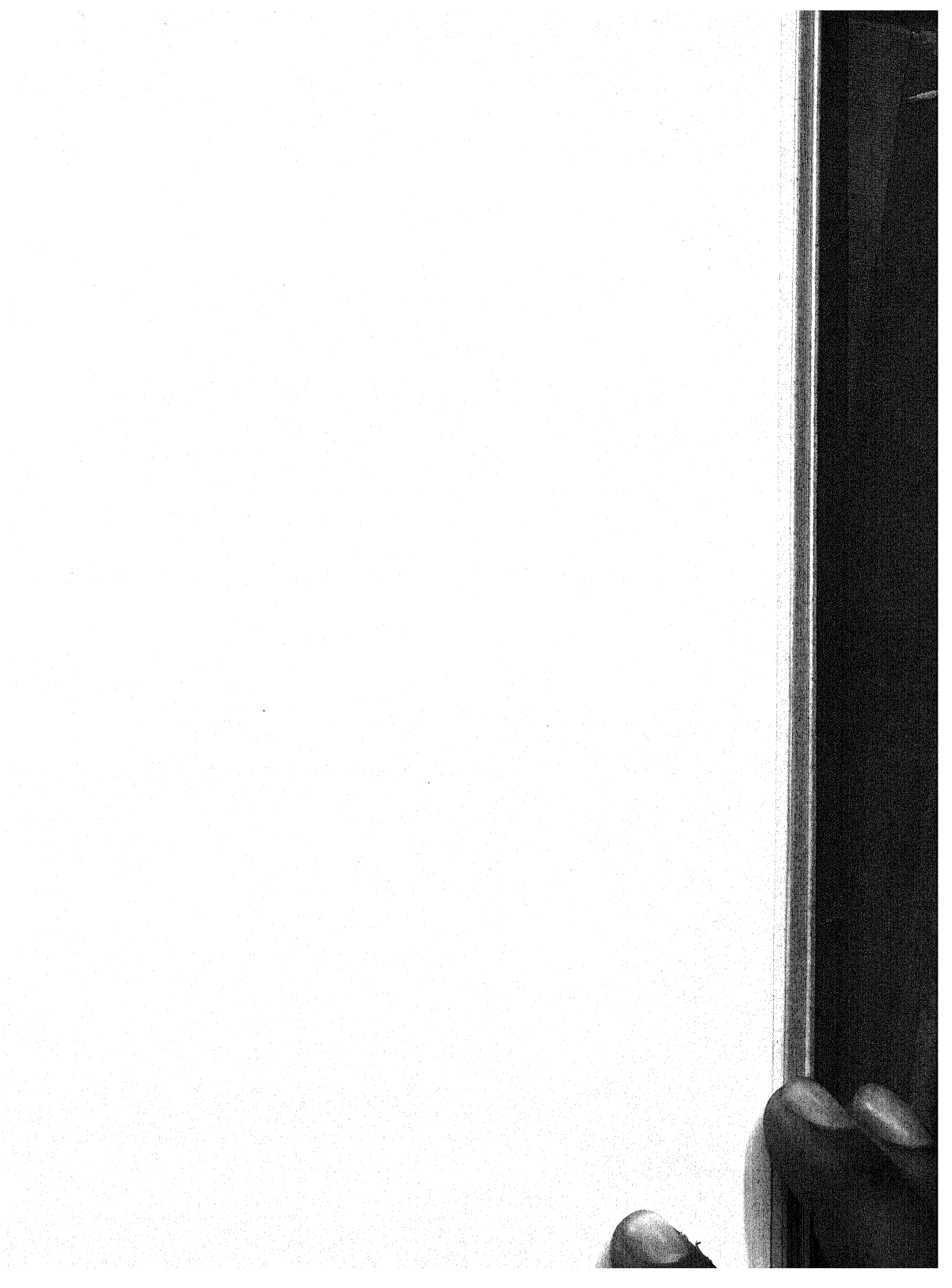
may well be represented also with her hair hanging loose. On top of the amulet is seen a tree, which possibly resembles *Pohon Běringin* (the Banyan, tree of life), and below an elephant. The wheel (?) on top of the last may be of magic significance.

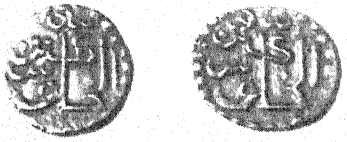
No. 3. (Plate XVII). Copper amulet found in Bang Nara, formerly a district of Kelantan, but now under Siamese rule. This amulet has been presented to Dr. van Stein Callenfels for the Batavia Museum in exchange for No. 4. On the left is a picture of *Arjuna*, and to the right *Krishna*. On the reverse (Plate XVII) to the left *Bĕratasena* (*Sang Bima*), and to the right probably *Kurupati* (*Durjudana*), or perhaps, as believed in Kelantan, *Ghatot Kacha*.

No. 4. (Plate XVII). Brass amulet from Java, presented me by Dr. van Stein Callenfels. This amulet is much the same as No. 1 and 2 found in Kelantan. It may be that the figure on the left is *Panji*, and the one on the right *Dewi Sekartaji* (*Chandra Kirana*). See description above under No. 1 and 2. In Kelantan the two figures are believed to be *Inon* and *Galoh*. On the reverse (Plate XVII) the figure to the left is *Bagong*, and to the right *Sĕmar*.

No. 5. (Plate XVII). Brass amulet from Java, presented me by Dr. van Stein Callenfels. The picture on this amulet represent *Sĕmar*. The pictures on the reverse are not very clear, they may resemble *Arjuna* to the left, and to the right *Krishna*. The animal below appears to be a buffalo.

No. 6. (Plate XVI). Brass amulet found in Kelantan. On the left figure the *gĕlung keling* points to *Judhishthira*, but, as an image of a horse appears at the bottom of the amulet, the figure is probably meant to represent *Inoh*, as one of his names is *Raden Mas Panji Kuda Waneng Pati*. If the left figure is meant to be *Inoh*, the one to the right should be *Dewi Sekartaji* (*Chandra Kirana*, or *Putri Galuh*; the last name is the title of the crown-princess). On the reverse (Plate XVI) to the left *Sĕmar*, and right *Bagong*. The figures on this amulet are rather poorly done except for the horse, which is excellently clear.





1. 2.

3.

3.

Kelantan Gold Coins.

A NOTE ON KELANTAN GOLD COINS.

By ANKER RENTSE.

Plate XVIII.

In connection with Mr. Linehan's paper on Kelantan Coins, (JRASMB, vol. XII, p. II) it may now be worth mentioning a strong belief in Kelantan regarding the Kelantan *Masdinar* (fig. 3, Plate X, in Mr. Linehan's paper). On top of the inscription *Aljulus Kelantan* appears another inscription, which, in local opinion, should be read as 577 A.H. This would bring Mohammedanism to Kelantan at a very early date. Although it may be possible that Kelantan and Patani were embraced by Islam before it came to Malacca,as we find Mohamedan titles in Patani at a time, which one may suggest is about 1420 A.D., yet the inscription on the *Masdinar* apeared to me to be more like *bunga* to fill in an empty space, and not an inscription at all. When showing the coin to Dr. van Stein Callenfels he came to the conclusion that this inscription may be read as *Su*, which is a contraction of the Sanskrit word *suwarna*, meaning gold. *Su* is the ancient Javanese name for gold coins, as *Ma*, a contraction of *machankha*, meaning silver, was the ancient name for the Majapahit silver coin.

Plate XVIII, fig. 1 and 2 shows two very clear specimens of the above named coin.

Mr. Linehan in the same paper mentions a fourth kind of gold coin in Kelantan, of which no illustration was available at the time of publication. No. 3 on Plate XVIII shows a specimen of that coin, described by Mr. Linehan on page 69 (JRASMB, vol. XII, p. II).

CORRIGENDA.

By ANKER RENTSE.

The following corrections should be made in my paper on "History of Kelantan", published in this Journal, Vol. XII, part II, 1934.

Page 46, line 21 :—" Malay can compete with Gerini for fantastic derivations " should be deleted, and " following should be recorded here :—" substituted.

Page, 46, line 23 :—" bit of Kelantan folklore " should be deleted, and " information " substituted.

Page 47, line 16 :—" armlets " should be deleted and " amulets " substituted.

Page 50, line 23 :—" Kelantan " should be spelt " Kelatan ".

Page 50, lines 24 and 25 :—" كلنتن should be spelt كلتن ".

Page 50, line 26 :—" But surely never were more fantastic etymologists than those that have tried to derive Kelantan." should be deleted.

Page 51, line 23 :—" *) " should be put in after (*sumbang*).

Page 52, line 2 :—" Raja Pasir Mas " should be substituted for " Raja Pasir ".

Page 55, line 45 :—" (كلنتن) " should be spelt " (كلتن) ".

Page 60, line 26 :—" (p. 62) " should be deleted. The genealogical tree referred to there was omitted by mistake ; but is now attached to this corrigenda.

Page 60, line 35 :—" (page 62) " should be inserted after " *salsilah* ".

SOME MURUT HUNTING CUSTOMS.

By G. C. WOOLLEY.

The following notes refer to the customs of some of the Muruts of Pensiangan District, North Borneo. These Muruts live on the Tagul, the lower Siliu, Simentalun, Simanggulu, and the part of the Lagungan or Talankai between the Simentalun and Sapulot, with a few smaller rivers; they call themselves by the name of the river on which they live, and do not seem to use a common tribal name, though 'ulun Pensiangan' is known. Probably they are most closely related to the Peluans of the upper Talankai, Nebawan, Pohun Batu, Dalit, etc.; they disclaim any close relationship with the Selalir people (with whom they were often at feud) or with the 'ulun Kolor' or the 'ulun Semambu' of the Telecosan and upper Padas, though there may now be some intermarriage with them.

2. My information is derived principally from Telagun bin Bentangan and Korom bin Enduat, sons of Government Chiefs of the Siliu and Simentalun; Inspector Dualis of the North Borneo Armed Constabulary, a Timogun Murut of Tenom, who has great experience of almost all the Murut tribes, has also given very much help.

3. In hunting, a rough distinction may be drawn between going out for the day only and an expedition which is expected to last several days. The former is known as 'Megasu', and as 'tasu' is Murut for 'a dog,' to say "I am going to 'megasu'" is almost equivalent to "I am taking the dogs out"; a man might go out by himself if no companion was available; the latter is 'tomalun' or "tomalun megasu', and a man would never go by himself. A hunt was arranged more or less casually; any one might suggest it and ask who would care to go with him. On a longer expedition as many as 4—10 men might go, or even a bigger party on special occasions, *e.g.* when news came that pig were moving in large numbers in a certain area in the jungle fruit season. At such times, especially in more recent years when there is no fear of encountering a raiding party, even women and boys might go with the men; they would not take part in the actual hunt, but would stay in the hunters' sulaps (huts) and see to the collection of firewood, jungle fruit, and vegetables, fetch water, and attend to the cooking for the hunters and the salting, smoking or turning into 'jarok' (potted meat) of the game brought in. The pig used regular tracks and crossed the rivers at known places, so many of the hunters had only to lie in ambush, and their sulaps would not be far away. This method is known as 'maki samoroi' 'to wait for the (pigs) swimming,' and dogs are not used. Such an expedition, in the fruit season, has partly the nature of a pic-nic.

4. The jungle in the neighbourhood of a village (long house) —roughly the distance to which a hunter might go if he was returning the same day—was regarded as that house's private hunting ground, and others might not hunt there without leave.

The penalty for trespass was one pig. Distant jungle was open to all. If a party was going any considerable distance, beyond the limits of the familiar country near their home, they should, when travelling, put up for the night in any village rather than construct a sulap for themselves in the jungle for the night, and at the last such stopping place ask for a man or two to join them as guides, thus avoiding the risk of going astray in strange country or of inadvertent trespass ; the presence of a local man would save them from any accusation of having frightened the game away from ' private ' ground.

5. There were no fixed seasons for hunting, though naturally not much would be done when men were busy with the work of their ' tebasans ' (clearings), and on the other hand all who could would go out in the pig season when game was plentiful.

6. For a distant expedition a day or two days was enough for preparations. If padi was available, some would have to be pounded, otherwise Indian corn, tapioca or sweet potatoes would be taken, with a supply of salt for personal consumption and for salting any game obtained. A cookingpot or two and plate, if possible ; a joint of bamboo and a broad leaf might be efficient substitutes for one's own use, but not convenient for dealing with large quantities of meat. Guns, if any, blowpipes, spears and parangs (swords or knives) were wanted, though for spears a length of bamboo could be cut and trimmed into a weapon with an edge as keen as any imported metal blade could possess, and it could be replaced without cost in case of need. There are two types of bamboo spear : the first, a bamboo some 6-7 feet long, one end of which could be trimmed and re-sharpened as required, the second, a small section containing one knot only ; about one foot on one side of the knot was sharpened to a point—looking like a large quill pen—whilst the other side of the knot formed a socket into which an ordinary shaft could be inserted : if driven well home, the head might remain in the body of the pig or deer. The spear fitted to ' bingkasan ' traps was usually of this latter sort. The ' sapok ' (sumpitan, blowpipe) was formerly much used for pig and deer, and even for tembadau (wild cattle), but now is employed principally for small game, monkey, pelandok (mouse deer) etc. Firearms are chiefly responsible for the decline of the sumpitan, and the secrets of the old deadly poisons required for larger game, which had many ingredients, some perhaps only of value as 'magic', are now in danger of being lost, even amongst the Peluans who, living in the more remote parts, have retained more of the old customs. Finally there were the dogs to go with the party, unless the intention was only to lie in wait at river crossings etc. where the presence of dogs might scare away the game. All available dogs would be taken : 4-8 would be an ordinary number but Telagun himself, son of a Chief, could muster 18 if he was going out.

7. As regards certain methods of hunting, the ' jaring,' a long net made of hanging loops of rotan, was not employed by these Pensiangan Muruts, though it was known to Keningau

Muruts as well as to the Dusuns and Bajaus of the coastal plains, where there is more open country for a regular 'drive.' Pit traps too were unknown. Bingkasan (spring traps, Malay) were common ; In these, a bent sapling acts as a spring, driving a spear horizontally across the track when the trigger is released by the animal's contact with a rotan stretched across the path. The local Murut name is 'blatik', if set for pig, when the spear is set at about a man's knee level, or 'Agur' or 'Langkau' if set at about stomach or chest level, for deer or tembadau. 'Falling traps', placed at the apex of converging fences, were employed for small game such as pelandok or young pig. Enclosures such as corrals to capture larger game alive, were not known. Snares or small spring traps for small animals, monkeys, squirrels, rats, birds, etc. were of course in general use.

8. Bingkasans were generally set only in 'home' territory, as they had to be visited at intervals, and so were not suitable for use on a long trip unless a stay of some days at least was to be made at a regular headquarters. If one was made, the usual marks to indicate its presence would have to be put up, and a special warning given to local people ; the hunters would be expected to see that these traps were dismantled or sprung before they left the district. When set quite near the house, the traps would be visited in the morning to see if anything had been caught, and then left unset for the day ; in the late afternoon or evening they would be visited again and set for the night. If further away only the morning visit would be paid, and the trap left set. The 'Adat' (customary) penalty for setting a bingkasan in 'private' jungle, without leave, was 2 pig and one 'sampa' (jar): the size and value of the pig was a matter for discussion, the jar was usually taken to represent about $5. For leaving a bingkasan set in 'private' jungle belonging to another village after a hunt was over, the penalty was up to 5 'sampa' ; if left set, and there was an accident, the hunter who had set it would have to pay full blood-money, according as the victim was wounded or killed, failing which the incident was ample justification for a raid against his house. A similar claim could be made if the accident took place in 'far' jungle and it was known who had set the trap. Blood-money, 'basah,' does not seem to have been quite so heavy in this district as in some other parts of the country, and is said to have been one slave, (one life for another), but the slave was kept and not sacrificed, or alternatively, 2 pigs and 10 sampa.

9. Tembadau (wild cattle) were deliberately hunted, but not rhino, unless the dogs chanced to put one up. One reason for this may be that in older times there was no market open to these tribes for rhino horns, etc. Elephants might be found on the Eastern borders of the Pensiangan district, near the headwaters of Tawau rivers or on the divide between the upper Sapulot and the Agisan (tributary of the Sibuko), and they have been known to travel even as far as Enduat's clearings on the Simentalun, but they would not be attacked : apparently both men and dogs were afraid to tackle them.

10. An inauspicious dream before the party left home might entail a postponement of the start of an expedition, and a few taboos had to be observed in connection with bingkasans. If these traps were set, neither the setter nor his people (*i.e.* his own wife and family in his own room in the 'long house') might for four days give any food or anything else to any visitor or any other person in the house; when leaving the house they must not call out to any one, and when returning home they must not stop or hesitate on the house ladder or halt in the doorway; if these 'pantangs' are kept, the game will walk straight on into the trap without hesitation or suspicion; otherwise they will suspect that something has been prepared for them and avoid it. The four days was said to be the necessary period because the game had four legs, also after four days the wood etc. of the trap would be dry and the game would not be made suspicious by the smell of freshly cut material. A few other 'pantangs' in connection with the meat after the game had been killed will be mentioned later, but there were no other taboos to be observed in the course of the hunt itself. There was no prohibition against mentioning the name of the animal when the party was actually hunting.

11. Omens were observed when hunting, but with not quite the same strictness as in war or on a head-hunting raid. The 'sensuali', a snake with a red belly and red tail, was very unlucky; the red signified blood, wounds or death to one or more of the party; if one was met crossing the path, the party would return and wait till the next day before starting out again. Other snakes were not so unlucky. The call of the kijang (barking deer) was unlucky, and always, if heard on a raid, the party must return or it will lose one or more men, but when hunting, it could be ignored if two good omens had been observed already, and it was all right if the dogs had already scented and started the deer before it called. If the call was heard when still within hearing of the house, it was a warning to the people in the house as well as to the hunters. The dogs might be set on to a kijang whose call had been accepted as an omen, but if it was hunted and caught, it must be eaten that night as ordinary food; the meat must not be smoked or preserved or taken home as material for any forthcoming ceremonial feast. The kijang is a bad omen because its colour resembles that of the newly turned up earth of a grave, and its four legs recall the four corner posts of the hut over the grave; also one of its names—'paus'—is the word often employed, like the Malay 'Kasihan,' when hearing of the death or misfortune of a friend.

12. The calls of certain birds might be good or bad. The four principal omen birds, in order of importance, are:—(i) the pamunor, (2) the kisi, (3) the mengapi, (4) the sagap; the lalanti and kuanga are of lesser importance.

If a pamunor flies straight across the path in front of the hunter without giving any call, it is a very bad omen, and the hunter must return straight home, otherwise he or some one in his house will die; it is of no use to sit down and light a

fire. It is an equally bad omen if the pamunor gives a rapid series of short notes, ' tik-ik-ik-ik-ik-ik-ik ', which is interpreted as ' magitatangi ' ' crying ' or ' lamenting ' ; a single call ' tik ' followed a little later by another ' tik ' is very good. The repetition of the call to make it a good omen is essential both in the case of the pamunor and of the other birds ; as soon as the first is heard a second call of the same sort must be waited for ; a single call. from a ' kisi ' followed by one from a pamunor would not do. The usual practice is for the hunter to make some noise to startle the bird into calling again : a favourite method is to take one's parang (knife) out of its wooden sheath and to tap the empty sheath with the finger tips like a drum, or to slice a piece of bark on a tree, not severing it, and to tap it with the back of the knife against the trunk, like a clapper. This tapping is said to be a sort of Morse code appeal to the bird to call again ; meanwhile the party sits down and kindles a small fire of a few leaves or twigs, this short rest being a substitute for going home and waiting till the next day. Two good bird omens would neutralise a later meeting with a snake, but it would be as well, when the snake was seen, to sit down for a few minutes and light a fire.

13. When the dogs put up some game and start giving tongue, the hunter shouts to them to encourage them and to indicate his own position, but he would not hurry too fast after them unless they seemed to be getting out of hearing distance ; game seldom went up long steep hills but kept on about the same contour or went down hill. Good dogs could head the quarry and turn it back towards the hunters, or hold it at bay, snapping at it, until the hunters arrived ; they had not the weight or strength to pull it down themselves, unless it was small, such as a young pig. There was no particular ceremonial for the kill—probably a shout as the spear was driven home, but no regular invocation to the spirits of the jungle, neither was any portion of the kill set aside for them.

14. After the kill, the front and hind legs were first cut off, with the skin on them, then two cuts were made along the under side of the carcase, each cut following the line of the nipples on each side and cutting through them, a cross cut was made above the breast bone and another just below it, and the breast bone with the skin above it—the 'lala-uvon'—was then torn out and set carefully aside, with the heart, the lowest vertebra of the neck—the ' pungga '—and the ' sesolot ', the vertebra next above the root of the tail ; these parts were put together into one lot and were the dogs' portion, being given to the hunter whose dogs had first put up the game. This hunter himself, or his own people, if the meat was taken straight home, had to cook these portions and give them, particularly the heart, to his own dogs, with a share to other dogs which had come in later on in the hunt. This meat was ' pantang,' taboo, as the dogs' share, and no one but they or their owner or persons actually living or staying in that owner's room—his wife and family or a guest who was sleeping there—might eat any part of it; even a brother, if he had another

ı of his own in the same long house, might not have a share. person who cooked the meat had to sit down by it and not up till the pot boiled, for by standing up he would break pantang '—' masewur '—and the next time the dogs put up e it would not stop or hesitate or think of halting or lying n for a rest or to recover its breath, but would go straight on outrun the dogs. No one who had partaken of this meat ıt that day climb up the ladder to the shelf or loft above the ı which was used for storage, etc., ; if anyone did go up, time the dogs went out they would go straight up over the instead of hunting round on the lower levels and pass out of ing of the hunter. After the ' pantang ' meat had been set e, the rest of the meat and bones was divided equally between hunters, with no special share for 'first blood', etc. If the place he kill was near home, a small animal might be carried back cut up in the house ; it was not necessary to cut it up or even isembowel it on the spot, and parts could be left to be ıed later.

15. A further taboo had to be observed on the way back the meat ; no one who was actually carrying any of it might —*e.g.* a small child who had been given a load and was tired— ıll out as one would do in pain or in trouble. It was a bad ı, because of its similarity to the weeping or lamenting ı one was carrying a corpse out for burial, and the dogs would se to put up game again. If such an accident did happen, emedy or expiation was to pull out some hairs from the side ıe offender's head just above the ears, or from his eyelashes or rows, if he had cried, to burn them, and to put the ashes in dogs' food, explaining to them at the same time that these ashes from the head of such and such an one who had offended uch a way, and asking them to pardon the offence and to pt this expiation. So too if the straps of a basket in which the ıt was being carried home broke, and the meat fell to the ınd, a piece of the broken strap had to be cut off, and a little h picked up from the place where the meat fell, and this was ut in the same way, the ashes put in the dogs' food, and the ıe explanation given with all due formality. Again, no one st pass urine on the place where the game is cut up, otherwise dogs will smell the urine and not be able to scent game on a ıre occasion ; the remedy is similar ; a little of the offender's ıe must be put into the dogs' food, an explanation given to m, and their pardon requested.

16. If two hunting parties crossed one another, and one came with and killed game put up by the dogs of the other party, ' pantang ' portions of the meat should go to the dogs' owner, l the rest would be divided equally between the two parties, f to each, not equal shares to all the individuals. Hunting arrels were not infrequent, and were bitter ; men were excited, d the dispute sometimes ended with bloodshed—perhaps er the ' pantang ' meat, because if that went to the wrong rson, the correct recipient would suffer serious loss, for his

dogs would be aware of the injustice done to them, and that they had been defrauded, and would refuse to hunt properly on future occasions.

17. Dogs are judged by certain marks, and a puppy which has good signs will command a high price. As is natural amongst people who depend so largely upon hunting for their livelihood a hunting dog of proved skill counts as one of their most valued possessions. The principal point when judging a dog is the position of its nipples ; the animal is laid on its back, its forelegs pulled forward and its hind legs pulled back, so that the skin of its belly is taut. The nipples should then be in pairs exactly opposite to each other at right angles to the length of the body. The row of nipples on each side should be in a perfectly straight line, a position which has a symbolic relation to the two straight cuts down the underside of the game when it is being cut up ; a line drawn between the front pair of nipples should just touch the base of the breast bone. In male dogs, the tip of the penis should just reach the last pair but one, and the last pair should either be touching the sheath of the penis or, which would not be quite so good, one finger's breadth away from it. In the female dog, the hind pair should be situated in the crease of the skin which would be cut through if the hind legs were being cut off, as the hind quarters of game are cut off. Some Dusun tribes examine also the roof of the dog's mouth, where certain ridges on each side should overlap slightly, and not meet one another ; the Tagul Muruts know of this test, but pay little attention to it. If the position of the nipples does not conform with the measurements indicated, the dog will not be good ; if it does conform, the game will not be able to outrun or escape it.

SOME ULUN-NO-BOKAN (MURUT) WORDS FROM NORTH BORNEO.

By H. G. KEITH.

The following list of Ulun-no-Bokan words were collected at Kampong Pauh and Kampong Tiong, in the Bokan District, Interior Residency, North Borneo. Rutter (1) includes the Ulun-no-Bokan in his classification as Peluan Murut.

Mr. G. C. Woolley, with whom I have discussed the compilation, says,

"The risk with those people (Ulun-no-Bokan)—which I think is very clearly illustrated in Baboneau's (2) Murut Vocabulary —is that if they cannot think of the word, or are tired or bored, they will invent something or give a Malay or 'adapted Malay' word; their ingrained native politeness has also its risks when one is endeavouring to learn to string a few words together or to turn a present tense to the past, etc., : you may ask "can you say" or, "do you say....?" and the reply will be, in Malay, "*boleh jugah*", but this being interpreted and amplified may mean 'the tuan, being a *tuan*, can say what he likes, and we may try to understand but his words will not be correct Bokan or any other known language."

In compiling a Bokan vocabulary I have found, in addition to the difficulties so accurately described by Mr. Woolley, that many articles now in every day use in the Bokan District are comparatively new to these people and thus perforce they use the Malay name or a corrupted form of Malay, for example, *kunsih* = *kunchi* (Malay); *kalabau* = *kerbau* (Malay); *ansang* = *achang* (Malay N. B.). In addition many of the old words are being replaced by Malay words, such as *tikus*, *gadingan*, etc.

The question of spelling has been a matter of some difficulty, and I have followed Winstedt (3) as closely as possible in the spelling of Bokan words. Vowels are given their continental value. To quote Mr. Woolley again, "I agree that spelling is a great difficulty in languages of that sort which have never yet been reduced to writing. I think a phonetic spelling is unavoidable in some cases until a grammar has been formulated which would give rules for the formation of compounds, inflexion, etc., Even then, there seem to be so many variations made for the sake of euphony, or merely because there are no definite accepted rules, and each *kampong* almost has certain dialectic forms of its own, that there would have to be exceptions to any hard and fast system." "Variations made for the sake of euphony" are a problem, more difficult if anything than the question of spelling, as the word form is far from constant and in many cases depends upon the preceding or following word in the sentence. Sometimes merely the initial letter of the words is changed in order to make it sound better, sometimes an alternative word is used. In compound words such as *ambiruoh-nu-balai*, *tahtakunun-nah-rumut*,

ulun-no-bokan, *nu*, *nah*, and *no* are all forms of, and equivalent to, the English preposition, *of*, an example of euphony. So far as I have experienced, in collecting a vocabulary of some 3,000 Bokan words, "c", "e", "f", "h", "v", "w", "x", "y", and "z" never appear to be used as the initial letter of a word, although like all Indo-Malayan dialects, "f", "v", "b" and "p" may be considered interchangeable. The two letters "ng" appear always, as in Suluk, to be pronounced "ng", and as in Suluk, "r" changes to "l" except as an initial letter, and "ch" to "s" in almost all adapted words. In speaking Malay (or a corrupt form) the average Bokan uses such forms as *susih* for *chuchi*, *sasing* for *chaching*, *sampur* for *champur*, *sinsin* for *chinchin*, etc.

In the following list of names, I have follwed Wilkinson (4) for the Malay equivalent, but when a Malay equivalent is followed by (N. B.) it indicates the North Borneo Malay dialect, which may in some cases be from the Brunei-Malay dialect, but which however passes current for Malay in North Borneo. Thanks are due to Mr. G. C. Woolley, late of the North Borneo Civil Service for reading over the manuscript and indicating improvments and making corrections, to Mr. H. L. Pendlebury of the Selangor Museum for correcting the scientific equivalents of the insect names, and to Mr. F. N. Chasen for rendering the same service for bird names.

Bokan.	*Malay.*	*Technical.*	*English.*
ADOB.	Pĕnyĕngat ?.		A small black wasp living in holes in trees.
AHSANG.	mĕrpati, burong achang, burong pati. (N.B.)		The Common Domestic Pigeon.
AMBIRUOH-NU-BALAI.	chĕchak.	*Hemidactylus frenatus.*	The Common House Lizard.
AMPIPIRIS.	lĕbah.	*Apis florea.*	The Small Honey Bee.
AMPUANGAT.	kĕlulut.	*Melipona spp.*	The Damar Bee.
ANDANGIAN.	pĕnyĕngat.	*Polybia spp.* *Ropalidia spp.*	Wasp.
ANDOYU-TUNG.	kongkang, kukang (N.B.).	*Nycticebus tardigradus borneanus.*	The Slow Loris.
ANGAGAPAS.	sĕmut api (N.B.).	*Lobopelta sp.*	The Fire Ant.
ANGAGATAL.	sĕmut ?.		Small black ants which live inside dead branches.
ANGKAP-ANGKAP.	pĕnyĕngat.	*Polistes spp.*	Wasp.
ANGKAU.	Kutu, kutu ayam (N.B.).	*Acari.*	Bird or Fowl Mites.
ANSAH.	Angsa.		The Common Domestic Goose.
ANTU ALUH.	lĕbah ?.		The Bamboo Bee, commonly found in native houses.

Bokan.	*Malay.*	*Technical.*	*English.*
ANTU TUNGAL.	sĕmut gajah (?).	*Camponotus gigas.*	The Elephant Ant.
APIN.	taguan ?.	*Sciuropterus sp.*	A Flying Squirrel.
ASU.	anjing.	*Canis familiaris.*	The Domestic Dog.
ATOD.	angkut-angkut.	*Eumenes spp.*	The Mason Wasp.
BALAHBOG.	pĕlandok napu (N.B.), pĕlandok.	*Tragulus javanicus borneanus.*	The Large Mouse Deer.
BALANGAN.	tĕbuwan.	*Vespa cincta.*	Orange-banded Hornet.
BALOOG.	pĕnyĕngat.	*Ropalidia spp.*	Wasp.
BANGKAAK.	burong gagak.	*Corvus coronoides macrorhynchus.*	The Jungle Crow.
BANGKAUT.	kĕluwang.	*Pteropus edulis.*	The Fruit Bat, or Flying Fox.
BANTUH.	ular tĕdong sĕndok, ular tĕdong (N.B.).	*Naia tripudians.*	The Common Black Cobra.
BASIBASING.	binatang.		The generic name for animals generally.
BASING.	babi, babi hutan.	*Sus. Sus barbatus barbatus.*	The native domestic pig. The wild pig.
BAUHK.	burong hantu (N.B.)		A small, unidentified owl.
BAWANG.	bĕruwang.	*Ursus (Helarctos) malayanus.*	The Honey Bear, or Sun Bear.
BEGOUI.	tikus.	*Rattus spp.*	The Common Rat. A term of opprobrium used for rats generally. See also TIKUS.
BIRIHWAN.	siput darat (N.B.)	*Gastropoda.*	The generic name for Land Snails.
BOHLUN.	ayam pĕgar, burong mata merah, ayam hutan (N.B.).	*Acomus erythrophthalmus. Lophura nobilis.*	The Fireback Pheasant.
BUHBAN.	labi-labi (N.B.).	*Trionyx spp.* ?	The generic name for freshwater turtles with hard carapace.
BULUKUN.	tĕnggiling.	*Manis javanica.*	The Scaly Ant Eater.
BUMBARAS.	tĕmbadau.	*Bos sondaicus lowi.*	The Banteng, or Wild Cattle.
BUNSALAG.	sarang burong.		The generic name for bird's nests.
BURANGKOK.	katak.		An unidentified, edible frog which must be skinned before eating as the skin exudes a sticky substance similar to latex.
DIPAL.	halipan, lipan (N.B.)	(*Chilopoda*) *Scolopendra spp.*	Centipede.
DIPOH.	ular.		The generic name for snakes.
GADINGAN.	gajah.	*Elephas indicus.*	The Borneo Elephant See also MANGUMBUS TOGUP.

Bokan.	*Malay.*	*Technical.*	*English.*
GARANG.	bĕngkarong ?	*Mabuia multifasciata* ?	An unidentified lizard.
GIMBULUD.	lalat.	*Musca sp.*	The Common House-fly.
IRIK.	riyang-riyang.	*Cicadidæ.*	The generic name for Cicadas.
JABULOH.	kĕra.	*Macacus irus.*	The Krah Monkey.
JUNJULONG.		*Lycodon sp.* ?	A harmless black-snake.
KADUAN.	pĕlandok.	*Tragulus spp.*	The generic name for Mouse Deer.
KAGUEH.	orang hutan (N.B.) mias.	*Simia satyrus.*	The Orang Utan.
KAHDAMUK.	landak (N.B.)	*Hystrixmuller.*	The Short-ta-iled Porcupine.
KAHKATAH.	katak.		The Padi Frog.
KAHLAUT.	ungka, kĕlawat, (N.B.).	*Hylobates cinereus funereus.*	The Gibbon Ape.
KAHPOH.	bĕlalang tahun (N.B.).	(*Acridiidæ*) *Locustam gratorioides.*	The Migratory Locust.
KAHPOH-BOYAT	bĕlalang gambar ?, anjing-anjing (N.B.)	*Mantidæ.*	The Praying Mantis.
KALABAU.	kĕrbau.	*Bos bubalus.*	The Domestic Water Buffalo.
KALIPODOS.	kĕngkiak ?		A ferocious black, stinging ant which is frequently seen moving in long lines.
KANAWAI.	burong bangau, ulun kĕrbau (N.B.) ?	*Ibis coromandus bubulcus.*	The Cattle Egret.
KANUYAN-RUMUT	burong layang-layang.	*Micropus affinis subfurcatus.*	The Common Swift.
KARANGAU.	burong pipit (N.B.)	*Erythrura prasina.*	The Long-tailed Munia.
KARUGUN.	pipit uban, burong pipit (N.B.), pipit padi.	*Munia maja.*	The White-headed Munia.
KAYTAN.	tupai, basing (N.B.).	*Sciuridæ.*	The generic name for Squirrels.
KILAU.	sĕmut.	*Formicidæ.*	The generic name for Ants.
KILAU ANAI.	anai-anai.	*Isoptera.*	The generic name for Termites.
KILAU KAHKUD	sĕmut hitam, sĕmut ireng.	*Dolichoderus bituberculatus.*	The Common Black, or Argentine Ant.
KILAU LAGAH.	kĕrĕngga, langa-langa (N.B.).	*Oecophylla smaragdina.*	The Red Tree Ant.
KILAU LASAS	sĕmut.	*Cremastogaster spp.*	Cocktail Ants. Small ants which make round ball-like nests particularly on rattan stems, when the stem is shaken or disturbed the ants make a loud rustling sound.

Bokan.	*Malay.*	*Technical.*	*English.*
KUHLASEH.	orang bĕlanda.	*Nasalis Larvatus.*	The Proboscis Monkey.
LAKOB.	alang (N.B.), burong lang.	*Accipitriformes.*	The generic name for hawks, kites and eagles.
LAKOB BAHKIRIH.	lang tĕmbikar, alang (N.B.), burong lang merah.	*Haliastur indus intermedius.*	The Malay Brahminy Kite.
LAMPIAS.	ulat bulu.	*Setora nitens* and larva of other *Limacodidæ* moths.	The Nettle Caterpillar or any Cater pillar with stinging hairs.
LAMPONG.	ular.		An unidentified, harmless snake.
LANGAH.	kubong.	*Galeopterus variegatus borneanus.*	The Flying Lemur.
LANGUP.	katak.	Probably *Rana spp.*	The Tree or House Frog.
LAWAH.	laba-laba.	*Arachnida.*	The generic name for Spiders.
LIHSIS.	landak.	*Trichys lipura.*	The Brush-tailed Porcupine.
LIMBATAH.	lintah.	*Hirudo sp.*	The Large Horse Leech.
LIMBUKUN.	punai (N.B.), burong punai.	*Treron vernans.*	The Common Green Pigeon.
LIMPUDUH.	pachat.		The Small Jungle Leech.
LIMUMUUD.	kumbang.	*Xylocopa latipes.*	The Carpenter Bee.
LINGINGEYT.	kalajĕngking.	*Heterometrus spp.*	The generic name for Scorpions.
LINGUANG.	chaching tanah.	*Oligochæta* (*Pheretima*, *Megascolex*, etc., etc.)	The Earthworms, and Common Round Worms found in the stomach.
	chaching perut.	*Nematoidea* (*Ascaris*, etc.).	
LIPUS.	lipas.	*Blattidæ.*	The generic name for Cockroaches.
LUGUM.	burong pipit. (N.B.).	*Munia leucogastroides* ?.	The White-bellied Munia.
LUING.			An unidentified, short, fat snake.
LUKUP.	ĕnggang gunong, burong ĕnggang.	*Rhyticeros undulatus.*	The Malaysian Wreathed Hornbill, or The Corrugated-casqued Hornbill.
LULUKOH.		*Cacomantis merulinus.*	The Brain-fever Bird.
LUNGUYAN.	babi hutan jantan.	*Sus barbatus barbatus.*	The Common Wild Boar.
MAHNINDAK.		*Pygathrix everetti.*	A Langur.
MANANAS.	pachat.		The Striped Leech.
MANGANGA-DAAT.	pĕlandok simpor (N.B.)	*Tragulus kanchil hosei.*	The Small-Mouse Deer.

Bokan.	*Malay.*	*Technical.*	*English.*
MANGUM-BOHSADUT.	ular puchok, ular kunyet,	*Dryophis* sp.	An unidentified, small, harmless, green snake.
MANGUMBUS TOGUP.	gajah.	*Elephas indicus.*	The Borneo Elephant. See also GADINGAN.
MANINGKO-KOROK.	tĕkukor (N.B.), mĕrbok, kĕtikir.	*Streptopelia chinensis tigrina.*	The Malayan Spotted Dove.
MASULUG.	monyet.	*Pithecoidea.*	The generic name for Monkeys.
MANTIS.	rajah udang (N.B.), burong pĕkakak.	*Alcedinidæ.*	The generic name for King-fishers.
MANTUIH.	burong ĕnggang.	*Cranorrhinus corrugatus.*	The Wrinkled Hornbill, or Blyth's Plaited-casqued Hornbill.
MANUK.	ayam.		The Domestic Fowl.
MANUK SUMING-KAWAD.	ayam dara.		A Pullet, a young domestic fowl that has not yet laid.
MANUNUSUK.	burong ular (N.B.)	*Anhinga rufa melanogaster.*	The Snake Bird, or Darter.
MAUH.	babi betina.	*Sus.*	A sow, a female pig.
MUNDULUN.	ular sawar, ular sawa batu, ular sawa chindai, ular sawa rĕndam.	*Python reticulatus.*	The Reticulated Python.
PADOK.	rama-rama ?	Lepidoptera.	A small, unidentified moth.
PAHKIAHK.		*Lobiophasis bulweri.*	Bulwer's Wattled Pheasant, or the Silver-tailed Pheasant.
PAHSISANG.	pianggang (N.B.).	*Leptocorisa acuta.*	The Rice Bug.
PAMPALIT.	burong bĕla tok, burong pĕlatok.	*Paciformes.*	The generic name for Woodpeckers.
PANTONG.	katak puru.	*Bufo* sp.	An unidentified toad with a large stomach and very short legs.
PARUNG.	lang kĕpala puteh, burong alang (N.B.), burong lang siput.	*Spizaetus cirrhatus limnaetus.*	The Changeable Hawk Eagle.
PASIK.	udang.		A Fresh-water Prawn.
PAYOH.	payau (N.B.), rusa.	*Rusa unicolor equinus.*	The Sambhur Deer.
PEPAYT.	ikan.		The generic name for fish.
PIKUT.	pikat.	*Tabanidæ* (*Tabanus, Chrysops, Haematopota spp.*)	The Horse Fly.
PIRIT.	burong pipit.	*Ploceidæ.*	The generic name for Rice-Birds.
PULIAS.	nyamok.	*Culicidæ* (*Megarhinus, Anopheles, Culex,* etc.).	The generic name for Mosquitos.
PUNGYIT.	kabilau (N.B.), kĕlawar.	*Chiroptera.*	The generic name for Bats.

Bokan.	*Malay.*	*Technical.*	*English.*
PUWK.	puak (N.B.), burong hantu.	*Otus* sp.	An unidentified Scop's Owl.
SAAHI.	katak.	*Rana* sp.	A large, slippery, unidentified, edible frog.
SAMBULAI.	chaching pĕrut.	*Nematoidea* (*Ascaris*, etc.).	The common thread-worms found in the stomach.
SANGANG.	burong torak, burong ĕnggang, burong tĕbang rumah mĕntuwa.	*Rhinoplax vigil.*	The Helmeted Hornbill, or the Solid Casqued Hornbill.
SANGKUKUD.	burong ĕnggang, ĕnggang bulu.	*Berenicornis comatus.*	The Long-crested Hornbill or the White Headed Hornbill.
SANGKULI-YABANG.	kupu-kupu.	*Lepidoptera.*	The generic name for Butterflies.
SANIT.	kutu, kutu anjing, kutu babi.	*Ixodes* spp.	A large fleshy tick found on dogs and pigs.
SANSAL-LUYUN.	burong chĕchawi, burong hamba kĕra.	*Dicruridæ.*	The generic name for Drongos.
SANSA-WAREH.		*Doliophis bivirgatus.* (?)	A snake with a red head and a red tail.
SIBUBUH.	jintek-jintek.	*Culicidæ.*	The generic name for Mosquito Larva.
SIKUK.		*Pygathrix hosei.*	A Langur.
SIMPAHTU-TUDIN.	tĕnun-tĕnun.	*Odonata.*	The generic name for Dragon Flies.
SIMPALILI.		*Tarsius spectrum borneanus.*	The Tarsier.
SIMPOON.	tikus bulan (N.B.), tikus ambang bulan.	*Gymnura rafflesi.*	The Moon Rat.
SIRAK.	burong.		The generic name for Birds.
SUANG.	buwaya.	*Crocodilus porosus.*	The Common River Crocodile.
SUDIB.	kutu babi (N.B.)	*Holothyrus.* (?)	A very small, hard tick found on dogs and pigs. Very numerous.
SUDUM.	sĕmut.		A very small red, house ant.
SUNTUB.	ular tĕrbang (N.B.)	*Chrysopelea sp.*	The "Flying" Snake.
SUYAN.	kura-kura.	*Testudo sp.* (?)	An unidentified Tortoise.
TAHKANG.	katak bĕtong.	*Callula pulchra* (?).	The Common Rain Frog. The Bull-frog?.
TAHTAKINUN—NAH-RUMUT.	musang (N.B.), musang jĕbat.	*Viverra tangalunga.*	The Civet Cat.
TAMBAIUN-GAN.	badak (N.B.), badak kĕrbau.	*Rhinoceros* (*Ceratorhinus*) *sumatranus.*	The Sumatran Rhinnoceros.

Bokan.	*Malay.*	*Technical.*	*English.*
TAMPIASAN.	katak puru.		An unidentified, very large Toad.
TANTAG.	basing (N.B.), tupai.	*Sciurus prevosti caroli.*	Prevost's squirrel.
TANTARAU.	berbalan (N.B.), burong kĕtok-kĕtok.	*Caprimulgidæ.*	The generic name for Nightjars.
TAPIH.	kumbang.	*Coleoptera.*	The generic name for Beetles.
TATAKINUN.	rimau dahan (N.B.), harimau dahan.	*Felis nebulosa.*	The Clouded Leopard.
TAUWAN.	pĕrgum.	*Ducula aenea.*	The Green Imperial Pigeon.
TELONG.	baring-baring (N.B.), anjing ayer bĕrang-bĕrang, mĕmbĕrang.	*Cynogale bennetti.*	The Otter-Civet.
TIKUS.	tikus rumah (N.B.)	*Rattus rattus diardi.*	The Common House Rat. See also BEGOUI.
TIKUS TOBOH.	tikus hutan (N.B.)	*Rattus spp.*	The jungle Rat. See also BEGOUI.
TINTIWAYAN.	layang-layang.	*Collocalia spp.*	The generic name for Swiftlets that make edible bird's nests.
TIOH.	tiyong.	*Gracula javana javana.*	The Minah Bird, or Malayan Grackle.
TUDUH.		*Nesictis (Helictis) everetti.*	The Ferret-Badger.
TUGOH.	kijang.	*Muntiacus muntjac rubidus.*	The Barking Deer.
TUGUNUK.	agas.	*Ceratopogonidæ (Culicoides* spp. etc.)	The Common Sandfly.
TUNTULU-MOH.	kutu anjing.	*Aphaniptera.*	The Common Flea.
TURAIOH.	biyawak.	*Varanus* spp.	The Monitor Lizard.
TURANG-KONG.		*Timaliidæ.*	The generic name for Babblers.
TUTUYAN.	ular tĕdong sĕlar, ular tedong abu.	*Naia bungarus.*	The Hamadryad or King Cobra.
TUWOH.	kuwau, burong kuwang raya, kĕroai (N.B.).	*Argusianus argus argus.*	The Argus Pheasant.
UGOG.	bĕrok.	*Macacus nemestrinus.*	The Pig-tailed Monkey.
UKUH.	anak anjing.	*Canis familiaris.*	A Puppy, a young domestic dog.
ULUD.	ulat, giok (N.B.).	*Lepidoptera.*	The generic name for caterpillar, larva grub or maggot.
UMBUSAN.	musang (N.B.) musang bulan.	*Paradoxurus hermaphroditus sabanus.*	The Long-tailed Civet Cat.
UNGAU.	kuching.	*Felis catus domesticus.*	The Domestic Cat.
UPUR.	ular.		A small unidentified snake.

Acknowledgments.

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ULUN-NO-BOKUN (MURUT) FOLKLORE.

By H. G. KEITH.

The Magaiyun.

The following account of the *magaiyun* is current among the Ulun-no-Bokun people of the Bokan District, Interior Residency, North Borneo.

Ulun-no-Bokun are classified by Rutter* as Peluan, a sub-group of Hill Murut, but this classification is admitted neither by the writer or by the natives themselves. According to the natives themselves Ulun-no-Bokun (Men of (the) Bokan *i.e.* Bokan people) include the inhabitants of Kampong Tulid, Kampong Puah, Kampong Tiong, Kampong Tambalang, and Kampong Kindasan, a series of small *kampong* between Keningau and the headwaters of the Kinabatangan River.

The *magaiyun* are fabulous beasts somewhat similar in appearance to the *tatakinun* (the clouded leopard, *Felis nebulosa*) but many times larger being about the size of a large Sambhur deer. These monsters are equipped with bat-like wings, can fly with ease, and have their lairs, which are like large deep caves, in the highest hills. In the Bokan District there are said to be seven hills each containing the lair of a *magaiyun*, as follows: Juruk mogong, Mata tadong, Makalaming, Mohlanulan, Tahkin, Mamboh and Roungon.

The *magaiyun* are *kabal* (proof against weapons) and are entirely carnivorous feeding on men and animals. Years ago when the *magaiyun* were very numerous in the Suk Valley they are said to have destroyed practically all of the inhabitants of the Hulu Kinabatangan. *Magaiyun* have the facility of being able to call *tugooh* (Barking deer, *Muntiacus muntjac rubidus*) and these are their main article of diet now that only three *magaiyun* survive and have foresworn the eating of humans.

The following story relates how the survivors of the villages which had been desolated by the *magaiyun* plotted and accomplished the downfall of these monsters.

I. The Magaiyun of Roungon.

" Once upon a time many many years ago there were seven *magaiyun*, who by their continual feeding on humans, destroyed in one village alone, in the Hulu Kinabatangan, over 200 people."

" These monsters would take turns coming every day at midday and at each visit carried away to eat either one or two persons. Later when the monsters realized that the people were waiting to kill them they changed their practice and came only at night. The depredations of these *magaiyun* continued until out of all the villages in the Hulu Kinabatangan only ten people were left."

*Rutter, O. " The Pagans of North Borneo." Hutchinson & Co., (Publishers), Ltd., 1929.

" Among the surviving ten people was a beautiful virgin together with her father and mother. The parents of this girl were desperately afraid that the *magaiyun* would eventually carry her away, so in order to shield her as far as possible, they made her sleep between them."

" One morning early the father and mother awoke to find the daughter had disappeared and they knew at once that the *magaiyun* had carried her away. This so infuriated the father that he called together several of his friends to plot revenge against these wicked monsters."

" After a great deal of thought a plan was made. The plotters selected one of the other survivors who was no longer any good, (*oripun mahtuoh*, an old slave) and wrapped him up in *padi* husks (*apol no belud*). From the fact that these people were able to wrap up the old slave in *padi* husks, an impossible operation for ordinary people, it can be seen that the plotters were *mopandai kapioh* (very clever)."

" Having wrapped the old slave in *padi* husks they then proceeded to make him *kapunan*. To accomplish this they offered him all sorts of things to eat, but never once gave him the thing he chose. Under this treatment the old slave soon became *kapunan*. Now the object in making the old slave *kapunan* was in order to make sure that when the time was ripe the *magaiyun* would select him to take away, because when a man is *kapunan*, crocodiles (*suang*) and all dangerous animals (*basibasing maraat*) will attack him."

" When it was decided that the old slave was *kapunan* he was placed, still wrapped up in *padi* husks, in the house of the girl's parents, and left there all night."

" Next morning the bereaved father and his friends returned to the house and found the old slave was no longer there. They then searched outside the house for the *apol-no-belud* that would fall from the old slave after he had been seized by the *magaiyun*. After a short search some *padi* husks were found and the father and his friends followed the trail of fallen *apol-no-belud* which eventually led them to Roungun, the lair of the *magaiyun*."

" Having located the lair of the *magaiyun*, the men next went off and collected *damar* until they had 100 bags. They then collected banana stems until they had more than 10 pikul. The men then stealthily moved the *damar* and the banana stems to the lair of the *magaiyun*."

" When all was ready they first threw the banana stems far back into the mouth of the lair, next they threw in the *damar* and finally the whole mouth of the lair was filled up with firewood cut from the adjacent forest."

" As soon as this had been completed they set fire to the firewood which in turn fired the *damar*. So great was the fire that it burned for two days and two nights."

" When the fire had burnt itself out they pulled away the banana stems that closed the throat of the lair. Inside they found six dead *magaiyun* and one *magaiyun* that was blind in one eye. During their death struggles the six dead *magaiyun* had bitten the banana stems which had become so hot that the teeth remained imbedded in them."

" The men took these teeth and kept them, making them into charms (*tinogum*). The teeth made very potent charms, for the wearer of one of these teeth was forever safeguarded against catching any disease or sickness."

" The people who accomplished the downfall of the *magaiyun* are now dead (from old age) but their descendants still have the teeth to this very day."

" Roungon, the place where the *magaiyun* were killed can be seen and recognised even to-day by the marks of the tremendous conflagration, for the remains of the burnt *damar* flowed down the hillside like concrete, right to the very edge of the river where it can still be seen."

" The surviving *magaiyun*, which was blind in one eye, was not killed by the men as it was recognised by them as being no longer bad, and therefore it was permitted to go free. Now, even to this day, whenever a person in the Bokan District is *kapunan* the good *magaiyun* cries out."

It should not be thought that all *magaiyun* are bad, in fact it was only these particular seven *magaiyun* inhabiting Roungon that were really bad. Often a good *magaiyun* will perch within 5 chains of a long house. On occasion good *magaiyun* have been known to give charms to people.

The following is an account of a good *magaiyun* and how it presented some charms to a benighted hunter.

II. Sampangoh and the Good Magaiyun.

" Now this is the story of Sampangoh of Kampong Pauh who has but recently died of old age. Sampangoh had a number of charms which were given to him by a good *magaiyun* and this is true as he has only recently died, and there are persons still alive who had the details of how these charms were given to Sampangoh from Sampangoh's own lips."

" One day Sampangoh was hunting in the jungle and as it became dark when he was yet far from his *kampong* he made a small *sulap* and lay down and went to sleep. About mid-night (*Kira-kira sedap tidor*) Sampangoh was awakened by the cry of a *magaiyun*, which cry may be likened to the voice of a *tawak tawak* (a deep heavy gong), and the sound of *magaiyun* wings which went " whoosh whoosh ". Although Sampangoh was very frightened when he heard these noises he did not run as he thought to himself that " If I remain very quiet the monster may pass by ". However, to Sampangoh's consternation the *magaiyun* instead of passing proceeded to perch in the tree directly under which was Sampangoh's *sulap*."

" At first Sampangoh's thoughts turned to flight—but then he thought there was no merit in running " I will remain quiet and if the *magaiyun* comes down I will spear it." Thus between desire to run and fear to remain Sampangoh crouched for perhaps half an hour, but still the *magaiyun* made no move to molest him."

" Plucking up courage Sampangoh peered out from his *sulap* and saw a number of objects like lighted lamps falling around his *sulap* from the tree. These strange objects continued to fall until the ground around his *sulap* appeared to be lighted up as if by many lamps."

" So interested in these strange objects became Sampangoh that he emerged from the *sulap* and began to pick up these stone-like objects which glowed like lamps. To his surprise the stones were not hot and further, had he no sooner picked them up than they ceased to glow. In the meantime the *magaiyun* sprang from the tree and flew away."

"Sampangoh then crept into his *sulap* and with the first signs of morning he seized the stones he had collected and hastened to his *kampong* in fear that the *magaiyun* would return and take back the stones. He arrived home safely and at first told no one of his adventure—but later he was forced to do so as it was found that whoever came near to him was immediately attacked with fever. Sampangoh lived for many years to retain the stones he had collected and was never molested by *magaiyun*. These stones were later called *pangindapoh* and to this day they are used for curing various sicknesses—which they draw out when applied to the body.

" The stones were of several colours, some were black, some red, and others white. That these *pangindapoh* were valuable there is no doubt for *Towkay* Angun of Keningau offered Sampangoh $50.00 for a red *pangindapoh*, and everyone knows that a Chinse would not offer money for something that was not valuable. Sampangoh did not, however, sell the red *pangindapoh* to *Towkay* Angun."

A FEW ULUN-NO-BOKAN (MURUT) TABOOS.

By H. G. KEITH.

The Ulun-no-Bokan are a division of the tribe generally classed as Muruts, inhabiting an area between Kampong Kindasan and Kampong Labau, but not including Kampong Labau, in the Keningau District, Interior Residency of North Borneo. The word *iliun* in the Bokan dialect is an inclusive word covering all kinds of taboos, but certain taboos, while still being included under the general name *iliun*, have definite names.

In the following list, taboos without special names are all included under the general heading *iliun*.

Iliun.

(i) Death taboo.

When a person dies no work may be done by anyone living in the house for from one to two days. If work is done there will be a poor *padi* crop and the cassava roots will be rotten.

(ii) Feast taboo.

After a feast no work may be done for one or two days or the *padi* will be as though burnt.

(iii) *Tuba* taboo.

After using *tuba* in large quantities for poisoning fish no work may be done on the following day or the *padi* will not be ' fat '.

(iv) Trap taboo.

When setting a trap no one must speak or call out lest no animal will enter the trap.

(v) *Kapur* taboo.

When searching for *kuyong* (crystalline camphor, the product of a tree *Dryobalanops aromatica*, Becc.) the inhabitants of the hunter's house may not go to another house to sleep or no camphor crystals will be found when the tree is felled.

(vi) *Kapur* taboo.

While searching for *kuyong* the inhabitants of the hunter's house may not eat cassava flour or the camphor crystals will be fine like flour.

(vii) *Kapur* taboo.

If any woman, living in the same house as the camphor hunters, menstruates during the period the men are searching for camphor the camphor crystals will be as though bloodstained.

(viii) *Kapur* taboo.

If any woman, living in the same house as the camphor hunters, indulges in illicit sexual intercourse during the

absence of the men the camphor will be of the consistency and appearance of semen.

(ix) *Kapur* taboo.

If a man dies in the house of the hunters during their absence, or should a relative of one of the hunters die during the absence of the men searching for camphor, earth will be found mixed with the camphor crystals.

(x) Food taboo.

Certain animals may not be eaten by certain individuals lest they fall sick. (see also under *Mampali balui*.)

Mambiag.

(xi) Sickness taboo.

When a man is ill the ' priest ' and ten men will come and sing over him. When they leave no one may enter the house for from two to four days.

(xii) Sickness taboo.

When a man is very ill a *tatandu* (sign) is put up outside the house which indicates that no one other than the inmates of the house may enter. If the *tatandu* is ignored the sick person may die.

Magulid.

(xiii) Death taboo.

When a person dies the immediate relatives must not see or use the dead person's belongings. This taboo may be operative for as long as eight months in the case of a greatly mourned or well liked person.

Mampali balui.

(xiv) Pregnancy taboo.

As soon as it is certain that a women is pregnant the doors and windows in the house may not be closed until the child is born. Should the doors and windows be closed the child will not emerge. This applies generally only to the first pregnancy.

(xv) Pregnancy taboo.

During the time a woman is pregnant the fire in the house may not be permitted to die down between six p.m. and early morning. If the fire is allowed to die down in the night, so will the child die. This applies generally only to a first pregnancy.

(xvi) Pregnancy taboo.

Neither the husband or wife, during the latter's pregnancy may pick up or touch a deformed or double banana lest twins be born. This applies generally only to a first pregnancy.

(xvii) Pregnancy taboo.

Neither husband or wife, during the latter's pregnancy, may eat venison. If venison is eaten the child will be mad, or will be afflicted with *sakit balang*, a disease which appears to be similar to leprosy (?) or syphilis (?). This generally only applies to the first pregnancy.

(xviii) Pregnancy taboo.

Neither husband or wife, during the latter's pregnancy, may eat the flesh of *bumbaras* (Bos sondaicus lowi Lydd.). If the flesh of *bumbaras* is eaten the child will be subject to periodic (monthly) fits, called *bulanun* (epilepsy ?) in which foam comes from the mouth.

(xix) Pregnancy taboo.

Pork only should be eaten during pregnancy lest the child when born have the appearance of the animal eaten. This applies generally only to the first pregnancy.

(xx) Pregnancy taboo.

Neither husband or wife, during the latter's pregnancy may eat the bird called *bohlun* (Fireback pheasant, *Lophura rufa*), lest the child when it reaches the age of 3 or 4 years, and proves to be a clever child, will die, if praised.

Sarawang.

(xxi) Full-moon taboo.

No work may be done in the *umawh* (clearing) during the time of a full-moon or wild animals will eat the crop.

Talikud.

(xxii) Waning moon taboo.

When the moon has waned to such an extent that it does not rise until a time corresponding to 9.00 p.m. no work may be done in *umawh* (clearings) or persons so working will fall sick or die.

SOME ULUN-NO-BOKAN (MURUT) CHARMS.

By H. G. KEITH.

The generic name for charms in the Bokan dialect is *tinogum*, the following whilst still classed as *tinogum* have specific names.

Susungug.

A charm fed to dogs to make them good at hunting. If the particular charm happens to be a stone it is first boiled in water and the water poured down the dog's throat.

Pananam bilud.

A charm placed in with the *padi* seed to ensure a crop with fat grains.

Tambar.

A charm used as a prevention against catching sickness. The charm is soaked in water and the water used for bathing.

Panginging dapoh.

A charm used to bring good luck in trading or when negotiating a dowry. To be effective the charm should ensure cheapness when buying, and a low dowry when negotiating for a bride.

TWO MALAY RHYMES.

By A. W. HAMILTON.

A Nursery Rhyme from Penang.

Anak musang jantan,
Ibu-nya bĕtina ;
Sanggul lipat pandan
Bagai kipas China.

Bewak pintal tali :
Pintal dalam hutan.
Sĕlawat tiga kali
Sampai rumah bisan.

Bisan tanak minyak :
Tanak balik pintu.
Gĕrak anak pinak
Sambut anak mĕnantu.

Anak musang kudong :
Jĕlai bawah batang.
Bĕlum pasang bĕdil,
Mampĕlai sudah datang.

Tĕtak kayu pinang
Sandar pintu hulu.
Abang 'nak bĕrtunang
Bayar hutang dahulu.

Tĕtak kayu sĕna
Buat kayu api.
Jantan ta' bĕrguna,
Buat sapu kaki.

A See-saw Song

Enjut-ĕnjut papan :
Sĕrindit daun buloh.
Anak-ku, 'nak makan,
Puchok pakis bĕlum tumboh.

CORRIGENDA.

By T. D. HUGHES, M.C.S.

The following misprints should be corrected in my translation entitled—

A Portuguese Account of Johore
Vol. XIII part II 1935 p. 111.

P. 115, lines 12 and footnote " Malacca " should be deleted and " Malaca " substituted therefor.

p. 116, lines 30 and 31, " The Dutch carried vessels out of their movement " should be deleted and " The Dutch vessels carried out their movement " substituted therefor.

p. 118, line 46, " Duarate Pacheco " should be deleted and "Duarte Pacheco " substituted therefor.

p. 119, line 11, " Malacca " should be deleted and " Malaca " substituted therefor.

p. 122 add to footnote.

(Malay) Si-Bandar " :—

—harbour master.

p. 123 delete footnote " on the Portuguese Settlement, Coromandel Coast " and substitute therefor " The Portuguese Settlement on the Coromandel Coast."

THE FLORA OF GUNONG TAPIS IN PAHANG:

With notes on the altitudinal zonation of the forests of the Malay Peninsula.

By C. F. SYMINGTON.

Plates XIX to XXIII.

Gunong Tapis is a mountain situated in the Mukim of Ulu Kuantan, in the Kuantan District of Pahang—a coastal district in the centre of the East Coast of the peninsular portion of British Malaya. The summit, which is 4,958 feet above sea level and approximately 35 miles in a direct line from the coast, is the highest peak of the "East Coast Coulisse"—a range of mountains forming the western boundary of Trengganu and continuing as a high mountain range southwards across the eastern portion of Pahang to Gunong Serudom. South of the Pahang river low hills, running approximately parallel to the coast, mark the continuation of the range into Johore where it is represented by Gunong Belumut and Gunong Panti. The summit of Tapis marks the north-west corner of the concession of the Pahang Consolidated Company, Ltd.—the Sungei Lembing headquarters of the company being only twelve miles distant—and on the southern and eastern slopes of the mountain the Kuantan river has its source.

On account of its comparative inaccessibility the mountain is rarely visited and has been climbed by Europeans only on three occasions. The first ascent was made by an officer of the Survey Department when the trigonometrical beacon was erected about 1909. In August 1932 the mountain was again climbed by Messrs. G. S. Mottram and G. R. Rogers, respectively Mining Engineer and Prospector on the staff of the Pahang Consolidated Company. Their trip, conducted from Sungei Lembing and completed in six days, was mainly for the purpose of making geological and topographical investigations, and was notable for the discovery of sedimentary rocks on the upper slopes of the mountain which was previously thought to be of granite (*Geolog. Dep. Ann. Rep.* 1932, p. 4).

In the report of Messrs. Mottram and Rogers, kindly communicated to me by Mr. V. B. C. Baker, it is stated that "at about 800 feet from the summit the ordinary jungle gave way to stunted trees and scrubble—there is a great depth of moss under foot" and mention is made of "insect plants" (*Nepenthes*), "small blue flowers resembling the blue-bell" (*Burmannia disticha*), and "a type of orchid" (probably *Arundina*). No more was known concerning the flora of Tapis prior to our visit.

The trip, upon which this paper is based, was made from 10th to 17th June, 1934. The writer was accompanied by Mr. F. H. Landon, District Forest Officer, Kuantan, and 'Che Kiah, a collector from the Botanic Gardens, Singapore, was attached to the party. We are indebted to Mr. V. B. C. Baker for his most

generous hospitality and numerous kindnesses, and I should like to take this opportunity of thanking him for these courtesies which made our visit to his domain so enjoyable.

This paper is primarily a systematic record of the plants collected on the upper slopes of Tapis. The collection is small, comprising only 99 numbers, but it includes several new species and a number of comparatively rare mountain plants. The new species described are *Symplocos Bakeri*, *Microtropis tenuis*, and *Ficus Landonii*. In the identification of specimens I have received much assistance from Mr. Henderson of the Botanic Gardens, Singapore, which is gratefully acknowledged. I have also to thank Mr. Holttum for kindly identifying the ferns, Mr. Willbourn for reporting on rock specimens, and Dr. van Steenis for an expression of opinion on the species described as new.

In the narrative of our trip I have recorded my impressions of the flora as we progressed. These are necessarily sketchy in the lower zones but the summit zone is described in greater detail. Before proceeding to the narrative I shall permit myself a digression in explanation of the nomenclature I have used for the vegetative zones and plant communities encountered.

Many of the mountains in the Peninsula have been climbed by botanists who have recorded their observations and discoveries in numerous interesting papers, some of which have been published in this Journal. According to the individual interests of the botanist these accounts have dealt mainly with the descriptions of the plant communities encountered, their floral analysis, or phytogeographical relationships. All are interesting and instructive, but a lack of uniformity in nomenclature of the plant communities makes comparative study somewhat difficult, while concentration upon the flora of the mountain tops and inadequate attention to the altitudinal zonation at lower levels inhibits conception of the vegetation of the mountain as a whole. There are, of course, very poignant practical reasons for this. Some explorers have not had the opportunity of examining many mountains and they cannot be certain that a community they examine is really comparable with some other, possibly described very briefly by another botanist. The difficulties in the way of adequate study of the lower zones are greater than in those above, because the associations at lower altitudes are usually more complex and collection, particularly of the dominants, is more difficult. Moreover the lower zones do not have the irresistible allure of the mountain tops.

In the adjoining territories of Burma, Siam, the Sunda Islands, and the Philippines, classifications of altitudinal zones and types of vegetation have been attempted, but this ecological aspect of the flora of the Malay Peninsula has been almost entirely neglected. Although there is undoubtedly a close similarity between the altitudinal zonation and many of the plant associations of these territories and those in Malaya, none of the classifications applied to them is entirely suitable for adoption here. It is therefore incumbent upon us to work out a classification of our own.

As one ascends any of the mountains in the Peninsula one notices a gradual transition in the vegetation from the dipterocarp forests at the base to (provided the mountain is high enough) the mossy forest or xerophytic scrub found upon the summit. From observations on the ascent of a number of our mountains I have found that it is usually possible to delimit the following zones—(1) *lower dipterocarp forest*, (2) *hill dipterocarp forest*, (3) *high hill dipterocarp forest*, (4) *mountain oak forest*, and (5) *mountain ericaceous forest*. Although it may be difficult to find an analogy on all our mountains for types of vegetation met with in the zone above the *mountain oak forest*, the first four zones are not difficult to detect. On isolated mountains such as Gunong Belumut (3,321 feet), however, there may be a telescoping of the upper zones so that there is a very short transition zone between dipterocarp forest and mossy forest. *

The altitudinal limits and the specific composition of these zones may vary considerably, and a study of these variations makes a convenient basis for the comparative analysis of the flora on different mountains. With this is view, I have first briefly defined the zones and then recorded (in the account of our trip) our observations concerning them on the ascent of Tapis.

Dipterocarp Forests.

The low-lying land throughout the Peninsula is clothed with forest of this type, except where the original jungle has been cleared, or where special edaphic conditions promote the formation of peculiar plant associations (*e.g. basong* (Alstonia spathulata Bl.) swamp). These latter are usually of limited extent. Dipterocarp forest also ascends the hills, attaining a height of fully 4,000 feet on many of our higher mountains. Throughout the altitudinal range of the dipterocarp zone there is a certain homogeneity, but a very definite zonation in the specific composition of the dominants is noticeable as one ascends, and I find it convenient to recognize the following altitudinal subdivisions of the dipterocarp forest—

(1) *Lower dipterocarp forest zone*—briefly this includes all dipterocarp jungle on flat land, or low hills, below the limits of the next zone : it is characterized by the preponderance of typically lowland species of dipterocarps in the upper storey.

(2) *Hill dipterocarp forest zone*—This is recognizable by the predominance of typically hill species as dominants. *Shorea Curtisii* Dyer (seraya), the main indicator species, is readily recognizable by its light grey foliage which sometimes gives the trees the appearance of giant cauliflowers on the hill side. Normally, on the slopes of inland mountain ranges, the transition to this type is not evident until above the 1,000 foot contour. On coastal ranges,

*An interesting note on this phenomenon of telescoping is made by van Steenis in *Bull. Gard. Bot. Bog.* Serie III, Vol. XII, p. 176.

however, (*e.g.* on Penang Hill) *hill dipterocarp forest* may run down almost to sea level, while forest of the lower dipterocarp type may sometimes be found in inland valleys above 2,000 feet.

Some of the lowland dipterocarp species are to be found throughout the range of *hill dipterocarp forest* but they become scarce towards its upper limits, and are normally absent from the *high hill dipterocarp forest.*

(3) *High hill dipterocarp forest zone* is that belt of hill forest between the altitude at which *Shorea Curtisii* ceases to dominate and the dipterocarp altitudinal limit. Again the transition is gradual but this type commences where *S. Curtisii* becomes scarce and a few exclusively high hill forms of dipterocarps, such as *S. platyclados* V. Sl. and *S. ciliata* King, appear. On inland mountain slopes this transition is normally somewhere between the 2,000 foot and 3,000 foot contours, but again the transition is at lower altitudes near the sea. The upper limit of the dipterocarp zone on high inland mountain ranges is, as I have stated, about 4,000 feet altitude but on lesser, more isolated mountains, such as Kedah Peak or Gunong Belumut, the limit may be little more than half this height.

Mountain Forests.

It is convenient to consider all types of forest beyond the dipterocarp limit as mountain forest in which two zones are recognizable—*mountain oak forest* and, what I shall call tentatively, *mountain ericaceous forest.*

(4) *Mountain oak forest zone*—Brown (*Vegetation of the Philippine Mountains*, p. 82) has described the *Quercus-Neolitsea* association of the Philippine "mid-mountain forests", into which the dipterocarp forests blend, as an evergreen two-storeyed high forest differing from the dipterocarp forests mainly in the absence of the dominants of the latter. This is the obvious difference between our dipterocarp forests and the lower levels of *mountain oak forest.* The dipterocarps on inland mountain ranges begin to disappear above about 3,700 feet and the change is almost complete before the 4,000 foot contour is reached. This is accompanied by a gradual substitution of lowland forms of lower-storey trees by mountain forms that are characteristic of *mountain oak forest.* Among these, the oaks are usually sufficiently numerous and conspicuous to give their name to forest of this type. Other species typical of *mountain oak forest* are *Bucklandia, Rhodoleia, Tristania, Adinandra, Gordonia, Engelhardtia, Calophyllum, Podocarpus,* and *Dacrydium.* This is the type of jungle around Fraser's Hill (described, but not named, by Burkill and Holttum in *Gdns. Bull.* III p. 19 et seq. 1923) and Cameron Highlands. It is evidently very close

in floristic composition to the "damp hill forests" of Burma described by Kurz. Towards the altitudinal limits of this zone the forest is frequently mossy, but mossy forest finds its fullest expression in the next zone.

(5) *Mountain ericaceous forest zone*—Until I have had the opportunity of studying the zonation on more of our higher mountains, in particular Gunong Tahan, my notes on this zone must be regarded as purely tentative. On our higher mountains *mountain oak forest* appears to change to forest of this type around the 5,000 foot to 6,000 foot contour. *Mountain ericaceous forest* may, however, be found on exposed ridges and summits at lower altitudes where increased exposure, or possibly unfavourable edaphic factors, are against the development of *mountain oak forest*. The difference is mainly in specific composition accompanied by general dwarfing of the dominant trees and, normally, an increased development of moss. Oaks are not absent from the *mountain ericaceous forest* but they are limited in number to a few species, such as *Pasania lampadaria* Gamb. and *P. rassa* Gamb. The prevalence of ericaceous tree species not normally found in lower zones, such as *Pieris ovalifolia* Don., *Vaccinium bancanum* Miq., *V. longibracteatum* Ridl., and *Rhododendron Wrayi* King, prompts me to suggest the above name for this zone.

The mossy forest upon ridges and the upper slopes of mountains on Cameron Highlands, and that of lesser extent around Fraser's Hill, belongs to the *mountain ericaceous forest* zone. It is probable that the third "type" of forest (above 4,700 feet) recorded by Burkill and Holttum (*Gdns. Bull. S.S.* III, p. 26) from the latter locality is *mountain ericaceous forest*. In specific composition this type evidently approaches closely to Kurz's upper "drier hill forests". The recognition of *mountain ericaceous forest* and the transition from *mountain oak forest* to forest of this type is complicated on some of our mountains by the presence of relatively open xerophytic plant communities. Such communities may be in the nature of edaphic or biotic climaxes, or relics of an older flora—but this is a complex problem to which I have contributed some notes in a discussion of the scrub communities on Tapis.

THE ASCENT OF TAPIS.

LOWER DIPTEROCARP FOREST ZONE.

Mr. Landon and I followed the route previously taken by Messrs. Mottram and Rodgers. Leaving the open country around Sungei Lembing we entered the jungle and followed a low ridge (300-450 feet) which led us to the Sungei Jin. A little felling had taken place at the more accessible end of this ridge but the jungle was for the most part untouched. Here we obtained some idea of the composition of the *lower dipterocarp forest* in the neighbourhood

of Sungei Lembing. *Shorea eximia* (Miq.) Scheff. (meranti kepong),* *S. acuminata* Dyer (meranti rambai daun), *Balanocarpus pahangensis* Foxw. (damar katup), and *Dipterocarpus verrucosus* Foxw. (keruing merah) were the most common dipterocarps, although the trees of the first species were all small. It is probable that the large specimens have been killed by the removal of bark for the flooring and walls of native houses (*meranti kepong* is in high favour for this purpose). Other dipterocarps recorded were *Shorea bracteolata* Dyer (meranti pa'ang), *S. dealbata* Foxw. (meranti bumbong), *S. singkawang* Miq. (meranti sengkawang), *S. macroptera* Dyer (melantai), *S. dasyphylla* Foxw. (meranti batu), *S. parvifolia* Dyer (meranti sarang punai), *S. leprosula* Miq. (meranti tembaga), *Dipterocarpus Kunstleri* King (keruing), *D. costulatus* V. Sl. (keruing), *D. crinitus* Dyer (keruing mempelas) *Anisoptera laevis* Ridl. (mersawa), *Hopea? borneensis* Heim (merawan), and *Hopea* sp. Common among non-dipterocarp species were *Melanorrhoea Wallichii* Hook. f. (rengas) and *Tarrietia simplicifolia* Mast. (mengkulang). We noted four species of *Palaquium* (nyatoh), including *P. ferox* H. J. L. and *P. rostratum* Burck. Trees of the valuable hard-wooded species were scarce but we saw a few good-sized *Shorea laevis* Ridl. (kumus) and *S. Foxworthyi* Sym. (balau bukit). Along the highest portions of this ridge the jungle tended to develop into the *hill dipterocarp* type, there being a few *Shorea Curtisii* Dyer (seraya), *Dipterocarpus grandiflorus* Blco. (keruing belimbing), *Balanocarpus multiflorus* (Burck) Sym. (damar hitam), *Anisoptera Curtisii* King (mersawa), and *Vatica cuspidata* (Ridl.) (resak laru).

Having reached the Sungei Jin we followed down the stream for a little over a mile until it joined the Sungei Kuantan. On our way we collected a few quite common stenophyllous riparian plants and added to our list the following dipterocarps—*Dryobalanops oblongifolia* Dyer (keladan), *Shorea guiso* (Blco) Bl. (membatu), *S. lepidota* (Korth.) Bl. (meranti langgong), *S. resinosa* Foxw. (meranti belang), and *Dipterocarpus Baudii* Korth. (keruing bulu). At the mouth of the Jin, and along the valley of the Kuantan, considerable areas of jungle have died as a result of excessive silting—probably during the floods of 1926. Among the bleached stems of the dead jungle a new forest is appearing, consisting largely of *Anthocephalus cadamba* (Roxb.) Miq., with an undergrowth of *Melastoma*.

Proceeding up the Kuantan, trudging tediously through the sandy shallows of the river, we reached Pasir Serai (a large raised sandbank) where we camped for the night. The following day we continued up the open sandy bed of the Kuantan river to where the Dagut enters from the right. From here we followed the Dagut, a narrow rocky stream with deep pools—a pleasant change from the glaring sandbanks of the Kuantan. Some four miles from the *kuala* the valley again opens out, the stream bed becomes more stony than rocky, and some sandbanks appear.

*The Malay names given are those appearing as preferred names in the List of Botanical Equivalents published by the F.M.S. Forest Dept.

On one of these we camped. Next morning we continued up the Sungei Dagut until, at 9 a.m., we reached a spot where the stream divides. The right-hand branch, which is slightly the larger, retains the name Dagut but the left-hand, which we followed, is nameless.

From the Kuala Jin to this point we had collected little of botanical interest, the jungle being obscured by the fringe of typical riparian vegetation, or secondary growth, that lines the stream beds. We were, however, able to add a few names to the list of dipterocarps in the neighbourhood by observation of fallen leaves. We noted leaves of *Shorea globifera* Ridl. (meranti pipit), *S. ochrophloia* Sym. (seraya batu), *S. hopeifolia* (Heim,) Sym. (damar siput jantan), *S. ?elliptica* Burck (balau tembaga), and both the Pahang and Selangor forms of *S. parvifolia* (meranti sarang punai) (vide *Gdns. Bull. S.S.*, VII, p. 138). Other records were *Parashorea aptera* V. Sl. (smooth-leaved form) and an undescribed species of *Hopea*, represented in the Forest Department collections by C. F. 5911 *etc.*

The tributary of the Dagut that we followed for about two miles is but a small highland burn, which tumbles down a narrow valley with slopes of soft red decomposed granite that bear a typical scree-side flora in which *Gleichenia* (resam) abounds.

HILL DIPTEROCARP FOREST ZONE.

We reached the Sungei Lembing party's old camp site No. 2 at 10.30 a.m., our aneroid here showing the altitude to be about 940 feet. Leaving the stream, we turned west of north and ascended steep hill slopes until we struck a well-defined ridge, about 1,600—2,000 feet high, running to the right in a north-easterly direction. We had now entered deep virgin jungle with a comparatively dense undergrowth of rotans, screw pines, wild ginger, and shrubby plants. Small trees of *Taxotrophis* were common in the underwood. The dominant dipterocarps at the lower altitudes were mainly those already recorded, *Shorea pauciflora* King (nemesu) being the only new record, but beyond the 1,000 foot contour a transition to the *hill dipterocarp* type of jungle became evident. *Shorea Curtisii* Dyer (seraya) became common around 1,500 feet and such typically hill species as *Anisoptera Curtisii* King (mersawa), *Shorea Faguetiana* Heim damar siput), *Hopea ? Dyeri* Heim (merawan), and *Dipterocarpus costatus* (keruing) appeared. In the undergrowth there was an abundance of a small-leaved *Licuala* and a *Pandanus*. A patch of *Barclaya Motleyi* Hook. f., at the head of a valley at 1,600 feet, was a surprising find, and beside our third camp there was *Teysmannia altifrons* Miq. Along the upper portions of our ridge, around 2,000 feet, there were some *Shorea platyclados* V. Sl. (meranti bukit) and *Shorea ciliata* King, indicating a change to *high hill dipterocarp* jungle.

To reach our third camp site, at about 1,700 feet, we had to descend a steep valley to a rocky stream, said to be the Ulu Kelayu, in which we noted slate " float " in some abundance.

HIGH HILL DIPTEROCARP FOREST ZONE.

The next day, Wednesday the 13th, after a late start owing to rain, we followed ridges running in a northerly direction, from 8.15 a.m. to 10 a.m., when we again descended to another rocky stream bed at 1,700 feet. This brought us to the foot of one of the main ridges that provide an approach to the summit of Tapis from the South. As we could no longer make out the tracks left by the Sungei Lembing party we decided to camp for the night at this spot, but first we ascended to 4,200 feet to ascertain whether the summit could be reached by way of this ridge. Throughout the day and the following morning we took the opportunity of observing the transition between *hill dipterocarp forest* and *high hill dipterocarp forest*. To the hill dipterocarps already recorded we added *Shorea laevis* (kumus)—a species of wide altitudinal distribution. The transition to *high hill dipterocarp* forest, indicated by the appearance of *S. platyclados* and *S. ciliata*, commenced below the 2,000 foot contour and was complete above 2,500 feet. Above this elevation only four dipterocarps were seen, namely the two last mentioned, *Hopea auriculata* Foxw., and *Hopea Beccariana* Burck. *Hopea auriculata* has previously been known only from the type collection from Pantai, Johore, and *H. Beccariana* has never been recorded so high before. *Shorea platyclados*, as usual the last out-post of the dipterocarps, was not seen above about 3,200 feet.

MOUNTAIN OAK FOREST ZONE.

As the dipterocarps disappeared, there was a marked decrease in the height of the dominant trees and *mountain oak forest* developed. Oaks, however, were less plentiful, both in number of species and in individuals, than is usual in forest of this type. The main dominants belonged to the groups *Eugenia*, *Calophyllum*, *Tristania*, *Ternstroemiaceae*, and *Lauraceae*.

At 3,300 feet our path led into a stretch of sharp stony ridge with outcrops of what appeared to be a quartzite. Here *Dacrydium elatum* appeared, and we also noted *Podocarpus neriifolius*, *Weinmannia*, *Bucklandia*, *Rhodoleia*, and *Schima*. At about 3,800 feet we made our fifth camp—near the upper limit of *mountain oak forest*, where the dominant trees were not more than 30 to 40 feet high and moss was beginning to clothe the ground and tree trunks.

We visited the summit of Tapis on the 14th and 15th June. Starting from our fifth camp at 6.30 a.m. on the 15th we reached the summit at 8 a.m. in time to enjoy, for aboug an hour, glorious views in all directions—of Gunong Benom, Gunong Tahan, the Kelantan highlands, and the China sea. That night we returned to our old camp No. 4. The following morning we made a long trek, retracing our footsteps along the Dagut, Kelayu, and Kuantan, arriving at Pasir Serai at dusk.

On Sunday 17th we completed our homeward journey, reaching Sungei Lembing at mid-day.

THE SUMMIT.

Tapis is supported by four main buttresses. Towards the north-west and south-west run to the two ridges that link this mountain with Gunong Irong and Gunong Lerek respectively. To the north-east runs the buttress that leads to the mass of hills drained by the Dagut, and towards the south runs a lesser ridge, along which our path lay, drained by the Kelayu. Above about 3,500 feet in the case of the south-west buttress, and 4,000 feet in the case of the southern, a series of more or less parallel, small ridges traverses it. These ridges differ geologically from the surrounding granite mass, being of metamorphosed shale, which Mr. Willbourn informs me is presumed to belong to the Triassic formation of quartzite and shale—the rock formation of which Gunong Tahan is mainly composed. On Tapis, as on the open " padang " of Tahan, the derivative soil supports mainly a stunted, open, scrub-like vegetation. Three major plant communities are discernible upon the shale cap of Tapis. Under the headings of *dense mossy scrub*, *open scrub*, and *dwarf scrub*, I have recorded my impressions and given short discussions on them.

DENSE MOSSY SCRUB COMMUNITY.

At 4,000 feet on the southern buttress *mountain oak forest* gives way to forest of a different type which is quite aptly described as *dense mossy scrub*. Here the upper storey consists of gnarled trees (20-30 feet high) of *Dacrydium*, *Leptospermum*, and *Baeckea*, and the lower storey of closely spaced, small, erect trees, rarely exceeding 10 feet in height, of such mountain species as *Eugenia Stapfiana*, *Rhodamnia cinerea* var *uniflora*, *Elaeocarpus* sp., and *Vaccinium perakense*. Characteristic of this community is a robust screw pine (*Pandanus* ? *Houllettii*). The presence of this screw-pine, an occasional rotan (*Calamus perakensis* ?), and the close spacing of the small trees make passage through this community extremely difficult. Moist, shady conditions are provided for the undergrowth species which include *Polygala monticola*, *Argostemma* sp., *Pentaphragma grandis*, *Gaertnera acuminata*, *Wikstroemia Candolleana*, *Burmannia longiflora*, and other mesophytic plants. The soil is damp and peaty and there is a considerable development of *Sphagnum* and other mosses. In the more open parts there is some *Gahnia*, *Matonia*, *Dipteris*, and *Gleichenia* and a little *Oleandra*. Similar communities have been described by Ridley (*J. F.M.S. Museum* VI, pp. 130-131 (1915)) from the banks of streams and other damp spots on the " Padang " of Gunong Tahan, and by Henderson (*Gdns. Bull. S.S.* V, p. 87) from hills on the island of Tioman.

This *dense mossy scrub* developed along our route at, as I have said, about 4,000 feet. Towards 4,300 feet yet another change was evident but the *dense mossy scrub* survived in small pockets, sometimes in valleys, sometimes on hill slopes or on hillocks, as far as the summit of Tapis.

OPEN SCRUB COMMUNITY (Plate V.)

This type differs essentially from the *dense mossy scrub* in the more limited specific composition, in the predominance of xerophilous forms, and in the disposition and abundance of the component species. The dominants, mainly well spaced, gnarled trees (10-20 feet high) of *Leptospermum*, *Baeckea*, and *Dacrydium*, are the same species that dominate inthe *dense mossy scrub*, but *Leptospermum* is the most abundant. A few other woody tree species and *Pandanus* are also found as dominants. The second storey of closely-spaced trees, characteristic of *dense mossy scrub*, is not present here. In its place there is a low under-storey with a limited number of dwarfed shrub-like tree species and an abundance of *Matonia*, *Gahnia*, *Gleichenia*, *Dipteris*, and *Lycopodium cernuum*. This under-storey does not obscure the view, long views being obtainable between the gnarled stems of the dominants. In this community the soil is usually much drier and there is comparatively little *Sphagnum* or other mosses compared with the *dense scrub*. There are, however, a few badly-drained marshy hollows where *Sphagnum* is found along with such interesting plants as the white-flowered *Canscora trinervia*, the blue *Burmannia disticha*, *Xyris Ridleyi*, *Rhynchospora glauca*, *Isachne saxicola* var *denticulata*, and the golden *Spathoglottis aurea*.

DWARF SCRUB COMMUNITY (Plate I.V)

Associated with the *open scrub* communities, sharply defined or blending imperceptibly into them, are areas of *dwarf scrub*. This community develops usually where the configuration of the ground is in a plane with the dip of the shale beds. Probably it is the result of rapid wash over the smooth surface of the exposed shale which prevents the formation of an adequate layer of mineral soil, and the impenetrability of the incompletely decomposed rock to plant roots,which would have to seek a lodgement, as it were, across the grain. The plants in this community rarely exceed 2 feet in height, the tallest being two sedges—*Cladium Maingayi* with tufts of broad, sword-shaped leaves, and *Lepidospermum chinese* with numerous narrow terete leaves that, from a distance, appear to veil the ground in a pale blue haze. Beneath these sedges is a tangled mass of *Gleichenia circinnata* and dwarfed heath-like plants, of which *Leptospermum*, *Baeckea*, *Tristania*, *Henslowia*, and *Leucopogon* are the most abundant. Similar dwarfed plants of the following are found less plentifully—*Dacrydium*, *Cordyloblaste*, *Anneslea*, *Schima*, *Gordonia*, *Alyxia*, *Olea*, *Ilex*, *Vaccinium*, *Pasania*, *Symplocos*, *Eugenia*, *Ficus*, etc. There are occasional plants of the orchid *Arundina bambusaefolia*, while pitcher plants (Nepenthes gracillima) are common.

Very similar plant communities to the *open scrub* and *dwarf scrub* of Tapis have been described by Ridley (l. c. pp. 130-131) from Gunong Tahan, and Merrill from Mount Halcon, Mindoro (*Philipp. J. Sc.* (*Bot.*) 2 : 255 (1907)).

ECOLOGICAL STATUS OF SUMMIT COMMUNITIES.

I have described briefly the three main plant communities found round the summit of Tapis. As one ascends from the *mountain oak forest* there is a gradual stunting and crowding of the dominants accompanied by a certain development of moss and epiphytic growth which leads to the formation of *dense mossy scrub* above about 4,000 feet. Over the greater part of the summit zone (from 4,300 feet, upwards), however, *dense mossy scrub* has been replaced by *open scrub* or *dwarf scrub*, although it reappears from time to time and is present almost at the summit at 4,958 feet.

The problem of the ecological status of these communities is complex and fascinating. It demands more detailed investigation than was possible during our short visit to Tapis, but the following suggestions may be of interest.

The majority of the mountains in the Peninsula are capped with mossy forest at varying altitudes, roughly corresponding with the altitude of the cloud belt. The development of mossy forest is probably due to a complex of re-actions and co-actions in which mosses, capable of absorbing large quantities of moisture and of resisting dessication, play an important part in the inhibition of the processes of soil organisms. Thus an acid humus soil is formed, which, combined with the lower temperature and a possible dwarfing quality of the light on these mountain tops, causes the stunting of the vegetation characteristic of mossy forest. An essential difference between the mossy forest and other mountain top communities in Malaya, is that the vegetation of the former adequately protects the soil from periodic dessication, thus allowing the development of a multitude of mesophytic species not found in other communities. Various types of mossy forest are recognizable in the Peninsula. The *dense mossy scrub* on Tapis differs very considerably from, for example, the elfin forest on the mountain tops around Cameron Highlands, nevertheless, it represents the most complex, apparently stable, plant community on the upper slopes of the mountain and as such, merits recognition as the *climax* association for that locality.* I have avoided the term *climatic climax* because that might be taken to imply that mossy forest is the highest type of plant community that *could* develop under the prevailing climatic conditions. Mossy forest is probably not the highest type but should be regarded as an edaphic climax, analagous to some upland peat moors in temperate regions, which are the products of natural retrogression.†

We have now to consider the ecological relationship of the *open scrub* and *dwarf scrub* to the *dense mossy scrub*.

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*It will be seen from later considerations that this *dense mossy scrub* is probably actually a transition between mossy forest climax and scrub preclimax.

†This is in accord with the suggestion of Gibbs in *Journ. Linn. Soc.* (*Bot.*) 42 : 47 (1914).

On the crests of steep ridges, on precipitous mountain slopes, and on the edges of landslides (where erosion is rapid and unweathered rock frequently exposed) the soil is immature and unstable. On such habitats a " scree-side " flora is found—a poineer flora of xerophytes such as *Thysanolaena*, *Gahnia*, *Gleichenia* and *Dipteris*, that tend to arrest the processes of erosion and stabilize the soil, preparing the way for the development of the more complex communities of the surrounding vegetation. Some of the plants of the *open scrub* and *dwarf scrub* communities on Tapis, *e.g. Gahnia*, *Dianella*, and *Gleichenia*, are typical scree-side plants, but these communities cannot be considered, *ipso facto*, in the nature of seral stages in the development of more complex communities.

Open scrub and *dwarf scrub* are found not only on steep slopes, but also on gentle slopes and in valleys.

If we consider the floristic composition of the mountain top we find that there are several species, namely *Baeckea frutescens*, *Leptospermum flavescens*, *Leucopogon malayanum*, *Tristania merguensis*, *Rhodamnia cinerea*, *Dianella ensifolia*, *Cladium Maingayi*, *Gahnia javanica*, and *Lepidosperma chinense*, that are of typical Australian genera or, at least, closely allied to Australian forms. Moreover, the majority of these plants are found in the Peninsula only in xerophytic habitats such as mountain tops, sea coasts, and quartz ridges and are entirely absent from the intervening rain forests. In discussing the flora of Gunong Tahan, Mr. Ridley (l.c.) has drawn attention to this phenomenon and in explanation postulates the theory that these plants are relics of an Australian flora that covered the " cool dry tableland with Mt. Kinabalau on one side and Gunong Kerbau and Mt. Ophir on the other " in Tertiary times. Some such hypothesis appears essential if we are to explain these relics. Perhaps we may go further and say that not only are the species relics, but also the plant communities to which they belong.

The alternative hypothesis would be that the plants in question, which are disseminated mainly by birds but to some extent by winds, have spread to the mountain top by means of stepping stones provided by similar isolated xerophytic habitats. I find this much more difficult to credit than the, perhaps less obvious, relic hypothesis.

To explain these relics it is probably necessary to go back more than seventy million years—to Cretaceous times—when the continents of Asia and Australia were united and their floras intermingled. It is probable that the climate of the Malayan region was much drier than it is now and the flora predominantly Australian. At the end of the Mesozoic, or in the Eocene, the bridges between the continents were severed. The fossil evidence shows that dipterocarps were represented in the Malayan region in Tertiary and Pleistocene times ; it appears, therefore, that shortly after the continents were parted moister climatic conditions developed. This stimulated the evolution and spread of an

essentially rain-forest flora, before which the " Australian " flora receded. Since Tertiary times complicated orographical and climatic changes (now obscure) have sometimes favoured, sometimes retarded, the replacement of the " Australian " flora by the more luxuriant rain forest. The drier-climate flora has never entirely disappeared but it has been reduced to isolated relics. These " Australian " plants are now found associated with some plants having ecological affinities but a very different origin, but they have altered remarkably little through the ages, and the associations in which they are found probably retain much of the character of those of their predecessors in pre-Tertiary times. Such a " relict community " is the scrub on Tapis and, possibly, to take but one example, the vegetation on the dry quartz ridge at Klang Gates in Selangor. The former has not yet been conquered by the rain forest and the latter survives in a community which owes its existence to compensating edaphic factors unfavourable to the rain forest.

If the above hypothesis is accepted we should consider the scrub on Tapis to be, in part at any rate, what some ecologists would call a *pre-climax* association—a relic of a climax probably widely spread in Malaya at a time when the climate was drier than it is today. We have seen that the *dense mossy scrub* on Tapis includes the dominants of the *open scrub*. It should perhaps be recognized as an ecotone between the pre-climax scrub and the invading rain forest climax—an intermediate association of a dry-climatic type upon which a moister climate has superimposed an infusion of mesophytic forms at the expense of the xerophytic, light-loving plants that composed the lower storeys.

Another possible interpretation of the *open scrub* on Tapis is as a *biotic sub-climax*—a community held semi-permanently in a condition below the (climatic) climax by the effects of the intervention of a biotic agency. In this case elephants are the agents responsible. Their tracks are very numerous on the upper slopes of Tapis and, although at first the suggestion may seem fantastic, I think it possible that these animals are largely responsible for the maintenance of these open associations against the invasion of mesophytic forms and, to some extent also, their retrogression from *dense mossy scrub*.

Although I did not particularly note this point on Tapis, the ecological significance of elephants not having occurred to me at the time, I noted that in the highlands in the neighbourhood of Gunong Stong in Kelantan (where similar plant associations and elephants also occur) that *dense mossy scrub* was usually preserved upon steep boulder-strewn slopes—such places as were not likely to be much frequented by elephants. On the gentler slopes, where elephant tracks were numerous, large areas of *mossy forest* had been replaced by *open scrub*. Elephant tracks dig deeply into the soil and, in conjuncton with the erosion by rain water of the channels thus provided, may form trenches several feet deep. These act as a natural drainage syetem which might result in the dissolution of the *mossy forest* complex consequent on the

drier soil conditions. Combined with this is the effect of damage to the vegetation itself, not inconsiderable with elephants, and the consequent admission of light to the forest floor. Thus there may be initiated an "allogenic" (due mainly to external factors) succession which may have caused retrogression from *dense mossy scrub* to *open scrub*. The continuative effect of intervention of elephants may prevent the progressive development of the *open scrub* back to *dense mossy scrub* that might otherwise occur, *i.e.*, retain the associaton in a *sub-climax* condition. I do not consider this interpretaton a satisfactory alternative to the *pre-climax* theory, for it does not adequately explain the relics, but I think there is little doubt that these open associations are partly in the nature of a *biotic sub-climax*.

I have not yet referred to what appears, at first sight, to be the most obvious cause of the differentiation of "scrub" associations among mossy forest. The soil formed from the shale on Tapis is heavy, black, and apparently very shallow, compared with the granite soils on the lower slopes. Obviously the soil is different, and this in itself might be considered sufficient cause of the peculiar vegetation. It must be remembered, however, that all three scrub formations are found on shale and that the transition from the forests at lower elevations to *dense mossy scrub* is not sudden, as would be expected were a lithological change responsible for its formation. Without a more complete knowledge, such as only a soil survey on Tapis could provide, it is not possible to say more concerning this aspect of the problem but caution must be exercised lest the importance of the lithological origin of the soil be over estimated. It is perhaps significant that an association very similar to the *open scrub* of Tapis is found on mountains in the neighbourhood of Gunong Stong—on soil derived from granite.

ENUMERATION OF PLANTS COLLECTED ON GUNONG TAPIS ABOVE 2,000 FEET ALTITUDE.*

ANONACEAE.

Goniothalamus tenuifolius King.

S'p. 28827—2,700 ft. ; small tree, 20 ft. ; flower.

S'p. 28921—Ulu Kuantan, 400 ft. ; small tree ; flower.

Although the size of this plant agrees more with King's var. *arborescens* its flowers are those of the typical form.

A shrub or small tree, endemic.

NYMPHAEACEAE.

Barclaya Motleyi Hook. f.

S'p. 28803—1,600 ft., in damp hollow at top of valley.

*Families arranged as in Ridley's *Flora of the Malay Peninsula* ; genera and species arranged alphabetically.

An aquatic herb, usually found in more swampy habitats at lower elevations. *Distr.* Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, and Borneo.

POLYGALACEAE.

Polygala monticola Ridl.

S'p. 28889—4,600 ft., in dense scrub near summit ; flower.

A dwarf montane shrub, endemic.

GUTTIFERAE.

Garcinia urophylla Scort.

S'p. 28823—2,000 ft. ; tree 20 ft. ; fruit.

A small tree of hill forest in the Peninsula. *Distr.* Sumatra.

TERNSTROEMIACEAE.

Anneslea crassipes Hook. f.

S'p. 28855—c. 4,600 ft. ; young fruit.

A tree up to 6ft. girth in mountain forests ; sometimes no larger than a shrub on exposed mountain tops.

Widely distributed in the Peninsula. *Distr.* Indo-china to Malaya.

Gordonia imbricata King.

S'p. 28909—c. 4,600 ft. ; shrub in open scrub near summit, not common ; remains of flower.

A shrub or small tree in mountain forests, endemic.

Schima Noronhae Reinwdt.

S'p. 28835—c. 4,600 ft. ; small tree in mountain oak forest to low shrub in " dwarf scrub " association ; flower.

A very variable plant from a dwarf shrub on exposed mountain tops to a tree exceeding 100 ft. in *mountain oak forest* throughout the Peninsula. *Distr.* Indo-Malaya.

DIPTEROCARPACEAE.

Hopea auriculata Foxw.

C. F. 37314—2,100 ft. ; poorly shaped tree with long flowing buttresses, bark coarsely irregularly fissured, a few stilt roots, cut pink ; sterile—leaves picked from ground.

Apparently a rare tree, only once previously collected—from Panti in Johore.

Hopea Beccariana Burck (syn. H. intermedia King *partim*).

C. F. 37319—3,700 ft. ; small group of trees with fissured bark ; sterile—leaves picked from ground.

A tree abundant locally in the Peninsula. Usually occurs in *hill dipterocarp forest* but has never been found so high before. *Distr.* Borneo.

Hopea ? Dyeri Heim.

C. F. 37315—2,300 ft.; a *merawan* of smooth-boled type found occasionally between 1,000 and 2,500 ft.; sterile—leaves picked from ground.

This material is too scrappy for certain identification.

Hopea sp. nov.

C. F. 37312—1,300 ft.; occasionally found from low altitudes on Tapis up to 2,000 ft.; 6ft. girth ; bole poorly shaped, grey-white and black, closely fissured with rows of large lenticels in the fissures; tending to be buttressed at the foot and develop "jangkang" habit; outer bark dark, inner light red, sapwood pale; sterile.

This is apparently an undescribed species but as yet only young fruit have been collected. The species was included under *H. nervosa* in *Mal. For. Rec.* 10, p. 130 (C. F. 5911). It has been found at Sungei Mas in Johore and in Tanjong Toh-Allang Forest Reserve in Perak.

Shorea ciliata King.

Not collected—one of the commonest dipterocarps between 2,000—3,000 ft. Large masses of translucent purple-brown damar were found at the foot of one tree.

A species typical of *high hill dipterocarp forest* between 2,000—3,500 ft. Penang and Perak hills and the Main Range. *Distr.* Endemic. Said to occur also in the Philippines but the Philippine specimens examined by me are all *S. astylosa* Foxw.

Shorea platyclados V. Sl.

Not collected—from 1,700—3,200 ft., the highest dipterocarp recorded. Some good patches of regeneration were seen.

The most common dipterocarp in our *high hill dipterocarp forests* throughout the Peninsula. *Distr.* Sumatra and Borneo.

STERCULIACEAE.

Sterculia ? laevis Wall.

S'p. 28868—c. 2,000 ft.; flower.

This specimen has narrow oblong-cuspidate leaves and may represent Ridley's form *angustifolia*.

TILIACEAE.

Schoutenia Mastersii King var. **angustifolia** Ridl.

S'p. 28812—c. 2,500 ft.; tree 35 ft.; flowers pale yellow.

A small tree of *high hill dipterocarp jungle*, endemic.

Elaeocarpus sp.

S'p. 28872—c. 4,600 ft. ; quite common shrub or small tree ; flower buds.

This may be a new species but the material is inadequate for description.

OLACACEAE.

Gomphandra sp.

S'p. 28841—c. 4.600 ft. ; shrub ; remains of flowers.

Specimen too poor for identification without adequate authentic material for comparison.

ILICACEAE.

Ilex triflora Bl.

S'p. 28884—c. 4,600 ft. ; not common ; fruit.

A variable shrub or small treelet. The mountain form to which this specimen belongs is usually plentiful on mountain tops throughout the Peninsula.

It is possible that *Ilex polyphylla* Ridl., described from Gunong Korbu, may represent an extreme form of *I. triflora* Bl. *Distr.* Indo-Malaya and Cochin-China to China.

Ilex sp.

Sine no.—Gunong Tapis ; fruit.

This specimen has elliptic-oblong leaves, 11.0 x 4.0 cm., rounded or apiculate at the apex, cuneate at the base, with dentate margins. The fruit is globose and 8.0 mm. long.

From description it evidently resembles *I. illustris* Ridl. in some respects, as Mr. Henderson has suggested, but no specimen of the latter is available for comparison.

Ilex sp. n.

S'p. 28834—c. 4,600 ft. ; shrub ; flower buds.

S'p. 28873—c. 4,600 ft. ; common in dwarf scrub ; sterile.

The material is inadequate for determination without comparison with authentic specimens. By description this specimen comes near *I. sclerophylla* Hook. f. which Ridley says is possibly a state of *I. hypoglauca* Loesen. The elliptic or obovate-oblong, stiffly coriaceous leaves are very variable, up to about 16.0 x 8.0 cm., and dry almost black above and a glaucous blue-grey beneath.

I have since collected sterile material of this plant from Gunong Stong in Kelantan (C. F. 37730).

CELASTRACEAE.

Glyptopetalum quadrangulare Prain.

S'p. 28808—2,000 ft. ; flower buds.

An undershrub or treelet, quite common in jungle. Endemic.

Microtropis tenuis Symington ; *species nova* foliis chartaceis sicco viridibus, nervis lateralibus tenuibus, ramulis pedunculisque tenuibus distincta. *Plate XIX.*

Arbuscula glabra. Ramuli graciles, inventute virides vel purpurascentes, angulati, demum cortice albido-cinereo obtecti. *Folia* elliptico-lanceolata, apice acuminata, basi cuneata, 4.5 cm. x 2.0 cm. ad 9.0 cm. x 4.0 cm., chartacea, glabra, sicco pallide viridia, subtus pallidiora, costa pagina utraque plusminusve prominente, nervis lateralibus utrinque 8-10, intra marginem longius sursum curvatis et anastomosantibus, cum nervulis utraque tenuibus subobscuris ; petioli graciles rugulosi, supra anguste sed altius canaliculati, 5.0—8.0 mm. longi, glabri, inventute virides. *Cymae* prope axillas novellas ortae, 1-13 (saepe 3) florae, 0.5-2.0 cm. latae ; pedunculus communus 1.0—2.5 cm. longus, glabrus, viridis, basi et apice bracteis instructus. *Flores* sessiles, tetrameri, 2.0—3.0 mm. longi ; alabastra globosa. *Sepala* obovata, fimbriata circa 3.5 mm. longa et 3.0 mm. lata, imbricata. *Corolla* alba ; tubus vix 2.0 mm. longus ; lobi rotundati, circa 2.0 mm. longi. *Stamina* 4, epipetala, ad 3.0 mm. longa ; filamenta circiter 1.0 mm. longa ; antherae oblongae. *Ovarium* vix 0.5 mm. longum, glabrum, 2-loculare, loculis 2-ovulatis ; stylus cylindricus, sulcatus, 0.5 mm. longus ; stigma discoideo-capitata. *Fructus* ignotus.

S'p. 28878—c. 2,000 ft. ; small tree ; flower. (TYPE). This species seems to resemble *Microtropis discolor* Wall. more closely than any other of our species. It is however distinct in having, *inter alia*, pale branchlets, chartaceous leaves, and tetramerous flowers.

RHAMNACEAE.

Oreorhamnus serrulata Ridl.

S'p. 28858—c. 4,600 ft. ; flower.

A shrub or tree up to 4 ft. girth, recorded from mountain tops in Kedah, Perak, and Pahang. Commonly found as a shrub on cleared areas. This collection differs from the plant described by Ridley in having slightly larger flowers borne in 2—to many-flowered fascicles.

ROSACEAE.

? **Eriobotrya** sp.

S'p. 28904—c. 4,600 ft. ; young fruit.

This collection has lanceolate leaves, narrowed at both ends, serrulate towards the apices, about 10.0 cm. x 2.5 cm. The young fruits sectioned had 2 loculi with 1 seed in each.

SAXIFRAGACEAE.

Polyosma sp.

S'p. 28854—c. 4,200 ft. ; shrub at summit ; flowers white.

This specimen has oblong-lanceolate leaves up to 7.0 cm. long. It is clearly closely related to *P. coriacea* King and may not be distinct from that species.

Weinmannia Blumei Planch.

S'p. 28894—c. 4,600 ft., a common small tree or shrub, from about 3,500 ft. to the summit ; flower buds.

A shrub or small tree common on mountains in the Peninsula. *Distr.* Sumatra, Java, and the Philippines.

HAMAMELIDACEAE.

Bucklandia populnea Br.

Not collected—small trees seen at 3,300 ft.

One of our common large trees in *mountain oak forests* at about 3,000—5,000 ft. *Distr.* India (Himalaya) to Java.

Rhodoleia ovalifolia Ridl.

S'p. 28830—c. 4,600 ft. ; small tree ; fruit.

An endemic shrub or small tree known only from Gunong Tahan.

Exell (*Sunyatsenia I*, 100 and 101) has erected a separate species, *R. subcordata*, for the fruiting specimen upon which Ridley's description of *R. ovalifolia* was partly based. By description the Tapis collection is more correctly referable to Exell's species but there seems hardly sufficient evidence of the existence of more than one species.

Rhodoleia Teysmanni -Miq.

Not collected—several trees seen above 3,300 ft.

A common tree in mountain forest throughout the Peninsula—occasionally at low elevations, *e.g.* the quartz ridges at Kanching, Selangor. *Distr.* Sumatra, Java. (cult.).

MYRTACEAE.

Baeckea frutescens Linn.

Not collected—appeared around 4,500 ft. and was very plentiful to the summit.

A shrub or small tree typically found on xerophytic mountain tops in the Peninsula. Also sometimes found on sandy heaths near the sea, quartz ridges, and in other unfavourable habitats. *Distr.* Indo-Malaya to China and Japan.

Eugenia Stapfiana King.

S'p. 28846—c. 4,600 ft. common in scrub : flower buds.

A shrub or small tree characteristic of the vegetation of many mountain tops in the Peninsula. Endemic, but closely related species are found on mountain tops throughout Indo-Malaya.

Eugenia sp.

S'p. 28891—c. 4,600 ft. ; rare ; remains of flower.

The specimen could not be matched with any known species. It has elliptic-ovate, coriaceous leaves about 11.0 x 6.0 cm., with almost invisible tertiary nerves.

Eugenia sp.

S'p. 28906—c. 4,600 ft. ; rare ; sterile.

S'p. 28907—c. 4,600 ft. ; not common ; small shrub in low scrub; remains of flower.

A very distinct species. The leaves somewhat resemble those of *E. Duthieana* King but are more coriaceous.

Leptospermum flavescens Sm.

Not collected—the most common woody plant above 4,500 ft. Sometimes a gnarled tree up to 20 ft. high, sometimes a dwarf heather-like shrub.

A common shrub or small tree on high xerophytic mountain tops in the Peninsula. *Distr.* Burma to Australia.

Rhodamnia cinerea Jack var *uniflora* Ridl.

S'p. 28837—c. 4,600 ft. ; small tree or shrub common above 4,500 ft. ; flower.

A shrub or treelet previously recorded from Gunong Tahan, Gunong Korbu, Fraser's Hill, and Mount Ophir. This variety is endemic and appears worthy of specific separation from the low-land form.

Tristania merguensis Griff.

S'p. 28876—c. 4,600 ft. ; common above 3,500 ft. ; from a small tree to a dwarf shrub about 1 ft. high in *dwarf scrub* ; flower.

A very variable plant, from a timber tree (the *keruntum* of Cameron Highlands) to a dwarf shrub as on Tapis. Found on mountains in the Peninsula. A form, said to be the same species, is found in coastal habitats. *Distr.* Burma, Borneo.

MELASTOMACEAE.

Allomorphia alata Scort.

S'p. 28807—c. 2,000 ft. ; shrub ; fruit.

An undergrowth shrub in hilly jungle in the Peninsula. Endemic.

Blastus caudatus Spare (B. Cogniauxii Stapf. *err. det.* King and Ridl.)

S'p. 28820—c. 2,500 ft. ; common undergrowth shrub ; flower buds.

A common large spreading twiggy shrub in hilly jungle in the north, and low country around Kuala Lipis and in Johore. Endemic.

Medinilla Clarkei King.

S'p. 28856—4,900 ft. ; flower.

An epiphytic shrub common on mountain tops in the Peninsula. *Distr.* Sumatra.

Oritrephes Robinsonii Ridl.

S'p. 28880—c. 4,600 ft., common above 4,000 ft. ; flower and young fruit.

A large shrub in mountain jungle, previously recorded only from Gunong Tahan and Gunong Benom. Endemic.

Sonerila tenuifolia Bl.

S'p. 28886—c. 4,000 ft. ; fruit.

A small wiry herb found in damp mountain jungle in the Peninsula. *Distr.* Sumatra, Java, and Borneo.

Sonerila sp.

S'p. 28885—c. 2,000 ft. ; fruit.

A species with vegetative parts indistinguishable from *S. albiflora* Stapf. et King but differing in having an almost sessile echinate capsule.

ARALIACEAE.

Arthrophyllum montanum Ridl.

S'p. 28832—c. 4, 600 ft. ; common shrub ; flower.

An endemic montane shrub or treelet, reported from Fraser's Hill and Cameron Highlands.

CAPRIFOLIACEAE.

Viburnum ? longistamineum Ridl.

S'p. 28847—c. 4,600 ft. ; flower buds.

V. longistamineum is a shrub known only from Gunong Tahan but it is very closely allied to *V. sambucinum* Bl. which is common in hilly jungle throughout the Peninsula and is known also from Sumatra, Java, and Borneo. The latter species differs

from *V. longistamineum*, of which I have seen a topotype (Ridl. 16064), mainly in the larger and more pubescent corymbs. The length of stamen appears to be conditional upon the age of the flower and is not a reliable diagnostic character. The Tapis collection differs from Ridl. 16064 in being smaller in all parts.

RUBIACEAE.

Argostemma elatostemma Hook. f.

S'p. 28809—c. 2,500 ft.; flowers white.

A jungle herb apparently not rare in hills. Endemic.

Argostemma sp.

S'p. 28867—c. 4,600 ft.; in damp shady spots in *dense mossy scrub*; flower.

This is a small-leaved form probably related to *A. oblonga* King but distinct in having ovate-lanceolate leaves, lighter on the undersurface, with almost invisible veins.

Cephaelis or **Chasalia** sp.

S'p. 28870—c. 4,000 ft.; small shrub; flower buds. By description this plant evidently comes near *Cephaelis elongata* Ridl. or *Chasalia bracteata* Ridl.

Diplospora lasianthera Ridl. (*ex descr.*)

S'p. 28804—c. 2,000 ft.; shrub 6 ft. tall; young fruit.

A shrub recorded from Gunong Tampin, Gunong Angsi, and Keledang Saiong. Endemic.

Gardeniopsis longifolia Miq.

S'p. 28824—c. 2,000 ft.; flower.

A large shrub or spreading treelet common in hilly jungle in the Peninsula. *Distr.* Sumatra.

Ixora congesta Roxb.

S'p. 28828—c. 2,000 ft.; flower.

A showy shrub common in jungle in the Peninsula. *Distr.* Burma.

Psychotria sp.

S'p. 28879—c. 4,600 ft.; small scandent shrub, probably epiphytic; fruit.

This is rather a distinct species with obovate-acute, coriaceous, glabrous leaves, about 4.0 x 2.0 cm., drying yellow-green on both surfaces.

Tarenna rudis Ridl. (?)

S'p. 28805—c. 2,000 ft.; 15 ft. high; flowers white.

T. rudis is a shrub or treelet recorded only from Weld Hill Reserve, Kuala Lumpur. The Tapis plant differs from the type

specimens in having slightly narrower leaves and longer petioles, but these latter specimens, having young fruits and remnants of flowers only, are not readily comparable. There is also a close affinity between this and *T. longifolia* Ridl. but as Ridley's *T. longifolia* contains more than one species and I have not seen the type of *Ixora longifolia* G. Don, I prefer to keep the Tapis plant as above meanwhile.

Timonius montanus Ridl.

S'p. 28910—c. 4,600 ft. ; sterile.

A shrub or treelet until recently known only from Gunong Tahan. Other recent collections are from Fraser's Hill and Gunong Stong. Endemic.

CAMPANULACEAE.

Pentaphragma grandis Ridl.

S'p. 28878—c. 4,600 ft. ; in damp, dark spots ; flower.

A succulent herb previously recorded only from Gunong Tahan. Endemic.

VACCINIACEAE.

Vaccinium perakense Ridl.

S'p. 28853—c. 4,600 ft., common ; fruit.

A small tree or shrub on mountain tops. Recorded from Gunong Bubu, Taiping Hill, Fraser's Hill, and Gunong Benom. Endemic.

ERICACEAE.

Rhododendron malayanum Jack.

S'p. 28905—c. 4,600 ft. ; not common ; sterile.

Although very few plants were seen on Tapis this is usually a plentiful shrub (frequently epiphytic) on mountain tops in the Peninsula. *Distr.* Sumatra, Java, and Borneo.

Rhododendron Wrayi King.

S'p. 28900—c. 4,600 ft. ; not common ; sterile.

A shrub or small tree found, sometimes plentifully, on mountain tops of the main range in Perak, Selangor, and Pahang and on Gunong Tahan. Endemic.

EPACRIDACEAE.

Leucopogon malayanus Jack.

S'p. 28857—c. 4,600 ft. ; very common in *dense mossy scrub* or *dwarf scrub* near summit ; flower.

A wiry shrub or treelet common on mountain tops in the Peninsula and sometimes on sandy heaths by the sea. *Distr.* Bangka and Borneo.

STYRACEAE.

Cordyloblaste pulcherrima Ridl.

S'p. 28893—c. 4,600 ft. ; common shrub ; flower.

A montane shrub or treelet previously recorded from Gunong Ihan and Gunong Benom. This specimen has more delicate :emes than the Benom collections.

Symplocos Bakeri Symington ; *species nova*. Plate XX.

Frutex vel arbuscula, omnino glaber. *Ramuli* crassi, sicco ırtice purpureo-brunneo obtecti. *Folia* late oblanceolata, apice :uminata, basi cuneata, margine apicem versus subserrata, 7.0 n. x 3.0 cm. ad 14.0 cm. x 5.0 cm., coriacea, sicco supra atro-ıivacea vel rufescentia, infra plusminusve fulvo-olivacea ; costa ıpra impressa subtus prominente, nervis lateralibus utrinque -10, utraque conspicuis intra marginem anastomosantibus, ervulis subtus conspicuis ; petiolo 0.5 cm.—0.75 cm. longo urpureo-brunneo complanato suffulta. *Spicae* axillares, soli-ariae, ex axillis foliorum superiorum ortae, 1.5 cm.—4.0 cm. ɔngae, striatae, purpurascentes, 6-12-florae ; bracteae omnes de-iduae, non visae. *Flores* sessiles ; alabastra obovata, 6.0 mm. onga. *Calyx* 4-5-lobatus ; segmenta quam receptaculum longa, ɔbtusa, 6-nervia. *Corolla* alba ; tubus brevis ; lobi oblongi, obtusi, :ucculati, circa 7.0 mm. longi et 4.0 mm. lati, 8-nervii. *Stamina* :irciter 225, contra corollae lobos in fasciculos 5 aggregata ; filamenta filiformia, ad 6.0 mm. longa ; antherae parvae, rotundae. *Ovarium* glabrum, 3-loculare, loculis 2-ovulatis ; discus glabrus ; stylus filiformis, 4.0 mm. longus, apice indistincte lobatus. *Fructus* maturus ignotus.

S'p. 28833—c. 4,600 ft. ; shrub or small tree, occasional ; flowers white. (TYPE). This species is quite distinct from any described from the Malay Peninsula. It belongs to the sub-genus *Hopea* and by description appears to come near *S. theifolia* D. Don of Indo-China, but is distinct from it. I have named the species after Mr. V. B. C. Baker, manager of the mines of the Pahang Consolidated Co., Ltd. at Sungei Lembing.

Symplocos sp.

S'p. 28849—c. 4,600 ft. ; fruit.

This specimen does not exactly fit any of the described Malayan species or varieties but is probably nearest to *S. adenophylla* var *montana* Ridl.

OLEACEAE.

Olea capitellata Ridl.

S'p. 28874—c. 4,600 ft., in dwarf scrub ; fruit.

A small erect shrub found on Taiping Hill, Bubu, Tahan, Benom, and Belumut. Endemic.

APOCYNACEAE.

Alyxia pilosa Miq.

S'p. 28882—c. 4,600 ft. ; flower.

A woody climber, montane in the Peninsula. *Distr.* Sumatra and Borneo.

Ervatamia pauciflora Ridl. (?)

S'p. 28822—c. 2,700 ft. ; young fruit.

E. pauciflora Ridl. is a shrub or treelet recorded from Ginting Simpah in Selangor. In the condition of this specimen it is not possible to distinguish it with certainty from *E. jasminiflora* Ridl.—a very closely related (if indeed distinct !) species.

LOGANIACEAE.

Gaertnera acuminata Benth. variety (?)

S'p. 28865—c. 4,000 ft. ; flower.

Varieties of *G. acuminata* are found as delicate, white-flowered shrubs in mossy jungle on mountain tops throughout the Peninsula. This collection appears near var. *montana* Ridl. but the cymes are more lax.

Gaertnera ramosa Ridl. (?)

Sine no.—c. 4,000 ft. ; flower—corollas fallen. A shrub known only from Gunong Tahan.

Mr. Henderson tells me that the calyx of this specimen is smaller and of different shape to that of the Tahan plant.

GENTIANACEAE.

Canscora trinervia Ridl.

S'p. 28839—c. 4,600 ft. ; small herb, 3-9 in. high, in damp mossy spots near summit ; flower white ; flower and fruit.

A small white-flowered montane herb previously found only on Gunong Tahan. Endemic.

LENTIBULARIACEAE.

Utricularia nigricaulis Ridl.

S'p. 28840—c. 4,600 ft., on open damp slate with sparse vegetation ; flower pale violet.

A minute filiform herb with pale violet flowers, previously recorded only from Gunong Tahan and Kedah Peak.

GESNERACEAE.

Didymocarpus longipes Clarke (?)

S'p. 28866—c. 4,000 ft.

A rare montane herb known from Mount Ophir.

Mr. Henderson suggests that this may be a variety of *D. gipes* Clarke, but says that it differs in the "broader, more ry leaves, more definitely serrate."

Mr. Fischer, at Kew, verifies the identification as above.

NEPENTHACEAE.

Nepenthes gracillima Ridl.

S'p. 28877—c. 4,600 ft., common in *dwarf scrub*; male flower.

A climbing pitcher plant found on mountain tops in the iiping hills (?), Main Range, Gunong Setong, and Tahan. ndemic.

Nepenthes sanguinea Lindl.

S'p. 28895—c. 4,600 ft.; flower buds.

A climbing pitcher plant, common on mountains throughout ie Peninsula. Endemic (Danser).

LAURACEAE.

Actinodaphne sp.

S'p. 28831—c. 4,600 ft.; shrub or small tree quite common n scrub; young fruit.

The leaves of this species resemble in size and texture those of *A. oleifolia* Gamb. but differ in being obovate-obtuse with petioles as much as 2.0 cm. long. The material is too incomplete for description.

Lindera sp.

S'p. 28902—c. 4,000 ft.; sterile.

A distinct species with coriaceous ovate-acuminate, triplinerved leaves—probably most closely related to *L. concinna* Ridl. from Gunong Tahan.

THYMELIACEAE.

Wikstroemia Candolleana Meissn.

S'p. 28836—c. 4,600 ft., common in damp scrub; sterile.

A shrub or treelet, common in damp places on mountan tops in the Peninsula. *Distr.* Java.

SANTALACEAE.

Henslowia minor Ridl. (?).

S'p. 28842—c. 4,600 ft.; common in *dwarf scrub*; fruit.

H. minor is said by Ridley to be a slender climber and is known only from Gunong Tahan. The Tapis plant is a small scandent wiry shrub and differs from Ridley's description in having 5 perianth lobes.

EUPHORBIACEAE.

Daphniphyllum Scortechinii Hook. f.

S'p. 28850—c. 4,600 ft. ; young fruit.

A shrub or treelet, recorded from the Taiping Hills, Gunong Bubu, and the Main Range. Endemic.

URTICACEAE.

Ficus Landonii Symington ; *species nova*. Plate XXI.

Frutex erectus, ramulis ultimis exceptis glaber. *Ramuli* aliquantum crassi, longitudinaliter striati, inventute sparse puberulentes, mox glabri, cortice primo rubrobrunneo demum cinereo obtecti. *Folia* lanceolata vel oblongo-lanceolata, apice acuminata mucronata, basi acuta vel subcuneata, margine revoluta, 4.0 x 1.4 cm. ad 10.5 x 4.0 cm., coriacea, supra stramineo- vel rubrobrunnea, subtus straminea glandulifera ; costa crassa, supra impressa subcarinata, subtus prominens ; nervi primarii utrinque circiter 4-6, alterni vel subopposití, curvati et prope marginem conjuncti, infra prominentes, supra subobscuri, angulis inferioribus glandulis obscuris instructis ; nervi secondarii venaeque subtus prominentes supra obscuri ; petioli crassi, rugosi, 4.0-6.0 mm. longi ; stipulae lineari-lanceolatae, acuminatae, ad 8.0 mm. longae, convolutae, marginibus ciliatis exceptis glabrae. *Receptacula* solitaria, axillaria, elliptico-oblonga, apicem versus constricta, circiter 19.0 mm. longa et 6.0 mm. lata, laevia ; pedunculi crassi, 3.0-4.0 mm. longi ; bracteae basilares persistentes 3, late ovatae, acutae, 2.0-3.0 mm. longae, ciliatae ; squamulae apicales ad 3.0 mm. longae.

Flores ♂ in parte superiore receptaculo, rarior inter flores galliferi, depositi, subsessiles vel pedicello 1.5 mm. longo instructi ; segmenta perianthii 4, ovata, circa 0.5 mm. longa ; stamina 2 ; filamenta brevia ; antherae oblongae. *Flores galliferi* sessiles vel subsessiles; segmenta perianthii 3, linearia, in parte superiore latiora, ad 2.0 mm. longa ; ovarium breve pedicellatum, ovoideo-rhomboideum, obliquum, glabrum, crustaceum ; stylus brevis ; stigma paulo dilatata.

S'p. 28908—c. 4,600 ft., in *dwarf scrub* ; shrub ; not common ; gall figs. (TYPE). This plant comes very close to *F. Motleyana* Miq. which King (*Ind. Figs.* 2 : 159) says " is possibly only a form of *diversifolia* Bl." I venture to describe it as a new species because it differs from *F. Motleyana* in the larger basal bracts, the sessile, or almost sessile, gall flowers, and the 4-partite perianth of the male flowers. It is named after Mr. F. H. Landon who accompanied me on the Tapis trip and who has been responsible for many valuable collections from the Kuantan district of Pahang.

Ficus sp.

S'p. 28864—c. 4,600 ft. ; gall figs.

A few bushes of this were seen in *open scrub* near the summit. Mr. Henderson suggests that it may be *F. oreophila* Ridl. I

ıld only find gall flowers on this specimen. These have 3-5 long-linear perianth lobes and the figs are almost sessile. I ve collected very similar sterile material from a plant on Gun- g Terbakar in Cameron Highlands.

CUPULIFERAE.

Pasania sp. nov.

S'p. 28838—c. 4,600 ft., common small tree or shrub ; flower) and cupules (S'p. sheet only—acorns fallen).

This appears to be a very distinct species but I hesitate to escribe it in the absence of female flowers and acorns. It pparently belongs to the section *Cyclobalanus* and has very oriaceous, obovate, shortly acuminate leaves which are glaucous n the under surface.

ORCHIDACEAE.

Arundina bambusaefolia Lindl.

S'p. 28896—c, 4,600 ft. ; common in open and dwarf scrub ; lower.

A large ground orchid characteristic of the vegetation of scree sides and stream beds above 2,000-3,000 ft. *Distr.* Himalayas.

Dendrobium revolutum Lindl.

S'p. 28892—c. 4,600 ft. ; flower.

An epiphyte recorded from Kedah Peak and at lower elevations in Pahang, Negri Sembilan, Malacca, Johore, and Singapore. *Distr.* Burma, Rhio Archipelago.

Dendrobium subflavidum Ridl.

S'p. 28897—c. 4,600 ft. ; flower yellow.

An epiphyte known previously only from Gunong Tahan.

Dendrobium uniflorum Griff.

S'p. 28848—c. 4,600 ft. ; flower.

An epiphyte recorded from the Taiping Hills, Gunong Tahan, and Mt. Ophir. *Distr.* Borneo and Philippines.

Eria teretifolia Griff.

S'p. 28888—c. 4,600 ft. ; flower.

An epiphyte on mountains throughout the Peninsula, rarely in mangrove swamps. *Distr.* Borneo.

Habenaria zosterostyloides Hook. f.

S'p. 28861—c. 4,600 ft. ; flower.

A ground orchid quite common in damp spots on mountain tops throughout the Peninsula. Endemic.

Platyclinis linearifolia (Hook. f.) Ridl.

S'p. 28890—c. 4,600 ft.; very common; flower.

A small epiphyte common on trees and rocks on open mountain tops throughout the Peninsula. Endemic.

Spathoglottis aurea Lindl.

S'p. 28845—c. 4,600 ft., in damp mossy scrub; flowers.

A ground orchid, common, usually in open spots, on mountains throughout the Peninsula. *Distr.* Sumatra, Borneo, Philippines.

ZINGIBERACEAE.

Boesenbergia sp.

S'p. 28813—c. 2,700 ft.; flower pale yellow.

BURMANNIACEAE.

Burmannia disticha Linn.

S'p. 28859—c. 4, 600 ft., in damp hollows; flower blue.

A striking blue-flowered herb recorded from Kedah Peak, Gunong Tahan, and Mount Ophir. *Distr.* India, Ceylon, and China, to Australia.

Burmannia longifolia Becc.

S'p. 28869—c. 4,000 ft.; common in dark mossy jungle; flower.

A shrub characteristic of mossy mountain forest throughout the Peninsula. *Distr.* Borneo, Philippines, New Guinea.

LILIACEAE.

Dianella ensifolia Redoute.

S'p. 28883—c. 4,600 ft.; flower buds.

A grass-like herb found on mountain tops and on seashores in the Peninsula. *Distr.* Indo-Malaya.

XYRIDACEAE.

Xyris Ridleyi Rendle.

S'p. 28887—c. 4,600 ft.; wet soil in open spots; flower.

A dwarf sedge-like herb previously recorded from Kedah Peak and Gunong Tahan.

PALMACEAE.

Calamus perakensis Becc. (?).

S'p. 28871—c. 4,000 ft., in thick scrub; flower.

A rotan common in mountain jungle in the Peninsula. Endemic.

PANDANACEAE.

Pandanus sp.

S'p. 28843—c. 4,600 ft., common in *dense mossy scrub* above 00 ft., occasionally in *open scrub* ; fruit.

A screw pine up to 10 ft. tall characteristic of the *dense mossy ub* near the summit of Tapis. Occasionally stunted specimens : seen in *open scrub.* My specimen has a sharply toothed, udate-acuminate leaf, a syncarp about 12.0 cm. long x 10.0 cm. oad, and angled drupes with simple or bifurcate claws.

This specimen has been identified at Kew as *Pandanus oullettii* Carr.

CYPERACEAE.

Cladium Maingayi Clarke.

S'p. 28844—c. 4,600 ft., characteristic of *dwarf scrub* ; flower.

A large sedge with sword-like leaves found in open spots on ıountains. Recorded from Gunong Bubu, Gunong Tahan, unong Stong, and Mount Ophir. *Distr.* Celebes.

Gahnia javanica Moritz.

S'p. 28901—c. 4, 600 ft. ; young fruit.

A large tufted sedge common in open habitats on mountains hroughout the Peninsula. *Distr.* Malaysia and Polynesia.

Lepidosperma chinense Nees.

S'p. 28860—c. 4,600 ft., characteristic of *dwarf scrub* ; flower.

A stoloniferous sedge recorded from Gunong Bintang, Gunong Inas, Gunong, Korbu, Gunong Tahan, Mount Ophir, and Gunong Belumut. *Distr.* South China.

Rhynchospora glauca Vahl.

S'p. 28899—c. 4,600 ft., in damp *Sphagnum*—not common ; young fruit.

A pan-tropical sedge ; in the Peninsula usually found in sandy habitats near the sea, but has been recorded from Gunong Tahan.

GRAMINEAE.

Isachne javana Nees.

S'p. 28852—c. 4,900 ft., in open spots near summit.

A grass common in damp open spots on mountains throughout the Peninsula. *Distr.* Burma, Java, and Borneo.

Isachne saxicola Ridl. var *denticulata* Ridl.

S'p. 28851—c. 4,900 ft., in damp open spots near the summit.

A small tufted grass found in damp open places on mountains. *I. saxicola* has been recorded from Gunong Tahan and var. *denticulata* from Gunong Korbu. Endemic.

TAXACEAE.

Dacrydium Beccarii Parl.

S'p. 28875—c. 4,600 ft. ; characteristic of *open scrub* ; fruit.

A small bushy tree or shrub common on mountains in open spots throughout the Peninsula. *Distr.* Borneo.

Dacrydium elatum Wall.

Not collected—first seen on a rocky ridge at 3,300 ft., above which altitude small trees were common until the open associations around the summit were reached. Here *D. Beccarii* took its place.

A tree of mountain forests above 2,000 ft., throughout the Peninsula. *Distr.* Burma and Southern China to Fiji.

Podocarpus neriifolius Don.

Not collected—seen at about 3,300 ft.

A tree of mountain forest in the Peninsula ; occasionally found at low elevations. *Distr.* Indo-Malaya and China.

PTERIDOPHYTA.

Cheiropleuria bicuspis (Bl.) Pr.

S'p. 28898—c. 4,600 ft. ; common on banks in *open scrub.*

Common on mountains throughout the Peninsula. *Distr.* Malayan region and Formosa.

Dipteris conjugata Reinw.

Not collected—common in *open scrub* near the summit.

Characteristic plant of open dry habitats on mountains throughout the Peninsula ; occasionally found on the coast. *Distr.* Malayan region to Polynesia.

Gleichenia circinnata Sw.

S'p. 28862—c. 4,600 ft. ; common in *dwarf scrub.*

A wiry, spreading ground fern reported from Bukit Panchur, Gunong Inas, Gunong Bubu, Gunong Stong and neighbouring mountains, Gunong Belumut, and Mount Ophir. Curiously absent from many of our mountains. *Distr.* Malaya to Australia and New Zealand.

Gleichenia linearis (Burm.) Clarke.

Not collected—in open scrub forest near the summit.

The common Malayan fern known as *resam.* Most abundant in open habitats on heavy soils at low altitudes. *Distr.* Malaya to Australia.

Lecanopteris carnosa (Reinw.) Bl.

S'p. 28903—c. 4,600 ft.; epiphytic on gnarled trees of *open scrub*.

A curious epiphytic fern with a swollen rhizome resembling black pineapple and infested with ants. Found usually on trees on mountain ridges. *Distr.* Malayan region.

Lycopodium cernuum Linn.

Not collected—common in *open scrub*.

The well-known "stagmoss" of open communities throughout the Peninsula. Most abundant at low altitudes. *Distr.* Tropics and some subtropics.

Matonia pectinata Br.

Not collected—in *open scrub*.

A large creeping fern found on most of our mountains and occasionally elsewhere in xerophytic habitats. Sometimes very abundant. *Distr.* Malay Peninsula and Borneo.

Oleandra sp.

Not collected—a few plants were seen at the lower limits of the *open scrub*.

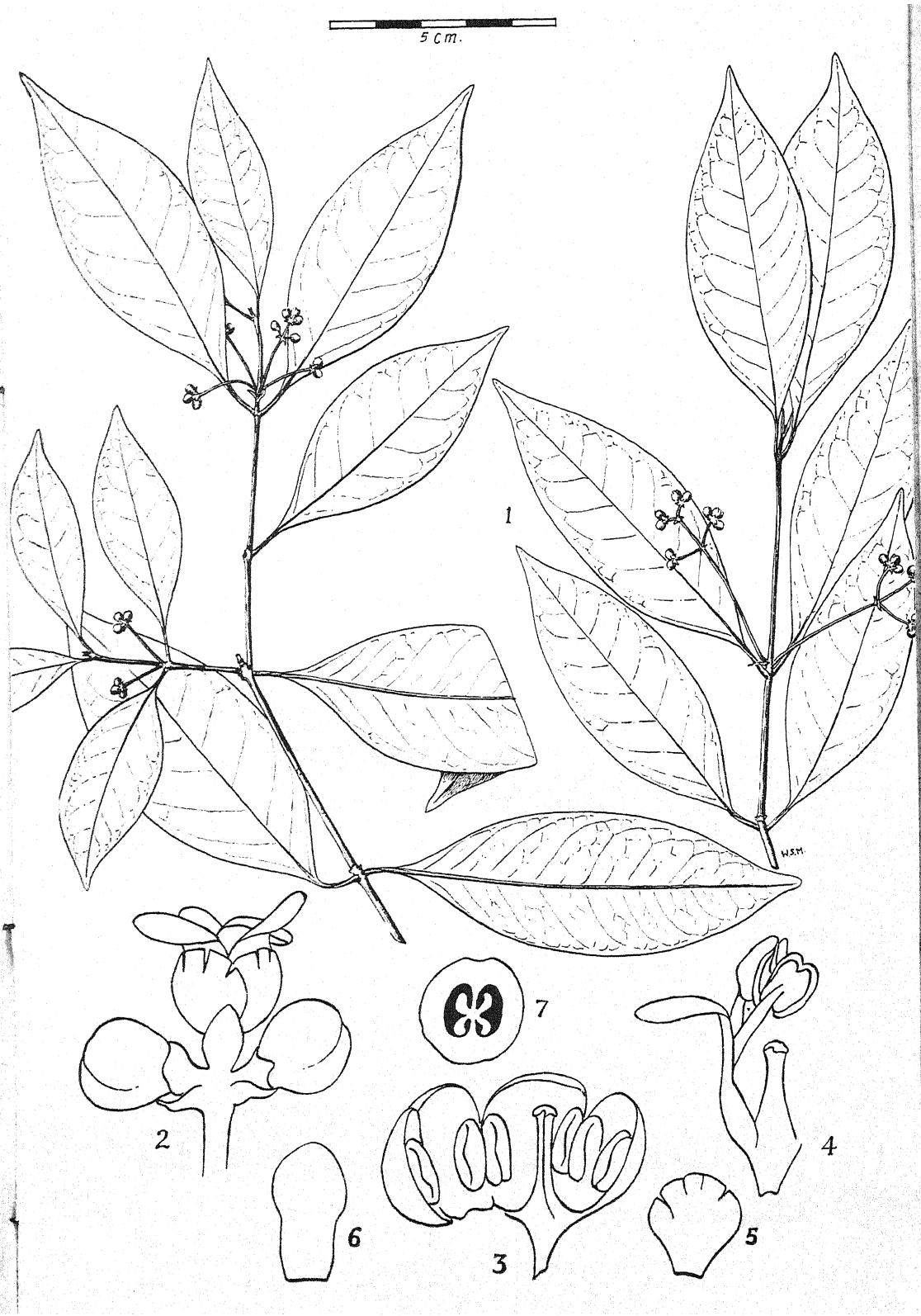
This is probably *O.neriiformis* Cav., a species found on most of our mountains and occasionally in xerophytic habitats at lower elevations.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES.

Plate XIX.—*Microtropis tenuis* Symington. 1, flowering twigs. 2, termination of cyme with expanded flower and two flower buds. 3, flower bud dissected to show stamens. 4, longitudinal section of mature flower. 5, sepal. 6, petal. 7, cross-section of ovary. (Drawing based on Singapore 28878). *Scale applies to* 1 *only*.

Plate XX.—*Symplocos Bakeri* Symington. 1, flowering twig. 2, flower bud. 3, expanding flower. 4, 5, and 6, sepals. 7, petal from 3 with stamens attached. 8, longitudinal section through flower. 9, cross-section through ovary. 10, part of style with stigma. 11, stamens. (Drawings based on Singapore 28833). *Scale applies to* 1 *only*.

Plate XXI.—*Ficus Landonii* Symington. 1, twig with gall figs. 2, receptacle. 3, longitudinal section through 2. 4, basal bracts seen from above. 5, basal bract (posterior). 6, young male flower. 7, perianth lobe from 6. 8, mature male flower. 9, 8 with perianth removed. 10, 11, and 12, gall flowers. (Drawings based on Singapore 28908). *Scale applies to* 1 *only*.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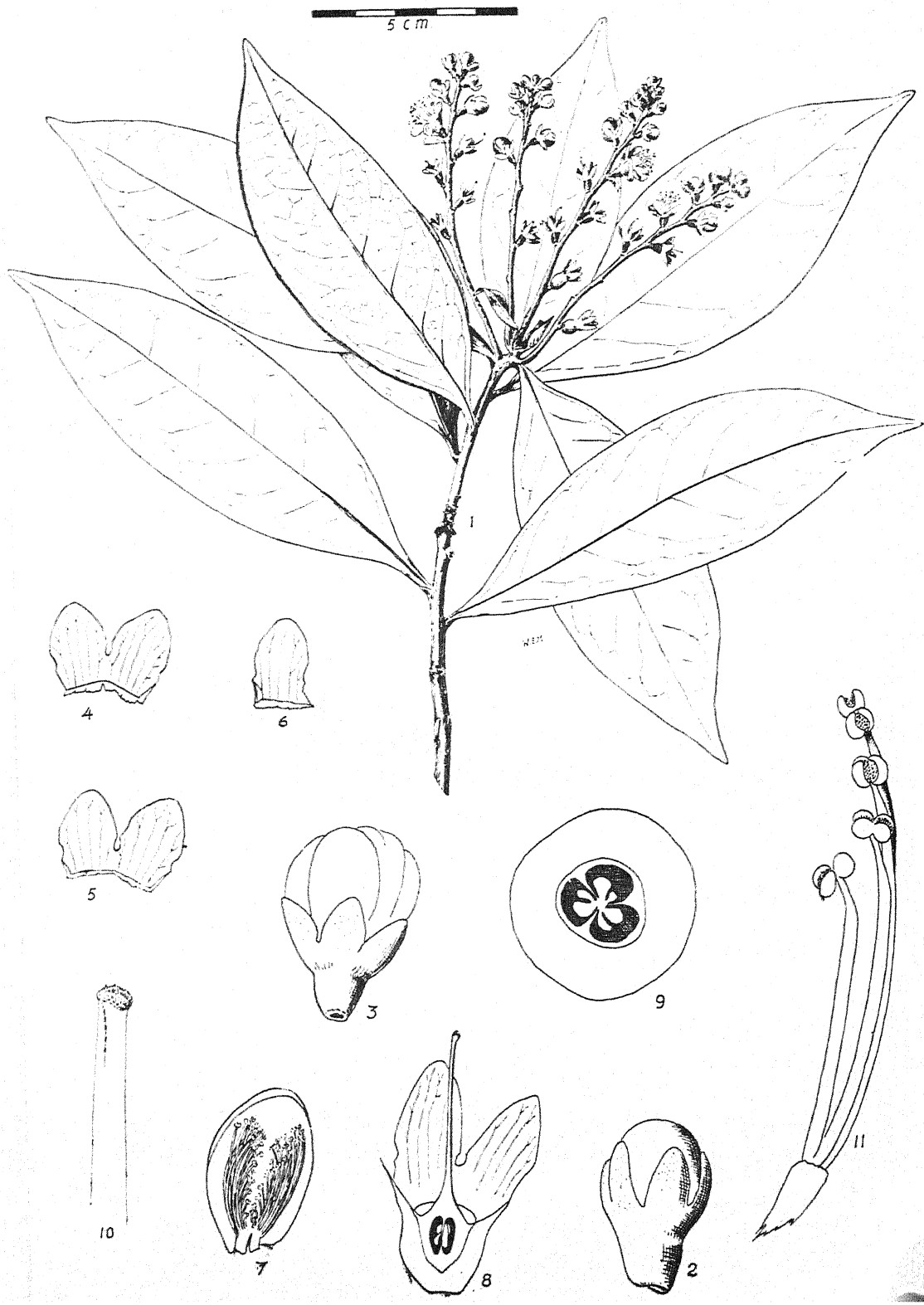
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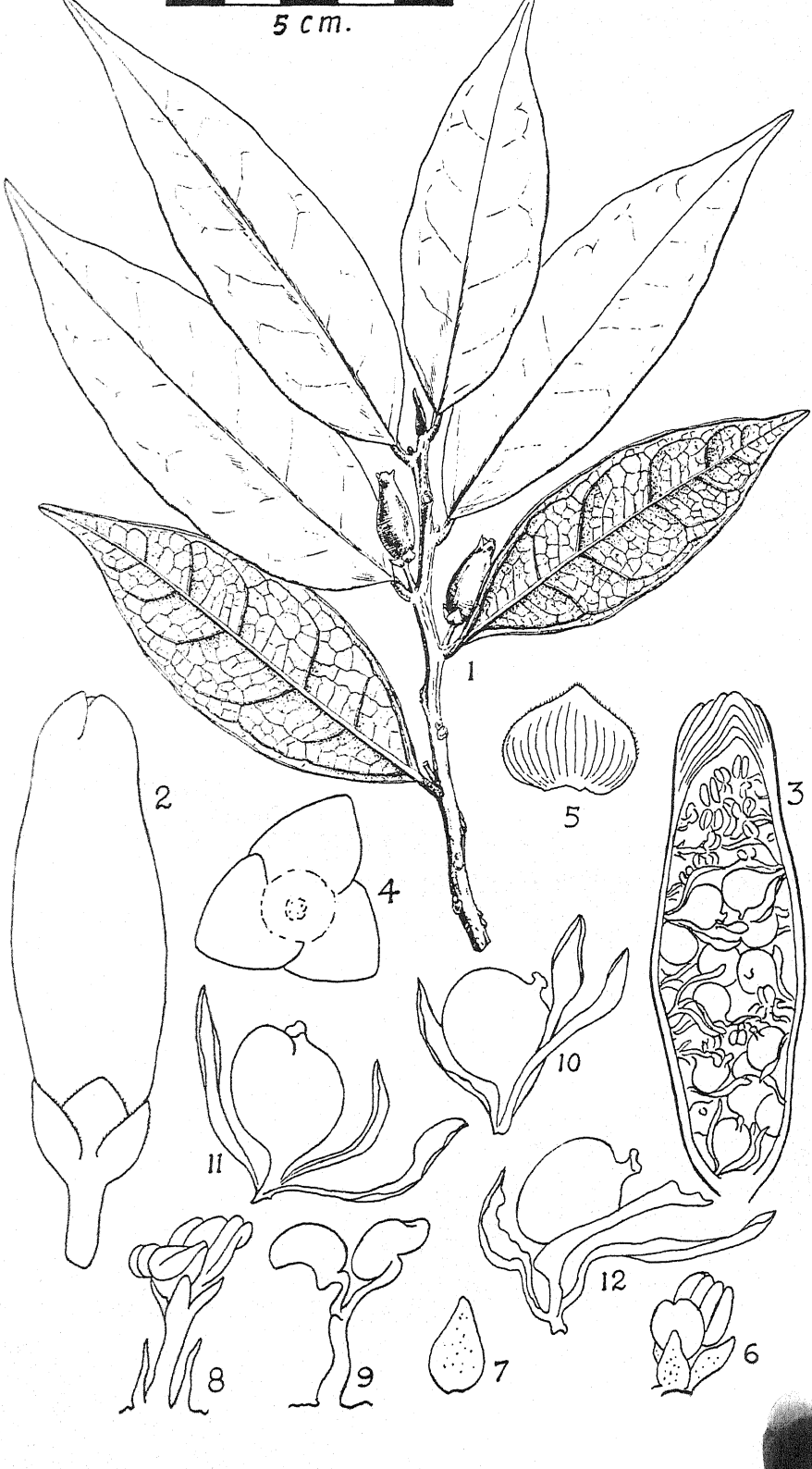
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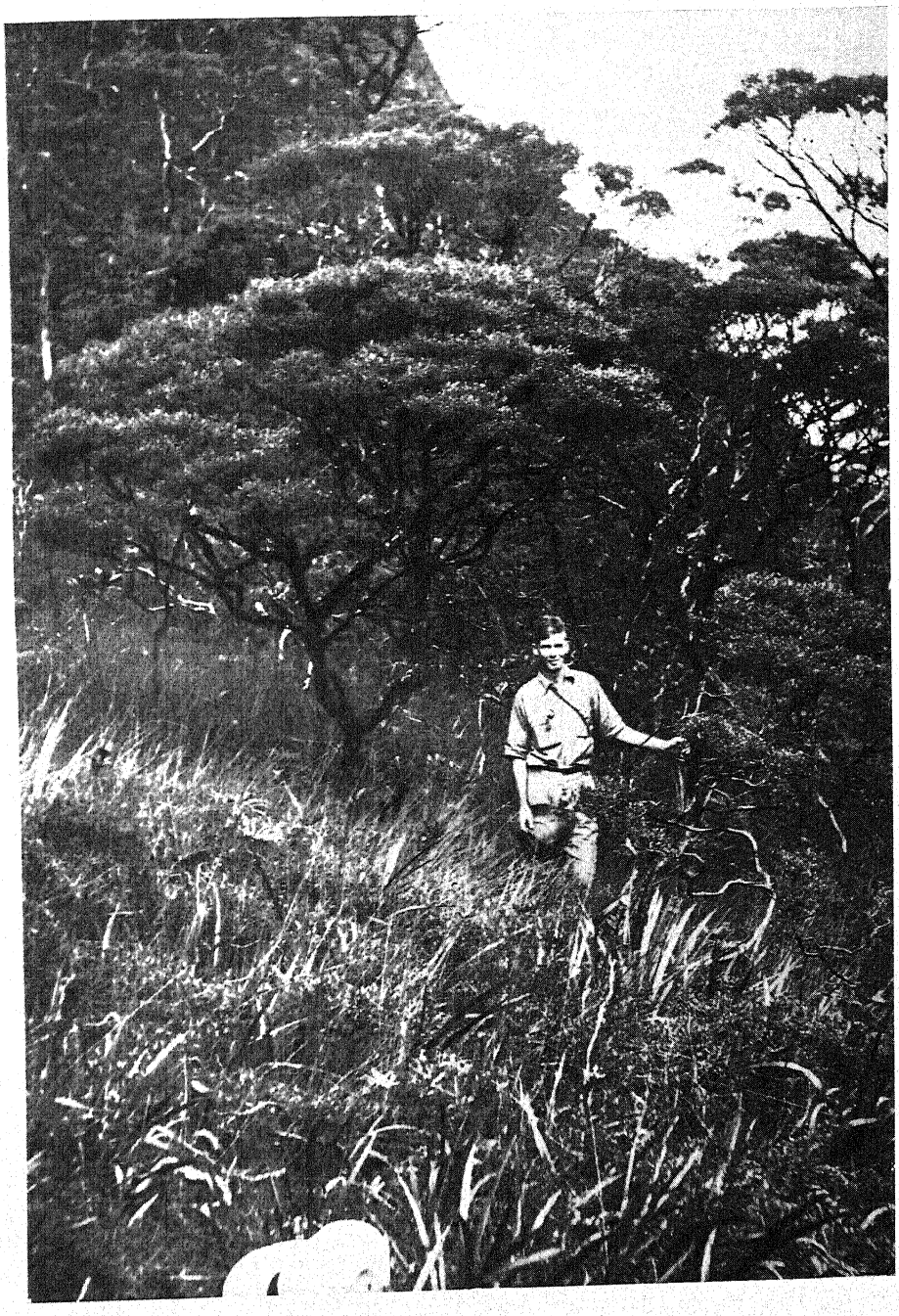
Dwarf Scrub.



Dwarf Scrub adjoining Open Scrub.

Plate XXII.—*Dwarf Scrub on Gunong Tapis. Cladium Maingayi* (sword-shaped leaves) and *Lepidosperma chinense* (narrow terete leaves) dominate. Small-leaved, heather-like plants of *Leptospermum* are numerous as lower storey. To the left and centre are large-leaved plants of *Tristania*.

Plate XXIII.—*Dwarf Scrub Adjoining Open Scrub on Gunong Tapis. Cladium, Lepidosperma*, and *Leptospermum* are conspicuous in the *dwarf scrub*. The dominants of the *open scrub* are *Leptospermum*.